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*This book belonged to the  
late Hugh Edward Egerton,  
Beit Professor of Colonial  
History in the University of  
Oxford from 1905 to 1920*

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THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
OR A VIEW OF THE  
HISTORY,  
POLITICS,  
AND  
LITERATURE,  
For the YEAR 1800.

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# P R E F A C E.

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**FROM** a series of incidents, to which mortality is at all times liable, and all men must sometime encounter, the Annual Register had fallen more and more back in the time of publication. It was not an easy matter to remedy this defect, and to overtake time, in such eventful years as the last decade of the Eighteenth Century; amidst multiplied political intrigues, internal convulsions, and wars so wide in their extent, and complicated in their operation. This, however, has now been completely accomplished. We close the century, without being one volume in arrears; we conclude the volume for 1800, without leaving any event to be recorded in the next, that could, with any degree of propriety, be introduced and related in the present volume: so that, at the commencement of the century on which we have just entered, we set out, in our historical inquiries and narratives, without any encumbrance.

We congratulate our readers on that great, though somewhat unexpected, event, which so auspiciously marks the commencement of the present æra.\* The Temple of Janus is shut: it is not unreasonable to hope that it will be long before it be again opened. A dreadful but salutary experiment, in the course of the

\* For a summary review and character of the Eighteenth Century, and more especially at its close, see the conclusion of the History of Europe, in this volume,

last ten years, has been made by the nations. The rulers of states and kingdoms have been taught the danger of tyranny; the people, that of anarchy; the financier, that even commercial advantages may be too dearly purchased; the politician and statesman, that durable power consists not so much in extended territory, as compacted dominion, flourishing population, and, above all, in justice: justice in the conduct of governments external as well as internal.

We are henceforth, we hope, and doubt not, for many years, to be called from the miseries and horrors of war to progressive improvement in all the arts of peace: a nobler, as well as more pleasing and profitable career of ambition, among civilized nations, than that of conquest. The energy of our ingenious and lively neighbours will return to the arts and sciences with an elastic force, proportioned to the misguided ardour that has too long propelled them to the ensanguined field of battle. Their improvements will be our gain, as ours also will be theirs. May all civilized nations consociate and co-operate for the general good; for lessening calamities, increasing comforts, and advancing human nature to greater and greater excellence, both intellectual and moral!

It will of course become our business to watch and trace the progress or the vicissitudes of arts and sciences, the condition of society, and public opinion: a task, though more pleasing, yet not perhaps less difficult, than to describe the effects of public councils, and military operations; which, being marked by bolder and palpalble lines, are more easily discerned, and more clearly comprehended.

THE

THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
For the YEAR 1800.



THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
EUROPE.

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CHAP. I.

*Return of Buonaparte from Egypt to France.—His Letter to the Army of Egypt.—The Companions of his Voyage.—Arrives at Corsica.—And at Frejus in Provence.—Enthusiastic Joy with which he was every where received.—Proceeds by Lyons to Paris.—Hopes and Confidence of the Parisians, and in general all the French centered on this military Chief.—Situation of the French Republic at this Period, external and internal.—State of Parties.—War in the Western Departments.—Weakness and Half-measures of Government.—New political Changes meditated by Abbé Sieyès.—Personal Interview between the Abbé and Buonaparte.—Buonaparte caressed and courted by all Parties.—The Army alone courted by him.—He favours and joins the moderate Party.—Character of Abbé Sieyès.—And of Buonaparte.—Splendid Feast given in Honour of Buonaparte.—Project for a Change in the Government and Constitution.—Necessarily communicated to considerable Numbers of the Members of both Councils.—Yet kept Secret till the Moment of Explosion.—The Council of Elders empowered by the Constitution of 1795 to transport the Legislature whenever it should think Proper to any Commune within a certain Distance of Paris.—Com-*

*mand of the French Troops in and near Paris, vested, by the Council of Elders, in Buonaparte.—Translation of the Legislative Bodies, and the Directory to St. Cloud.*

**B**Y what special combination of circumstances, and what private considerations Buonaparte was induced to quit Egypt, and return to France, and particularly whether it was in consequence of a secret correspondence, and concert with that subtle and restless projector of constitutions, abbé Sieyès, or other politicians, is not yet known: nor could it be expected that it should have yet been revealed.—There is not, however, the least reason for doubting the truth of his general declaration to the army, at Alexandria, on the twenty-third of August, 1799, “That he had determined immediately to return to France, in consequence of news from Europe.”\* The substance of the intelligence to which he alluded is well enough understood. The administration of the French republic was corrupt, weak, unpopular, and odious, and her armies discomfited in Germany and Italy, by the Austrians and Russians. To repair both these misfortunes, and in repairing them to acquire additional power and glory, it may reasonably be presumed, was the leading principle in the conduct of Buonaparte. In the execution of this design there was an invincible necessity of the most impenetrable secrecy. Until the moment of his

departure he concealed it from the army, and even from the persons whom he chose to accompany him. The most distinguished among these, were general Berthier, chief of the staff; Lannes and Murat, generals of division; Marmont, the general of brigade; Andreossi, the general of artillery; the chief of brigade, Bessières, who commanded his guides; the three philosophers Bertholet, Mongé, and Arnaud; a great number of officers, several Mammalukes, and his guides.

Buonaparte, having communicated his design to general Berthier, and him only, gave orders to vice-admiral Gantheaume, to arm and get ready two frigates, together with two sloops, the one of the kind called an *Aviso*, the other a *Tartane*. This being done, he addressed a sealed letter to all those whom he intended to take with him, with instructions not to open it till a certain day, at a given hour, and at a certain point on the sea-shore.

The day appointed was the twenty-second of August. All those who had received the letter attended at the appointed place, and opened the letter, in which they found an order for their immediate embarkation. They did not lose a moment but left their bag-

\* His letter to the army, on so interesting an occasion, our readers may wish to see at full length. As it is but short we shall here insert it: “In consequence of the news from Europe, I have determined immediately to return to France. I leave the command of the army to general Kleber. They shall hear from me speedily. This is all I can say to them at present. It grieves me to the heart to part from the brave men to whom I am so tenderly attached. But it will be only for an instant; and the general I leave at their head, is in full possession of the confidence of the government, and of mine.”

gage in their lodgings, and their horses on the shore. Having arrived on board the ships prepared for the voyage, their names were called over. Two strangers were found among them and reloaded. They then weighed anchor and set sail, but contrary winds did not permit them to get out of the road of Aboukir till the twenty-fourth of August.

Previously to his departure, Buonaparte left a letter addressed to general Kleber, with orders that it should not be opened for twenty-four hours after his quitting the land. This letter contained his appointment to the chief command of the army of all Egypt, during the absence of Buonaparte, and an order for conferring the command of Upper Egypt on general Desaix. On leaving the anchorage of Aboukir, the small French squadron could descry but one frigate, and they arrived at Ajaccio, in Corsica, on the thirtieth of September.— There they were detained by contrary winds till the sixth of October. On the sixth they were but ten leagues distant from Toulon, when, in the evening, they perceived an English squadron of eight sail. The question now proposed in council was, whether they should sail back to Corsica, or attempt to make the shore. Buonaparte soon decided it. Recollecting, perhaps, the encouraging words of Julius Cæsar to his mariners in circumstances also of danger, he said, “ Be not alarmed, fortune will not abandon me, let us make directly for the coast.” Signals were made accordingly, and the frigates veered immediately eastward. The Aviso, not perceiving the signals, remained behind in the midst of the ene-

my's fleet. But the ship that carried Buonaparte, with crowded sails, was soon out of danger. The other three ships, about nine in the morning of the seventh, came to anchor near St. Rapheau, which, about noon, the crews were permitted to enter. About two, Buonaparte, with his companions and suite, arrived at Frejus, a small sea-port of Provence, amidst an immense concourse of people, who hastened to behold him from the neighbouring country. The moment they landed, they fell down, in imitation of a custom among the Greek and Roman generals, and embraced the ground, which they called the Land of Liberty. Transports of enthusiastic joy broke out among the spectators on every side, and nothing was heard but cries of *vive la Republique! vive Buonaparte.* The magistrates of Frejus went out to meet them, and received them with a kind of triumphal honours.

The generals Lannes and Murat, both wounded, set out from St. Rapheau with all the crews for Toulon, from whence, some days thereafter, they proceeded to Paris.

It was certainly a piece of great good fortune that Buonaparte and his companions should effect their escape through so many hostile ships of war, Russian, Turkish, and English. His greatest dangers, however, were encountered during the two first days after his embarkation, when he was prevented by contrary winds from getting out of the road of Aboukir. The army must have supposed that he was only going to reconnoitre some part of the coast, or for concerting and planning some secret expedition. There was not a little danger of his real design, in the course of those two days being discovered; in

which case there was also some danger of the army stopping him, and demanding an explanation of his conduct; so that the return of Buonaparte, as well as his expedition to Egypt, and transactions there, were strongly tinged with the marvelous. If there were in reality a divinity of fortune, there could be no doubt that Buonaparte is one of her greatest favourites, as he himself is very ready to acknowledge.\*

At six o'clock in the evening of the seventeenth of October, this celebrated chief left Frejus, and proceeded to Paris, in company with general Berthier and the three members of the national institute already mentioned. The courier who had been dispatched before him, to announce his arrival to the directory, and to prepare relays of horses for his journey, called out for them every where in his name, and from every town and village the people rushed out to meet him, and accompanied him beyond their respective communities: so immense was the crowd, even in the roads, that the carriages found it difficult to go forward. In every place through which he passed, from Frejus to Paris, there were at night illuminations. At Lyons, when it was known that he was to pass that city, nothing was omitted that could be imagined, in order to testify the joy of the citizens, and give him a splendid reception. A short theatrical piece, called the *Hero's Return*, was composed and represented immediately. The per-

formers read their parts, not having had time to commit them to memory. On his appearance at the theatre, he was received with thunders of applause, and when he went out of the house, the audience followed him home to his lodgings. On the day after his arrival in Paris, he had a private audience of the directory. All the streets and allies leading to the Luxembourg were crowded with spectators. Buonaparte testified a lively sensibility to the demonstrations with which he was every where surrounded of the public joy and gladness. In his way to and from the directorial palace, he observed among the spectators several soldiers who had served under him in his campaigns in Italy. These men he called to him, wherever he perceived them, and gave them his hand, with expressions of goodwill and friendship. He wore a great coat with a Turkish sabre. His hair was cut very short, and the climate of Egypt had changed the natural paleness of his face, into a dark complexion, which improved his appearance. On leaving the directory he paid visits to the ministers of war and marine, and other persons of consequence in the service of the republic.

These particulars will not be censured as too minute, when we reflect on the interest which the French nation felt in Buonaparte at this time, and how much that universal enthusiasm, in favour of this single man, contributed to the important scenes with which it was

\* It is a question of not a little curiosity, what is the reason why Buonaparte affects to consider himself as under the peculiar protection of fortune? When he had to do with barbarians, to talk of fate and fortune, might not be bad policy? But in fortune he has expressed his confidence to the French army, and even the French nation and legislature, who, if they are not even deists, are much less polytheists.

quickly

quickly followed. Without this enthusiasm the revolution of 1799 would not probably have been conceived, and certainly could not have been executed. Human nature is prone to cast off all melancholy reflections, and anticipations, and to grasp at some object of hope, if possible. This disposition is particularly remarkable in the French nation. They are also distinguished by another propensity, indulged to excess: a devoted attachment to some object of fond admiration. Their whole attention, their pride, and their hopes were, at this time, fixed as on a centre, on Buonaparte. Of him alone they thought, spoke, and dreamed. From him, some great though unknown good was to arise to France, and every class of men in the republic. Six months had not elapsed since a majority, in the nation and the legislative councils, had condemned the expedition to Egypt as imprudent, and the source of that reverse of fortune, which had been experienced both in Italy and Germany. This was urged, as matter of accusation against the ex-directors Merlin, Rewbel, and la Réveillere Lepaux, who insisted that the expedition to the East was projected and insisted on, in opposition to the sentiments of the executive government, by Buonaparte. The same position was maintained, in sundry memorials by the ex-bishop Talleyrand, and Charles la Croix. The ascendant obtained, by the general, over the public councils, they said had overcome all opposition on the part of the directory. This question concerning the propriety or impropriety, the advantages or disadvantages of the expedition against Egypt, was now

lost in an admiration and fond attachment to the hero who conducted it, returned after many perils, and deeds of valour, within the French territories. It was this boundless attachment and confidence, no doubt, that encouraged Buonaparte to form the design of subverting the present constitution and government, or confirmed him in that design, if already formed.

The situation of the republic in its relations, both external and internal, were such as fostered discontent and invited to innovation. Though victory had returned to the French standards in Switzerland, the privations and sufferings of the armies of both Switzerland and Italy were very great, and a subject of loud complaint against administration. The forced loan of 100 millions of which only a small portion was collected, had shaken public credit, damped the spirit of industry, and produced, with many inconveniences and sufferings, much discontent and murmuring among the busy classes of the people. But, the imbecility and rashness of government, still farther increased the general dissatisfaction, anxiety, and alarm, by a law known by the name of the law of Hostages.

During the administration of the late directors, various projects had been formed, and presented to the legislature, for the suppression of disorders under the title of a law for the responsibility of the different districts, known by the name of Communes, or Communities. These projects had hitherto been deemed inadequate to the purpose. In the mean time, the evils, for which they were intended as a remedy, grew up to an alarming height, particu-



## 6] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1800.

arly in the western departments: which determined the council of five hundred to apply a remedy still more violent.

By the law of Hostages, passed on the twelfth of July, it was decreed, among other articles, that when a department, or commune, was notoriously in a state of civil disorder, the relations of emigrants, and nobles, comprehended in the revolutionary law of the twenty-fifth of October, third year of the republic, their grand-fathers, grand-mothers, fathers and mothers, and individuals, who, without being relations, or ex-nobles, were known to form part of the assemblies or bands of assassins, should be personally and civilly responsible for whatever assassinations or robberies were committed in their communes; that whenever disorders should take place the administration of departments should take hostages among these classes, and that they should be authorized to do so, even before any declaration of such department or commune being in a state of disorder; that these hostages should surrender themselves, on demand, in such places as should be pointed out; that a delay of ten days should incur constraint by force, and flight. If a murder was committed on any public functionary, defender of the country, or purchaser of national domains, or any person of this character carried off, four hostages were to be banished for every person so murdered or carried off, besides a fine of six thousand livres. Every hostage was made responsible for the payment of four thousand livres, in case of any murder in his community, to be paid into the public treasury, of six thousand to the widow, and three thousand to the

children of the person assassinated: which indemnity was allowed likewise to every person mutilated. The same responsibility was also extended to whatever damage or waste was committed against property. And the law was to have its due course, till the conclusion of a general peace.

The effects of this law were such as might have been expected. While some, from the various motives of ambition, interest, and resentment, were tempted to commit innumerable acts of oppression, others were driven to despair. In such departments of the west as had never been thoroughly reduced to an obedience to the republic, the law of Hostages was a signal of almost general revolt, not only several of those who had been formerly chiefs of the insurgents and again took up the arms which they had laid down, but others who had hitherto remained quiet, preferred a state of insurrection, and opposition to tyranny, before a submission to laws of so atrocious a nature. Tumults and riots had for some time disturbed the peace of different departments, when, towards the end of August, a general insurrection broke out in the department of Mayenne, on the right of the Loire. Here the insurgents, who had hitherto remained in the woods, or villages remote from general resort and communication, appeared under their leaders in force, made themselves masters of several towns, deposed the constituted authorities, seized their papers, took republican hostages, and proclaimed by public advertisements the object of their rising in arms: which was, the restoration of the monarchy without limitations.

tions. As the republican force in that quarter was but weak, and the spirit of discontent and revolt, general and ardent, the insurrection spread so rapidly, that, in a short space of time, no less than twenty departments were, more or less, in a state of insurrection.

Their principle place of strength was, at first, Meins. This however, on the appearance of the republican troops, they were forced to evacuate, after pillaging it, and taking hostages. But, by this time, the flames of insurrection had spread far and wide. The insurgents were, for a while, in possession of Nantes, the capital of the department of the Nether Loire, and Port-Brioux, that of the department of the northern coasts. From this last place they did not retreat without carrying off all the public money, and also the principal inhabitants as hostages. A regular chain of posts was formed from the Bay of Biscay almost to the walls of Paris. The insurgents published manifestoes, demanded supplies of men, money, and provisions, and, in a word, assuming the title of the royal and catholic army, exercised within the sphere of their influence and power all the functions of government. This army, which covered so great an extent of country and amounted in all, to about a hundred thousand men, was formed into five grand divisions. The province of Normandy (for we presume that the old divisions of France will yet be more intelligible to most of our readers than the new) was under the orders of count Lewis Frotté: the province of Mayne was occupied by a formidable army, under the count de Bourmont. The marquises of

Scepeaux, Chatillon, d'Audigne, and Turpin, commanded in Anjou and Brittany, as far as Morbihan; generals Georges and de Sol, the Lower Brittany; le Mercier, the districts lying towards St Brioux. The count d'Autichamp was at the head of the army of Poitou, and of the country on the left bank of the Loire to the confines of Aunis; and under him were the generals Suzannet, Sapineau, Soyier, and Berlier. Of all the great towns throughout these provinces the royalists were in possession, and they were all of them stored with ammunition and provisions: supplies of which, had, from time to time, been landed, on such parts of the coast, as were under their influence and sway by the English. On the whole, the French nation was in a state of discontent, alarm, and anxious expectation. The noble families and clergy were proscribed and persecuted; the men of property were harassed with requisitions; the jacobins were excluded from the public councils, and ready to attempt any enterprise that might throw all things into confusion, however desperate and dangerous.

Some measures had indeed been taken for modifying, not repealing, the law of Hostages, and for destroying one dreadful engine of despotism, in the hands of the late directory, by closing the list of emigrants: other measures too, had been taken for alleviating the public distresses, but the whole were feeble, and in their operation tardy and inefficacious. The nation was in a state of distraction; the government, if not altogether in a state of languor, indecision, and stupefaction, rather watched and

sought for an opportunity of strengthening their own hands by some new change, than of composing the people, and saving the country, by the exercise of any powers or principles inherent in the actual constitution.

The abbé Sieyès had early foreseen, or apprehended the discordant and fluctuating nature of the various forms of government that had been adopted since the overthrow of the monarchy. He had attempted, in vain, the introduction of a constitution, which, though still retaining the name, and in some degree the form of a republic, should be consolidated and stayed by one chief magistrate, and a constitutional jury, or conservative senate; and, in the various changes that took place, from time to time, he was a friend, as we have seen, to an increase of power in the hands of the executive government. The great enemies that abbé Sieyès, who had gained an ascendancy in the public councils, had to contend with, was, of course, the democratical party. To overthrow the principles and plans of this party, by an opposite system, in which his own project of a single chief, and a constitutional jury, should be adopted, was the leading principle in his conduct, and the great object of his incessant contrivance.

It has been said, that he imparted his design of establishing a stronger government, by a fresh revolution, to general Joubert, whom he wished to associate with himself in this project, and whose unfullied character, blooming virtues and talents, and popularity rendered a very desirable associate in such an enterprise. Joubert, unwilling to be-

come the instrument of political intrigue, accepted the command of the army of Italy. The abbé, it was generally supposed, was encouraged and fortified in his designs, by the countenance and good wishes of the court of Berlin, where he had resided a considerable time, and which was equally jealous of democratical doctrines, and all connection with governments founded on such principles.

The parties which divided and agitated France, at this time, were reduced to two classes: the one consisting of the jacobins or fierce republicans, who made but little account of either the property or lives of their countrymen, whenever they judged that a sacrifice of these might be rendered subservient to the interests of their own faction: the other comprehending all who had taken a share in the revolution, without participating in its principal enormities, and who arranged themselves around Sieyès and the council of elders, in the hope and expectation of some approaching change.— Though this man had voted for the death of the king, and that in a very unfeeling and inhuman manner,\* he affected great regard for the constitutionalists of 1791, who had formerly been the objects of his aversion. He gained over the leading men in the council of five hundred, and established his interest still more firmly in that of the elders. The extension of his plan, however, was still retarded, by various obstacles, when the eyes, the thoughts, and the hopes of all men were suddenly turned on Buonaparte.

No less than three days elapsed, after the unexpected return of this

\* *La mort sans pitié.*

celebrated commander and politician, before he had a personal interview with abbé Sieyes: a circumstance, which, undoubtedly, seems to strengthen the opinion of those who affirm that no secret correspondence had taken place between these important personages; though this apparent suynels, in a question relating to political dexterity, might possibly be accounted for otherwise; but all this is of little moment.— Certain it is, that Buonaparte was caressed, flattered, and courted by both parties, but that he himself did not court any. With politicians, though civil and polite, he was distant and reserved; close himself, while he listened to the reports, and put many questions to others. But while he was thus grave and guarded in his intercourse with both the moderate and jacobinical party, he was open, frank, and studious above all things, by all means to maintain his interest and popularity in the army. Every officer of distinction he treated with studied respect; every private that came in his way, as has been above noticed, with affability and condescension. The directory and the councils determined to do honour to Buonaparte by a splendid feast, in the church of St. Sulpice, transformed into the Temple of Victory. This intention being intimated to the general, he requested that general Moreau might also be invited, and conjoined with himself in every sentiment intended to be expressed by that entertainment: it is needless to add, that his request was complied with. He was anxious to prevent any sentiments of rivalry and opposition, on the part of Moreau, and to gain his confidence and favour. These commanders met

together, for the first time in their lives, at the house of Gohier, president of the directory. “General,” said Buonaparte, “I had several of your lieutenants in Egypt, and they are very distinguished officers.” The bright lustre of Moreau’s reputation was yet inferior to the dazzling splendour of Buonaparte’s fame and character. In the judgement of many military critics he was not inferior, but in the public eye he was secondary; and being a man of a natural easiness, as well as probity of disposition, and less ambitious and daring, he was content to be among the first in the train of the favourite of fortune.

It was for some time questioned whether the genius of Buonaparte would, in like manner, gain an ascendancy over that of abbé Sieyes, and which of these men would take the lead in settling a new government, and in its administration when settled. Both were men of deep reflection and combination of ideas; both remarkable for taciturnity, the natural concomitant of profound and incessant meditation; both possessed many partisans, and great authority of the state: yet, on the whole, their character and condition were not marked by so many circumstances of resemblance as of discrimination. Sieyes was a metaphysician, melancholy, irascible, suspicious, and cautious. He was endowed with a quick discernment of men, things, and circumstances, and capable of turning conjunctures to different purposes, provided that he had time to overcome rising obstacles to his plans, not by force, but by intrigue, or, as he himself alleged, by operating on the minds, and convincing the understandings of men, and to weave his complicated web

web in the dark, and without disturbance. He seemed to entertain a just regard and reverence for what he deemed right and just, and conducive to the public welfare: though he seemed also to be of opinion that few, if any, good laws were to be expected from any other head than his own. Nor, though silent and reclusive, did he want firmness to avow and defend his own sentiments, in the midst of popular clamour and passion. He stood up for the defence of property in opposition to laws in favour of bankruptcy, and for the suppression of tythes. A saying of his was long, and is now remembered to his credit. Speaking of his colleagues in the national assembly, he said, "They wish to be free, and they know not what it is to be just." On the whole, the abbé Sieyès was not an amiable, but possessed a very general reputation of being both a wise and just man; and that, if he was not without a tincture of vanity and ambition, it was not the common ambition of power and splendour, but that of gaining over the French nation and the world to his political doctrines. His ambition, therefore, was of the same nature with that of the heads of religious sectaries.

Buonaparte, to the advantage of military renown, added that of moderation, prudence, and a regard not only for civil rights, but also for religion. The sage counsels he gave to the Genoese on leaving them to themselves, the letter which he wrote to the Pope in a tone of respect and veneration, the whole of his conduct in Italy, not more intrepid than temperate and wise, were recollected with applause. There was nothing that the French people was not disposed to expect at the

hands of the man who had conquered Italy and Egypt, and made peace with Austria, on terms so advantageous and honourable to the republic, while, at the same time, it was the more likely to be lasting, that it was neither so dishonourable nor disadvantageous to that great power, as it might have been, if the pride of victory had not been tempered by political prudence.—

The wisdom of the treaty of Campo Formio was illustrated by the losses, disasters, and sufferings that resulted from its violation. The nation sighed for peace, and this blessing was not so likely to be procured by any one as by Buonaparte. As the nation confided in Buonaparte, so neither was he diffident in himself; though it would be very unjust, and is by no means intended to insinuate, that he carried a confidence in his own powers beyond the bounds of a just self-esteem. He had improved an understanding, naturally excellent, by a very close and successful application to literature and the sciences. By the former, his mind was humanized as well as enlarged, and his ruling passion, the love of glory, confirmed and exalted: from the latter, his understanding derived additional vigour, precision, and promptitude. He was descended of an ancient family in Corsica, an island protected by its poverty and mountainous aspect from the enervation incident to the campaign and luxuriant regions, lying in the same degrees of latitude; and by the simple state of manners from that sameness and monotony of genius, which is commonly produced by an imitation of established authorities and modes of thinking, in the more advanced stages of society. He was born, and received his first impres-

impressions, too, in times, when the spirit of liberty in his native land excited every latent spark of genius and adventure. Though the superior and irresistible power of France damped and crushed all hopes of maintaining the independence of Corsica, the tone and temper of mind to which the unequal struggle gave birth, the ardent spirit of exertion remained in the youthful bosom of Buonaparte, who, by a series of incidental circumstances, was led into the famous *école militaire* of France, where he added the accomplishments to be acquired by the most refined, to the benefits derived from one of the simplest and most virtuous nations in Europe. To personal courage, carried to the verge of temerity, and military art and stratagem, he united blameless, and, with his inferiors in station, affable manners. Of a firm and undaunted spirit, and a genius penetrating, sublime, and inventive, he distinguished difficulties from impossibilities, discerned the nature and dispositions of men, and bodies of men, and not only improved, but, in some degree, created conjunctures. He had taken a wide range over the ancient as well as modern world, and chosen the greatest and most heroic models for his imitation. His letters, his speeches, his actions, all proclaimed a sublimity of courage, imagination, and design, beyond the limits of vulgar conception.

In such times, it was certainly to be expected, that the genius of the warlike should prevail over that of the metaphysical politician. Not more than a week had elapsed, after the general's arrival in Paris, when it was clearly perceived that his sentiments were wholly in op-

position to the jacobins, and on the side of the moderate party. It was almost as soon perceived that he considered the destinies of France as in his own hands, and that he would not brook either any superior or equal. He spoke in a tone of laconic decision, which sufficiently indicated the opinion he entertained of his talents, power, and importance.

It was a singular spectacle to see so many generals, and these of the first rate, in the midst of a war in Paris. Buonaparte was supported by the presence, countenance, and authority of Moreau, Berthier, Lefebre, Serrurier, Macdonald, Murat, Berryer, and several other general officers. In other circumstances, such a congress of generals, in the seat of the government and legislature, would probably have occasioned some murmurs of jealousy and dissatisfaction; but every passion was hushed, and every head bowed down before the man, who was not only the idol of France, but the admiration of the world.

The day fixed on by the directory and legislative councils for the feast in honour of the two generals, Buonaparte and Moreau, was the seventh of November. There was nothing extraordinary, in such an entertainment; on the arrival of Buonaparte from Egypt, or what was not to have been expected.— But neither is it unnatural to suppose that the politics of the day might in some shape and degree, insinuate themselves into this design after it was formed, although it would not be reasonable to ascribe its original formation to any other cause than what is most natural and obvious. It served to solemnize the union and friendship between the  
greatest



greatest military chiefs of the republic, and what Buonaparte wished and aimed at, the union of all parties. It served also, in some measure, to lull all suspicion of an approaching political explosion. It could scarcely be expected that any plots were hatching in an assembly convened for the expression of common sentiments, and harmonized by the power of music. The Temple of Victory was adorned for the occasion in the most magnificent manner. There was a display of the most beautiful tapestries of the gobelins, and the walls were decorated with an immense number of standards, taken in the course of the war from the enemies of the republic. On the organ of the church, or temple, various airs were played, suitable to the occasion. To this feast there were no women\* admitted, nor yet any spectators. The number of guests was seven hundred and fifty. At the head of the principal table was placed the president of the council of elders; on his right hand Gobier, the president of the directory; on his left, general Moreau; next in order

came Lucian Buonaparte, president of the council of five hundred, and then the general, his brother. Among the toasts that were given there were two, which were supposed to express the sentiments of the better and sounder part of the nation. The president of the directory gave for his toast, "peace:" general Buonaparte, "the union of all Frenchmen." Neither the generals Jourdan and Augereau, nor Briot, nor some others of the most active jacobins, though members of the legislature, came to this entertainment: the tone of which was not suited to their tempers. It was characterized from beginning to end by silence, and an air of constraint. There was no other conversation than some observations on the music. After some public toasts Buonaparte disappeared, and the feast was over in little more than an hour.

In proportion as matters were concerted between Buonaparte and Sieyes, and Rœderer, whom they admitted as their confident and co-adjutor,† and as their project seemed practicable and ripe for execution,

\* The women in France, after all their zealous services in the revolution, have been but very scurvily treated by their countrymen, "mark too what return the women have met with for all their horrid services, where, to express their sentiments of civism and abhorrence of royalty, they threw away the character of their sex, and cut the amputated limbs of their murdered countrymen. Surely these patriotic women merited that the rights of their sex should be considered in full council, and they were well entitled to a seat; but there is not a single act of their government, in which the sex is considered as having any rights whatever, or that they are things to be cared for."—*Professor Robinson's proofs of a conspiracy against all the religions and governments of Europe.*

† Rœderer, originally from Lorraine, and formerly a counsellor in the parliament of Metz, was appointed a member of the constituent assembly. He then became a procureur syndic of the department of Paris, journalist and political writer. He was a valuable tool to most of the jacobins that succeeded each other in the government. He escaped through them all, and cultivated the favour of all who were willing to employ him. He is charged by many with deceit, perfidy, and roguery. These charges may be the offspring, in times of such fierce contention, of hatred and envy. It is, however, universally allowed that no one in Paris, not even a lawyer, deserved a higher reputation for intrigue, pliability, and artifice. He certainly was not deficient



execution, it was communicated to wider and wider circles of such members of the legislative assemblies, as they reckoned with confidence among their friends and adherents. And, what is remarkable in so communicative a nation, the secret, though necessarily imparted to a great number of persons, was kept till the moment of the intended explosion. On the evening of the day after the feast, twenty members of both councils assembled at the house of Lemerrier, president of the council of elders. These were Lucian Buonaparte, Boulay de la Meurthe, Lemerrier, Courtois, Cabarus, Regnier, Fargues, Villetard, Chazal, Barillon, Bouville, Cornet, Wimar, Delecloy, Fregeville, le Hatry, Goupil, Prellyn, Rousseau, Herwyn, Cornudet. These legislators, after taking an oath of secrecy, separated for the purpose of preparing as many as they could trust for the new crisis.

By an article of the constitution of the third year of the republic, 1795, it was established "that the council of elders might change whenever they should think proper, the residence of the legislative bodies; that in this case they should appoint a new place and time for the meeting of the two councils; and that whatever the elders should decree, with regard to this point, should be held irrevocable. This fundamental law, which had been adopted on the recommendation and authority of abbé Sieyès, who had been a member of the commission for framing the constitution, be-

came the *fulcrum*, as it were, of a new revolution. A majority of the commission of inspectors, agreeably to what had been agreed on, on the pretext of jacobin conspiracies ready to burst forth in Paris (an alarm for which, according to some writers, there was not a little foundation), sent letters of convocation to the members of the council of elders, with the exception of such as were distinguished by an excess of jacobinical ardour, and at eight o'clock in the morning of the ninth of November, the members, to whom letters had been sent, at five, assembled at their usual place of meeting. The greatest number, ignorant of the cause of this unusual convocation, were informed, by those in the secret, of a conspiracy that was brewing, and, advised the adoption of whatever effectual measures should be proposed for averting the danger. As soon as the assembly was formed, Carnot, one of the inspectors, having ascended the tribune, represented the dangers which threatened the country, and expatiated on the necessity of speedy and effective measures for its deliverance. He was followed in the same, but in a more animated and alarming strain by Regnier, who, in conclusion, declared, that the remedy which had been prepared, was, to transport the legislative body to a commune near Paris, where they might deliberate safely on the measures necessary for the salvation of the country. He assured the council, at the same time, that Buonaparte was ready to undertake the execu-

cient in the knowledge of men and business. This is the same Roederer that is noticed in our volume for 1792, on the occasion of the king throwing himself into the arms of the constituent assembly. See volume XXXIV. of this work.—History of Europe, page 42.

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tion, of whatever decree he might be charged with. Regnier, therefore moved, that the council should be referred to St. Cloud. The discussion of other motions, made by different members, was overvoted, and Regnier's carried by a great majority. It was farther moved and agreed to, that this translation should take place on the following day; that Buonaparte should be charged with the execution of the decree, and to take the necessary measures for the security of the national representation; that, for this end, he should be invested with the general command of every kind of armed force at Paris; that he should be called into the council to take the requisite oaths; and, finally, that a message, containing the resolution of the council, should be sent to the directory, and to the council of five hundred. An address was also voted to the French people, stating the right possessed by the council of elders to remove the legislative body to St. Cloud, and also the motives which had induced them to use this privilege in the present circumstances. Their general object, they alleged, was, to repress a spirit of insubordination, faction, and endless commotion, and to obtain a speedy peace both within and without the territories of the republic. This address had the desired effect. The Parisians, desirous of peace; confident in Buonaparte, and breathing incessantly after something new, waited calmly for the developement and catastrophe of the piece now to be acted. Buonaparte, thus invested with irresistible military power, obeyed the welcome summons, and appeared in the hall of the assembly, accompanied by Berthier, Lefebvre,

Macdonald, and other general officers. He pronounced a short speech at the bar, and swore that he would execute the decree of the council in his own name, and that of his companions in arms. "Woe be to those, he said, who wish for commotion and disorder. Assisted by my brave companions I will put a stop to them. Examples are not to be looked for in past times. Nothing in history resembles the close of the eighteenth century: nor is any thing in the close of the eighteenth century like the present moment. We want a republic founded on civil liberty; or a national representation. We shall have it. I swear we shall." The message of the elders being read at the bar of the council of five hundred, the deputies, who were not in the secret, or who were of the democratical party, were struck with astonishment, but kept silence. All deliberation was suspended, and the house adjourned till next day, at twelve o'clock. On going out of the hall, some of the members cried *vive la republique*. Others who began to entertain some vague suspicions of what was intended, added, *vive la constitution!*—Meanwhile, the walls of Paris were covered with proclamations prepared for the occasion. In one of these Buonaparte acquainted the national guard with the measures that had been taken by the council of elders. In another he informed the soldiers of the command which had been conferred on him, inviting them to second him with their accustomed courage and firmness, promising them that liberty, victory, and peace, and to restore the republic to the rank which two years ago

it had held in Europe, and which incapacity and treason had brought to the verge of destruction. To the officers of the national sedentary guard, at Paris, he declared, in a third, that a new order of things was on the point of being settled, that the council of elders was going to save the state, and that whoever should oppose their design, should perish by the bayonet of the soldier. At the same time care was taken that these proclamations should be supported by a due military force. But still every attempt was made to colour the enterprise as much as possible, not only with patriotic professions but legal appearances. For this end, a pamphlet, on the same day, November 9, was distributed at the doors of the two councils, and throughout all Paris, entitled "A Dialogue between a Member of the Council of Elders, and a Member of the Council of Five Hundred." The former endeavours to overcome the objections, and to allay the fears of the latter, respecting the translations of the councils, by observing that it was a constitutional measure; that in the present circumstances, it was necessary to the freedom of deliberation and debate; that, as to insuring the execution of this measure, by an armed force, this also must be considered as a thing constitutional, or clearly within the powers of the council of elders, who, if they would change the residence of the legislature must also be supposed to possess the means of changing it in peace and safety; that the Parisians would have no reason to complain of it, as the councils would remain at St. Cloud, only for a few days; that protection was going to be afforded to li-

berty and property, the constitution restored, the reign of terror and factious intrigue overthrown; and a basis established, on which foreign powers would treat with confidence for peace, which was the grand object of the present measure. To this reasoning the member of the council of five hundred made little objection. "But," said he, "between ourselves, my friend, I dread, in this affair, the interference of Buonaparte. His renown, his authority, the just confidence that the army place in his talents, and, above all, his talents themselves, may place in his hands the most formidable ascendancy over the destinies of the republic. What, if he should prove a Cæsar or a Cromwell? Here the elder quoted the words of Buonaparte, that "He would be a fool who should sport the glory of having contributed to the establishment of liberty and a republic against the sovereignty of Europe." He went still farther and affirmed that Buonaparte's ready acceptance of the commission which he had been called on to execute, by the elders, was a most unequivocal proof of his moderation and submission to his country. "If he had refused to accept it what would have been said of him by any man of judgement and penetration? Why nothing else, but that his refusal was the result of profound ambition. Every thing tends fast to anarchy and confusion. The republic is on the point of dissolution. Buonaparte, amidst a thousand excesses and horrors, will ask the command of the army and will obtain it. Every citizen, wearied with fruitless attempts to bring the guilty to justice, or to find an asylum for himself, will turn his eyes to the general, throw himself into his arms, and demand

demand from him vengeance, justice, and protection. In order to be invested with arbitrary power, it would then be only necessary for him to accept it."

The general, on the night between the eighth and ninth, sent a considerable force to the palace of the elders, while he himself, with a great number of staff officers, repaired to the Thuilleries, all the avenues of which were shut up from the public. A strong detachment of cavalry was stationed near the hall of the council of five hundred. These different bodies were reinforced in the morning by additional troops, and particularly by cavalry and artillery.

Of the five directors, Sieyes alone was privy all along to what was going forward. Ducos was admitted into the secret afterwards. Barras was informed of the change that had taken place early on the morning of the ninth, and invited to give in his resignation. He hesitated for some time, but at length sent in his resignation into the hands of general Buonaparte, who had come to the Thuilleries, at eleven, by Bottot, about twelve o'clock. The general, when Bottot arrived, had just gone out to harangue the officers, soldiers, and citizens, in some of the adjoining courts, and garden.—Bottot whispered to the general the object of his mission. Buonaparte with his left hand took hold of Bottot's arm, and placed him a little behind, and then began his speech to the troops, the exordium of which was "The army has cordially united with me, as I cordially act with the legislative body." Some sentences in this harangue, reflecting on the conduct of administration, were afterwards misrepresented

as addressed to Bottot, and pointed particularly against Barras. But the fact has been fully ascertained to have been otherwise. When this speech, which was followed by repeated acclamations of *vive la République! vive Buonaparte!* was finished, Buonaparte took Bottot aside and desired him to tell Barras that he was inviolably attached to him, and would protect him against the violence of his enemies.

Gohier, who did not rise from bed till late in the morning, was surprised to find on his table the decree of the council of elders for changing the residence of the legislature. He repaired to the council-room of the directory, where he met Moulins as much surprised and perplexed as himself. Their perplexity was increased when they discovered that Sieyes and Ducos, in consequence of a message from the elders, had repaired to the Thuilleries. The secretary was called to write their orders, but it was observed that two members did not form a majority. They repeatedly sent for Barras, who positively refused to join in their deliberations. As the only resource that now remained was that of military force, they sent orders to general Lefebvre, who commanded the 17th division, to surround the house of Buonaparte, with a strong party of the directorial guard. But general Lefebvre sent for answer, that he was then under the orders of Buonaparte, on whom the chief command of all the troops, in and near Paris, had been conferred, by the council of elders. And it was quickly discovered that the directorial guard had gone over to the side of the general, and had joined a large body of other troops, in the garden of the Thuilleries.

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The other principal posts in and round Paris, such as the bridges, the Luxemburg, the hall of the council of five hundred, the military school, the invalids, St. Cloud, and Versailles, were also occupied by troops under the command of Marmont, Serrurier, Lannes, Macdonald, and other generals, the companions and friends of Buonaparte. Lefebvre was his first lieutenant. While the general was engaged in close conversation with Sieyes and Ducos, on the important objects under their consideration, the translation of the legislature to St. Cloud, and the means of preserving tranquillity in the capital, he was joined by general Augereau, who, with every demonstration of cordiality, said, "General, you did not send for me, but I have come, unsought, to join you." Augereau, who was

one of the most zealous and energetic among the jacobins, had, in 1797, rendered a similar service to his own party, in controlling the national representation by an armed force, to what he now offered, for the overthrow of his colleagues and friends to Buonaparte.

Moulins, finding every thing desperate, did not wait to be arrested, but, jumping out of the window, made his escape across the garden of the Luxemburg. Gohier repaired to the Thuilleries, where, as president of the directory, he put the seal to the decree for the translation to St. Cloud. But he refused to resign the seal of state, and returned to the palace of the directory, where he was put under a guard. Sieyes and Ducos, about the same time with Barras, resigned their offices.

## C H A P. II.

*The Village of St. Cloud filled with Troops, and Spectators from Paris — The Two Councils constituted there. — Resignations of the Directorial Office. — Motion in the Council of Elders for inquiring into the Reasons for their Translation to St. Cloud. — A Debate on this Subject suspended, by a Motion for Messages to the Council of Five Hundred and the Directory, which was agreed to. — Buonaparte comes into the Hall and addresses a Speech to the Council of Elders, in which he states the Danger of the Country, and invites them to associate their Wisdom with the Force they had placed under his Command for its Salvation. — Opposition to Buonaparte, and a Change in the Constitution. — Buonaparte goes out and harangues the Soldiers and the People. — Returns, and insists on the Necessity of taking Measures for the Realization of sacred Principles that had hitherto been only chimerical. — Motion by Dalphonse for renewing the Oath of Fidelity to the Constitution. — This Motion opposed, and the Defects of the Constitution briefly stated. — The Council of Elders adjourned till nine o'Clock in the Evening. — Proceedings in the Council of Five Hundred. — Motion for a Committee for making a Report on the actual State of the Nation. — And proposing Measures for the public Interest. — Suspensions expressed of an intended Dictatorship, and Cries for maintaining the Constitution. — The actual Constitution of France distinguished from certain Republics. — Motion for renewing the Oath of Fidelity to the Constitution. — Agreed to. — And the Ceremony performed with the greatest sang froid, even by the moderate Party. — Message from the Elders. — Buonaparte appears in the Council of Five Hundred. — Uproar and Violence. — Lucian Buonaparte, together with his Robes, tries aside the Office of President. — Threatened by the adverse Party. — Carried out of the Hall by a Party of Grenadiers. — The Soldiers harangued by both the Buonapartes. — The Council of Five Hundred dispersed, and the Legislature thus dissolved by a military Force.*

**T**HE committees of inspectors, those of the five hundred, as well as of the elders, with the ex-directors Sieyes and Ducos, and other persons of consideration and influence, passed the night at the Thuilleries, to prepare measures for the sitting at St. Cloud, whither the Legislature, according to the decree,

repaired the following day, at noon. Sieyes and Ducos arrived at the same time, and retired to an apartment destined for the executive directory. Soon after, came the generals Buonaparte, Berthier, Murat, Marmont, and the whole staff. The court of the castle in which the councils were assembled, and the village



village of St. Cloud, were filled with troops and spectators from Paris. The cry of *vive Buonaparte!* was every where heard, and re-echoed both by the soldiery and people. At half an hour past two, the council of elders, formed in the chamber called the gallery, by a great majority, was opened. The resignation of Barras was received, and ordered to be sent to the council of five hundred. A motion was made by Savary to inquire into the reasons that had determined the committee of inspectors to remove the legislature from Paris to St. Cloud. This motion was seconded by Guomard, and supported by Colombel, who farther proposed that a secret committee should immediately be appointed for that purpose. Fargues, a member of the committee, vindicated its proceedings, and hinted at certain propositions, which had been made to Buonaparte, and of which we shall presently be informed from the general's own mouth. A debate on these points was superseded by a motion made by Cornudet, and carried, for suspending all business until messages should have been sent to the directory, who, by the constitution, must reside in the same commune with the legislature, and to the council of five hundred; acquainting them that the council of elders was constituted in due form.

A short time after the messages agreed on had been dispatched, a letter was received from the secretary-general Lagarde, informing the council, that four of the directors had given in their resignations, and that a fifth was under the guard of general Buonaparte; so that, as there was no longer any directory, he could not receive their message.

Lagarde's letter was transmitted to the council of five hundred. At this instant Buonaparte entered the hall, and the whole council, eager to hear him, kept profound silence: "Your solicitude," said the general, "for the salvation of your country, has called me to come before you. I will not dissemble, for I will speak always with the frankness of a soldier; you stand on a volcano, but, you may depend on our devoted attachment. I have come here with my brave companions in arms.—Crowned as they are with victory, they present to you that security which is the result of the services they have done their country. To what purpose is it to talk of Cæsar or Cromwell, and of a military government? If we are invited by your confidence, we shall know how to justify it. It is also necessary to declare to you that vigorous measures are necessary. Plots are at this moment carried on. Crimes are hatching; nor are your dangers those alone with which you are immediately threatened. The minister of police has just received the most disastrous news from La Vendée, announcing the progress of the rebels, and the reduction of several towns. Let us not be divided. Associate your wisdom to the force that surrounds me. I will be nothing but the devoted arm of the republic." A member, anxious to push the general to a declaration of the full extent of his political system, added, in a very audible tone of voice, "And of the constitution." "The constitution!" resumed Buonaparte, with vivacity: "does it become you to invoke the constitution? Have you not trodden it under your feet on the eighteenth of Fructidor, on the



twenty-second of Floreal, and the thirtieth of Prairial? The constitution! is it any thing else than a pretext, and cloak for all manner of tyranny? The time for putting a period to these disasters is now come. You have charged me to present you with the means. Had I harboured personal designs, or views of usurpation, I should not have waited till this day, in order to realise them. Before my departure, and since my return, I have been solicited by the heads of different parties to take possession of the public authority. Barras and Moulins proposed to me to seize the government. I could make discoveries which would instantly confound the greater part of my calumniators. All the rights of the people have been atrociously violated; and still under the mask of a regard for the constitution. It is for your wisdom and firmness to re-establish those sacred rights, and to use means for saving the country."

Cornudet, a member of the committee of inspection, stated, that from what had already been said, respecting conspirators and conspiracies, no doubt could be entertained of the reality of their existence, and that he himself had taken an active part in the measures of public safety which were proposed, from the intimate knowledge he had of the criminal overtures which had been made to Buonaparte, and of the projects connected with them.

Buonaparte, while Cornudet was speaking, heated by the unexpected opposition he had met with in the council of elders, went out of the hall, and going from one place to another, harangued the soldiers and the people; "Turn," said he,

"your bayonets against me, whenever you find me an enemy to liberty."

Fargues recommended, as an answer to all calumnies and suspicions, that the speech which had just been made by the general, should be published. Laussat gave it as his opinion that all discoveries should be made, not in a secret committee, but in the most public manner. "And I too," said Cornudet, "am of this opinion, since it has become necessary. But let it be recollected that the measures to be taken for the public safety are not to be taken by us only, or without their being seconded by the council of five hundred: and the more especially, that in a question which involves the general safety, the whole French people are entitled to a share in the magistracy."

Buonaparte, having returned to the hall of the elders, declared, that if it should be thought necessary to name the conspirators, he was ready to name them. Several members recommended a secret committee.—No! no! said others, let the general have a public hearing. Buonaparte then said, "It is time to speak out; and I have no designs that I wish to keep secret. I am not the instrument of any faction, I am the servant of the French people. The constitution, too often violated, is utterly inadequate to the salvation of the people. It is indispensably necessary to have recourse to means fitted to carry into execution the sacred principles of the sovereignty of the people, civil liberty, freedom of speech, as of thought; and, in a word, the realization of ideas hitherto only chimerical." The general consoled wives and mothers with the assurance

rance that victory and peace would soon restore to their embraces their husbands and their children.

Courtois declared that there were, at that instant, commotions in Paris, and that emissaries had been sent on purpose to excite them.

Dalphonse did not deny the existence of public dangers. The constitution, at different times, had suffered violation. But I must declare at this moment, to the French nation, whatever be my fate, that my intentions have always been pure and simple. The remedy for the existing evils will, no doubt, consist in the wise measures that shall be taken by the legislative bodies; but there is no remedy without the constitution. A new directory may be chosen, such as is worthy of France. But I protest against any that may be resorted to, to the detriment of the constitution. I demand that an oath may be taken for the maintenance of the constitution. The constitution, said Cornudet, I respect, if by this be understood the sovereignty and the sacred rights of the people. But, can that monstrous power be suffered to exist, which, on the eighteenth of Fructidor, destroyed the national representation, and was daring enough, by its own authority, to form a legislature? Is this a conservative power? this that makes continual additions to the weight of that yoke which is already too heavy and hard to be borne by the French people? Away, away with those abstractions that have ruined us! Return to the dictates of reason and sound sense. Learn wisdom from your own experience. Frame an executive government, that shall have power to protect

the people, without the power of oppressing them. I demand that the proposition of Dalphonse be taken now into consideration, and put to the vote. I demand also, that a message be sent to the council of five hundred, to inform them of the discoveries made by Buonaparte.—But it was observed by Fargues that Buonaparte himself had gone to the council of five hundred, carrying with him dispositions of peace and public safety. Would you believe it, he continued, he has been aimed at by daggers, pointed against him by Arena, whose malpractices in Italy had been detected by the general, and who had a mind, by his blood, to deface the knowledge and remembrance of his own crimes. At this instant some attempt is in agitation. The faction prepare to strike some blow. The general calls on you to unite with him more pressing than ever. I demand a committee of the whole house.

Lemercier, the president of the council said, "It is I, it is on my motion, that an altar is now raised to our country. I am for the abolition of the incoherent charter, the tyrannical code of 1793. But I am far from thinking that we ought to confine ourselves to some decrees of regulation. The constitution is founded on the sovereignty of the people, the division of powers, and the freedom of discussion. While these principles are held sacred, is not respect shewn to the constitution?"

At four o'clock the council was resolved into a committee. At five it adjourned till nine the same evening. Let us now follow Buonaparte to the council of five hundred, sitting in the Orangery, which

opened on the garden, and where he had to encounter an opposition of a far more serious nature than what he had met with in the council of elders.

The process-verbal of their preceding meeting being read,

Gaudin, having briefly represented the dangers which threatened the country, from a rapid return to the principles of monarchy on the one hand, and the fury of demagogues on the other, moved that a committee of seven members should be chosen, who should make a report on the actual state of the nation, and propose, at the same time, such measures as they should think necessary for the public interest. These motions were seconded by several voices. But forthwith a very general cry was heard of the constitution! the constitution! the constitution or death! No dictatorship! down with the dictators. We are not afraid of bayonets here, we are free.

Lucian Bonaparte, the president said, "I am too sensible of the dignity of my office longer to suffer the violent menaces of some speakers. I call them to order."

Grand Maison. Representatives, France will doubtless behold with astonishment the council of five hundred, in consequence of a constitutional decree of the elders, assembled in this place without being made acquainted with the imminent danger with which we are no doubt threatened. A committee has been moved for to inquire what is proper to be done. It would be better to inquire into what has been done. I demand to know the reasons of that decree which brought us here. What are the great dangers that menace the

constitution? I say the constitution. For as to a republic, which all the world may have in their mouths, the question is, what sort of a republic is understood? Is it such a republic as that of Venice? or of the United States? Is it pretended that a republic and liberty exist in England? Certes, it is not in order to live under such a government that we have, for the space of ten years, lavished our fortunes, and made all manner of sacrifices. I demand that all the members of this council be called on immediately to renew their oath of fidelity to the constitution. I demand also that a message be sent to the council of ancients requesting that they would send us a detailed account of the vast conspiracy that was on the point of overturning the republic. Both these motions were seconded by a number of voices, and with the cries of *vive la Republic! vive la Constitution!* The message proposed to the elders was agreed to. The motion for renewing the fidelity was also agreed to. This ceremony, which took up two hours, was performed by the moderate party, though they were all of them by this time more or less acquainted with the real object of their translation to St. Cloud, with the greatest *sang froid*, as well as by the Jacobins. When the swearing was over, the secretary read a letter from Bergoeng, a member of that house, resigning his function of a representative of the people. Two messages from the elders informed the council of five hundred of their being constituted, and of their suspending their deliberations till similar information should be received, by the elders, from the council of five hundred. A motion was next made

made and adopted for an address to the French people, informing them of the translation of the councils to St. Cloud. A motion was also made for sending a message, with intelligence of the councils being constituted, to the directory. On this, it was observed by Darraque, "that it would be very proper to send such a message, as was proposed, to the directory, provided they knew where to find them; for his part, he did not know, if a directory existed: whither was the message to be directed? It was ridiculous to propose the sending of a message to the directory in the present circumstances." The motion, however, was agreed to. "Bertrand de Calvados considered it as a happy thing, that the members had renewed their oath of allegiance to the constitution; and proposed that mention should be made of it in the address that had been voted to the French people, to whom it would be an assurance and pledge of the maintenance of the constitution, and the existence of the national representation." A conversation respecting the manner in which this notice should be worded, was interrupted by a letter of resignation from Barras. "The glory," he said, "which accompanied the return of that illustrious warrior, to whom he had had the honour of opening the career to glory, the striking marks of confidence reposed in him by the legislative body, and the decree of the national representation convinced him, that, to whatever post the public welfare might in future call

him, the perils of liberty were surmounted, and the interests of the army secured. He expressed his joy at returning to the rank of a private citizen: happy, after so many tempests, in remitting the destinies of the republic, of which he had been one of the depositaries, entire, and more respectable than ever.\*"

The council were engaged, as a matter of course, in a conversation about the election of a successor to Barras, when the door of the hall opened, and Buonaparte advanced, uncovered, followed by four grenadiers of the guard belonging to the national representation, without arms. A number of other soldiers, with some general officers, remained at the door. The whole assembly was instantly in an uproar: "Who is that? Who is that? Sabres here? Armed men? Outlaw! Outlaw! Down with the dictator!" A great number of members darted from their seats into the middle of the hall, and, seizing the general by the collar, began to shake him, and push him toward the door. A dagger aimed at his breast by Arena, a Corsican, or, as others affirm, by some one else, was parried by one of the grenadiers, called Thomé, who accompanied him, and who was slightly wounded by it in the arm. On this, general Lefebvre, at the head of a party of grenadiers, rushed into the hall, with the cry of "live the general," and carried him out. The assembly remained for a long time in the greatest agitation. Some officers and soldiers who remained in the hall were bitterly reproached by several mem-

\* Barras retired peaceably to the country, escorted by a detachment of cavalry, which the general sent him, for his personal protection. It is not to be doubted that Buonaparte, as he declared to Bortot, had, at bottom, a kindness for Barras, although, in the impetuosity of passion, and on a most critical occasion, he was hurried on to mention his name in the manner we have seen in the council of elders.

bers for their conduct. The president, Lucian Buonaparte, having, at last, after many efforts obtained a hearing, "admitted that the commotion that had taken place was natural, and that the feelings of the house, on the occasion of what had just passed, were in unison with his own. But, after all, it was natural to suppose, that the general, in the step he had taken, had no other object in view, than to give an account of the state of affairs, or to communicate something or other interesting to the public; at any rate, he did not think that any member of that assembly should entertain any suspicions."—Here one member cried out, "Buonaparte has this day sullied his glory: another, Buonaparte has conducted himself like a king: a third, I demand that general Buonaparte be called to our bar to give an account of his conduct." Lucian Buonaparte now quitted the chair, which was taken by Chazal.

"Degresse allowed that the council of ancients, in changing the residence of the legislature, had not exceeded their powers; but he demanded that they should be called on to declare who were the heads and the agents of the conspiracy, forasmuch as it was necessary to avert the dangers with which they were threatened. Above all, it was necessary to provide for their own safety; and for this end to ascertain, in the first place, the bounds to which their jurisdiction, in matters of police, extended."—These motions were seconded by a great number of voices.

"Bertrand de Calvados observed, that, when the council of ancients gave orders for the translation of the legislature to that commune,

they had exercised only a constitutional privilege; but that, in the nomination of a commander-in-chief, they had used an authority to which they had no legal pretensions. He moved that they should forthwith decree, that Buonaparte was not the general of the troops composing their guard." This motion was also supported by a great number of voices.

"Talot conjured the council to recollect the stations in which they were placed, to be united and vigilant for the public safety. He was persuaded that the council of ancients, in adopting so extraordinary and hasty a measure, did not intend that they should carry on their deliberations in a prison, and at the point of bayonets. What? the representatives of the French people in a village surrounded by a military force, and this not at their disposal? Not that I fear the soldiers. They have fought for liberty; they are our relations, our children. We have ourselves carried arms in the same cause. I cannot dread the republican soldier whose relations have honoured me with their suffrages, and appointed me their representative in the national assembly; but this I declare, that yesterday the constitution suffered violence. The council of ancients had no right to appoint a general; Buonaparte had no right to penetrate into our quarter without orders, that is the truth; as for you, you cannot long give your free votes in your present position. You ought to return to Paris. Return thither clothed as you are in your official robes. The citizens and soldiers, assuming in an instant a military attitude, will declare themselves the defenders of their country. I demand an immediate decree,

decree, that the troops now, in this commune, form a part of your guard; and that a message be sent to the council of elders, inviting them to make a decree for sending back the councils to Paris." This motion was supported by a very general acclamation. Crochon having, with much difficulty obtained a hearing, "declared himself against so precipitate a measure as that just proposed. The decree of the elders, appointing Buonaparte to the command of the troops, he maintained, was not an unconstitutional act; as it decreed the translation of the councils, it was necessary to appoint a general for carrying their decree into execution." The motion for a message, of the above purport to the elders, was agreed to, and, after a very warm debate, the question for declaring the troops at St. Cloud a part of the legislative guard was going to be put, when "Lucian Buonaparte demanded, that, before taking such a measure, they should call the general." A number of members cried out, "We do not acknowledge him to be the general."—"I will not insist," said the president, "any farther. When tranquillity shall be restored to this house, you will, when the passions are silent, do every one justice."—The agitation and noise being still continued, he put off his robe, and laid it on the table, declaring that he thus laid aside the office of their president. A number of the members called loudly to Lucian Buonaparte to resume his robes and office, and several coming up to him in the midst of the hall, presented pistols to him, as if to force him to do it. In the midst of this uproar, a party of grenadiers, under the command of an officer, was

sent into the hall, by the general, for the rescue of his brother. The soldiers surrounding him, conducted him safely out of the hall, and placed him in the midst of their own ranks, in the court of the palace.

General Buonaparte, on his return from the council of five hundred, had harangued the soldiers, informing them of the danger he had escaped, and that he, whom the combined kings of Europe had not been able to reach with their armies, was at this moment threatened with outlawry, by factious assassins. The soldiers listened to him with attention, and manifested a disposition to stand by him, and serve him. This disposition was fortified, and, in some measure legalized, by the presence of the president, who, mounted on horseback, rode from one regiment to another, speaking to them in favour of his brother. He told them, in a very animated manner, and tone of voice, that a great majority of the council, at the moment he was speaking, was under terror, from a handful of members armed with poniards, who were besieging the tribune, and threatening their colleagues with death: that these ruffians had put themselves in a state of rebellion against the council of elders, and had dared to threaten the general, who was ordered to carry their decree, for translating the councils to St. Cloud, into execution. But, it was those furious men themselves, he observed, who had, in fact, put themselves out of the law by their attempts against the liberty of the council. He confided, to the warriors whom he addressed, the deliverance of the majority of their representatives from the oppression they were under, in order that they might



might deliberate peaceably on the destiny of the republic. "General, and you soldiers," said he, raising his voice, "you will not acknowledge, as legislators of France, any others than such as shall rally around me; as for those who remain in the Orangery, let force expel them. Those ruffians are no longer the representatives of the people, but the representatives of the poniard." He concluded his harangue with the popular cry of *vive la republique*, which was echoed by the soldiers and all the spectators.

The general, animated by this alacrity, excited by the sanction of the president, ordered a corps of grenadiers to march forward, and he was instantly obeyed. At the sound of the drums beating the *pas-de-charge*,\* the spectators rushed out by the doors and windows. The deputies rose up, crying, some of them, *vive la republique!* others, *vive la constitution!* The soldiers entered the hall, with fixed bayonets as ordered, and halted. A chief of bri-

gade of cavalry laid aloud, "Citizens, representatives, there is no longer any safety in this place; I invite you to withdraw." This invitation was answered by a general cry of *vive la republique!* On which the officer who commanded the grenadiers, mounting the tribune, exclaimed, "Representatives withdraw: it is the orders of the general." Still the deputies kept their seats: the tumult waxed greater and greater; and some of the members began to address the soldiers: when another officer called out, "Grenadiers, forward." The drums beat to the charge, and the grenadiers advanced from the door to the middle of the hall, which was now cleared, amidst the noise of drums. The deputies, as they went out, cried, *vive la republique!* The greater part of them returned immediately to Paris: others remained to observe the movements of the troops in the court of the castle, and to see the upshot of this day's proceedings, at St. Cloud.

\* An attack with fixed bayonets, and without firing.

## C H A P. III.

*Acts of what passed in the Council of Five Hundred on the Deliberations and Measures of the Council of Elders.—Meeting of the moderate Party in the late Council of Five Hundred.—Speech of Lucian Buonaparte on the critical State of the Nation.—A Committee of Five appointed to report on the Measures proper to be adopted in the present Crisis.—The Council addressed by the Chairman of the Committee, by Boulay de la Meurthe, and again by Lucian Buonaparte.—The Council adjourned, and the Session terminated.—Reflections.*

It has already been mentioned that the council of elders, before its adjournment from five to nine o'clock in the evening, had resolved itself into a committee of the whole house. Their deliberations on the present juncture of affairs, were interrupted by the beating of drums, and shouts from the court of the palace, and at the same time by the arrival of deputies from the Orangery, announcing the outrage committed on the national representation, and the dissolution of the council of five hundred, by military force. The president of the council, Le Mercier, said, that assassins, armed with poniards, were not worthy of the name of representatives. Another of the deputies began to reply, but the council determined to hear none but those of their own body. The struggle between Buonaparte and the council of five hundred being terminated in the manner we have seen, a commission of five elders brought forward their report of the measures proper to be adopted in the present

moment. It stated, that the council of elders had become the organ of the nation, and, from what had just passed, the whole of the national representation; that it was their duty, since it was in their power, to provide means for the safety of the country, and for liberty; that the executive power existed no longer, since military power was nothing more than the organ of the executive power, essentially civil. In consideration of these, and this farther circumstance, that four members of the directory had given in their demission, and that the other was under an arrest, the five elders proposed, that an executive provisional commission, composed of three members, should be appointed; that the legislative body should be adjourned to the twenty-first of December; that an intermediary commission, for preserving the rights of the national representation, should be formed, which should have the power of convoking the legislative body sooner, if it thought proper; and that the assembly



bly should be adjourned till nine in the evening, as above stated, when the present measures should be taken into consideration.—These propositions, after some little debate, were agreed to; and being adopted, by whatever could be collected, on the spot, of the council of five hundred, a kind of *rump*\* parliament formed the basis of a provisional arrangement, to take place of the legislature and government now dissolved, until a new constitution should be established. Though the council of elders declared themselves to be the whole of the national representation, and competent of themselves to take measures suitable to the occasion, they judged it proper to sanction their proceedings, as much as possible, by every appearance of legal formality. For this purpose, it was concerted with their friends in the other council, that as many of the council of five hundred as had remained at St. Cloud, who were all of them of the moderate party, should assemble together in the evening, and resume their deliberations. These members accordingly returned to the Orangery between the hours of six and seven, the time appointed by the elders, and the council was opened under the presidency of Lucian Buonaparte.

A deputy of the name of Barringer opened the council, with a review of the events of the day, and after bestowing the highest praise on the conduct of the troops, the prudence of the officers, and the wisdom of the general, moved, that “the commander-in-chief, Buonaparte, the generals Lefebvre, Berthier, Mural, Serrurier, Leclerc,

Bournonville, Money, St. Remi, Andréossi, Solignac, admiral Bruix, Louis Buonaparte, chief of a squadron, Eugene Beauharnois, aid-de-camp, with other officers mentioned by name, the soldiers of the guard, the soldiers of the line, the grenadiers, who, with their bodies, had formed a shield for Buonaparte, had deserved well of their country, by saving a majority of the legislative body and the republic, attacked by a minority, consisting of assassins.” This motion was agreed to, and a correspondent resolution was passed unanimously. After this, a plan, or project, as it was called, for an intermediary government, was presented by Chazal, and was submitted to the consideration of a special commission of five members, who were to make a report during the sitting. While this report was in a state of preparation, Lucian Buonaparte, descending from the president’s chair to the tribune, addressed the council as follows:—“Representatives of the people, the republic ill governed, distracted in every respect, weakened by the destruction of its finances, is falling on all sides; without confidence or resources, without strength or union in the government; incertitude and intestine war every where reviving; no assurance to foreign powers, and, besides, no hopes of peace.

“The hearts of all good citizens feel the evil; every one wishes for the remedy. The wisdom of the council of elders is awakened; but their attention still fixed on the late attempts of an execrable faction, they have transferred the sittings of the legislative body out of Paris.

\* The *king* parliament of England, under the reign of Oliver Cromwell, was so called, after it was purged by Colonel Pride.

"It is we who ought to begin the work, we who ought to propose remedies against that general dissolution which threatens us. The people and the army regards us. Shall we fear to heal the wound? Shall we, by a degree of base cowardice, change the public spirit into indignation?"

"Dragged onward by the torrent of opinion, a few members of the directory have laid down their authority, others have imitated them, persuaded that the cause of all our misfortunes is in the bad organization of the politic system. There is no longer an executive directory; experience, like reason, proves that the present organization of the constitution is as vicious as its basis is august. This incoherent organization renders political convulsions necessary every year, and it is only to prevent the repetition of political convulsions that the people form constitutions.

"The whole national sentiment attributes all the misfortunes of the country to our vices. Placed in our present position, protected from factions, we have no excuse if we do not act right; if we forget that the safety of the people is the supreme law; if we do not render a prompt support to the edifice which is crumbling to dust, we shall deserve the just execration of the present and all futures ages,

"There are constitutional principles existing; but there no longer exists a constitutional organization, for that which did exist was daily violated by parties. But the best informed and most impatient people, on earth, are not to be imposed upon. Do you think they are not sensible that this organization is no assurance for their rights, so long

promised, and of which so many hands have obliterated its scarce finished pages; and that it is only an offensive or defensive weapon in the hands of the factions, who by turns prevail? If it is true, that none of our rights are guaranteed by it, ought we to delay modifying it? If we do delay, shall we not have reason to expect that the promoters of the dangers of the country will revive their attempts the first opportunity that offers?"

"Such is the question which I address to each of my colleagues. Let us meditate and determine upon the principles of that liberty, which actuates our souls as to the situation of the country. This ancient palace of kings, where we are now sitting, on this solemn night, attests that power is nothing, and that glory is every thing. If we are now unworthy to be reckoned the first nation on earth; if from unanimous considerations we do not alter the situation in which we are placed; if we deceive our hopes, we shall from this day lose our glory, and we cannot long preserve our power; when the measure of the evil is completed, and the indignation of the people reaches us.

"I have flattered myself, representatives of the people, that I might hold this language. On your deliberations depend the public property and peace. You ought to forget all factious connections, and to think only of the happiness of the French nation, with which you are entrusted. I read, in your profound meditations, the ideas I have just uttered. I demand that there be appointed a special committee of nine members, charged to lay before you its opinion as to your present

sent situation and the means of ameliorating it.

"This morning assassins, clothed with the robe of office, made these roofs resound with the exclamations of rage and the accents of fury. Your courage and that of the soldiers of the country have arrested them; but let us finish depicting to the astonished world the hideous physiognomy of these children of terror. What has been said on this night (the nineteenth Brumaire, tenth of November) in the midst of this hall will be repeated to after ages.

"While your committee is employed in devising measures of public safety, permit me for the last time to allude to those who have vowed its destruction.

"They incessantly talk of attempts against the constitution, and of violated oaths. Those very men, who, when the idea of giving peace and happiness to the people of France was agitated, affected so many political scruples. What did they say, what did they do a few months ago? Had they then forgot their oaths, when conspiring in obscurity, and assembling all the elements of revolution, they struck discord and dismay into the bosom of their country, and devoted every honourable man to proscription? Did they think that we had forgotten, that France had forgotten, those days of sorrow and woe, when terror hung dark and dismal on the black horizon? Did they think that we had forgotten their projects of new conventions, new revolutionary committees, new carnage and devastation? What did they then think of their present oaths? Speak! The people of France listen. But since they dare to disguise themselves under the mask of virtue, I

will tear it from them, and present to astonished, affrightened, France, their hideous blood-stained countenances, livid with imagined horrors, writhing in the very contrivance of the miseries which our courage has prevented.

"They speak of virtue, of the constitution, of oaths! Let them answer. I dare them to the test. Where were their oaths, when in the caverns of the manage, forgetting their character as representatives of the people, they mingled with cut-throats and murderers, to point the dagger against our breasts? Where was their reverence, their professed respect, even for the constitution, when, in the midst of their bravos and assassins, they exclaimed that the people of France must save themselves, and that our lives no longer belonged to the nation? —Audacious conspirators; they prompted insurrection, and now! the vile cameleons, they invoke the sanctity of that constitutional charter, on which they had already impressed their blood-stained hands, and set their seal of destruction!!!

"They hoped again to let loose the torrent of their odious domination, and then they thought the constitution but a feeble barrier to oppose their progress; but, on the other hand, when it was proposed to give peace to France, the constitution forsooth, was an invincible obstacle! Thus, ever changing their disguise, the national character still remained the same. It was the hideous assemblage of guilt, of meanness, and of tyranny.

"But this day must unmask them entire and for ever. We have been silent respecting their parricidal conspiracies, because we thought they would prefer being the

the object of our generosity to being the victims of our justice. Yet they, men vile as they, mistake generosity for weakness, and now we must cease to be generous.

"They speak incessantly of the people and for the people. Yes, then, if such is the appeal, I address myself to the people, spread over the immense track of the republic. Let them gather round in majestic presence—let them hear and judge.

"Since the constitution was first established, demagogues have never ceased to conspire against it, in order to substitute their code of the year 3. For four months past they have thought that the moment of bloodshed was at hand; they conspired night and day, and doubtless, in favour of the people! for they wished to restore the inestimable blessings of the *maximum* of famine, of revolutionary tribunals, and so many other laws which they called the common good. For a moment the country was exposed to foreign enemies, and, as if they had waited that signal, they darted like a vulture on its carcase! They thought their projects realized.

Did these senators, now so full of respect, so full of love, so full of zeal for the constitution, shew in these critical days the same sentiments? Did they then talk of rallying round the constitution, when the band of assassins, collected by their order round our halls, prepared the prelude of our murder, by overwhelming us with insults?—The fierce unrelenting yells of their *friends* and *brothers* cried for our blood, and when with one hand they presented to us the deadly poniard, with the other was offered the leaden sceptre: They, these men who now talk for the

constitution, observed—listened—prompted—those savage murderers in the shape of men; those frightful suries in the shape of women, smiled complacently to *their* smiles. The constitutionalists of to-day paraded their ranks calm and undisturbed, or rather with the triumphant air of the conqueror who enjoys the shouts of public festivity and mirth. They shewed the badges of their dignity to those infernal groupes, and they were hailed by the title of faithful representatives. Yes, they were faithful to murder and confiscation; and now they talk of principles, but they have forfeited all title to such an appeal, they are condemned to silence and to execration. The moment of indulgence and of weakness is past, and men of worth have felt that even civil war would be less disastrous than the infamy of their yoke.

"But you, fathers of your country, you who are desirous of giving to France happiness and peace, you are at length separated from those wicked men who must be no less terrified at the smallness of their own number, than at the multitude of their crimes. Their odious gang is exhibited to public observation, to the animadversion of the army, to the horror of mankind, to universal infamy.

"The eyes of France, of the armies, of Europe, of the world, are upon us. If we should shew ourselves feeble to-day, we are the basest of the human race. For my own part, I should have blushed any longer to have worn the toga, when, in this assembly, the clamours and the daggers of a few factious individuals, silenced the voice of thirty millions of men. I should blush to have

have resumed it if, delivered from the yoke of sanguinary demagogues, you could, in this decisive sitting, shrink from the task of securing the public weal, and the salvation of the country."

Other members made some observations of the same tendency with the speech of the president; and the president himself, anxious to keep up the same tone, joined in the conversation, for there was no debate, till the report was brought up from the committee: when the chairman of the committee, Cabanis, addressed the council in a speech, the spirit of which will sufficiently appear from its exordium and conclusion. "The time of management," he said, "little expedients, and half-measures were past. The committee would disclose to the council the naked truth, without disguise. It was commissioned for the purpose of proposing effective measures. It had trodden every timid sentiment under foot, and boldly declared what alone, in their judgment was fitted to secure liberty, consolidate the republic, and to make the people happy in the enjoyment of those blessings that belonged to them." After a copious developement and illustration of these ideas, he concluded with the following recapitulation. "It is impossible but the constitution of the year 3 must involve the ruin of liberty, and that very speedily; or that our actual situation should not be quickly followed by the dissolution of the French nation. It is, therefore, indispensably necessary that this constitution should undergo alterations. But these alterations cannot be made, nor a reorganization of the state effected otherwise than by means of a provisional go-

vernment: and that which your committee proposes appears to me, not only the best, but the only one possible to be adopted in the present circumstances." Cabanis was followed by

Boulay de la Meurthe, who did not hesitate to declare, that, in order to bring about the change recommended, the revolution which had just taken place, had been for some time concerted. It was intended, however, to have been effected only by moral and constitutional means; the same means by which it had, in fact, been accomplished in the council of elders. But the fury and madness of a violent faction in the council of five hundred, which had been their torment for a long time, had obstructed the progress of moral and constitutional influence, in their assembly. This faction had set its face against all deliberations and free discussion, and by its tyrannical proceedings forced the well-intentioned members, which formed a majority, to quit the place of their meeting. The council of the real representatives of the people had, by their violence, been dissolved and converted into an unconstitutional, and seditious mob; and the French legislature and nation must have fallen into all the horrors of civil war, if it had not been for the firmness and foresight of him whom the law had vested with a power of maintaining order in the present great movement. Disembarrassed, as they now were, from violence and tyranny, they might reflect calmly on the measures proper to be taken for saving the sinking republic. That peace should not have been made before the establishment of a constitutional government, was not to be wondered

wondered at. The domination of a few men, successively overthrown by others, presented no stability of principles and views, no guarantee for the state, any more than protection and security for individuals. The constitution of the 3d year, from which, at first glance, more might have been expected, had not been attended with more stability and security; nay, perhaps, even with less. True it was, they had made some partial treaties; they had agreed to a peace on the continent, and, in order to consolidate it, sent deputies to a general congress. But those treaties, those diplomatical conferences, seemed only to have given birth to a new war, more ferocious and sanguinary than ever. This has been ascribed to the bad faith of our enemies, the private passions and false views of certain individuals, who had made a bad use of their power and influence in the republic. But were these the only, or even the principal, causes? This he thought there was reason to doubt. Was not the renewal of the war rather to be ascribed to the want of sound and truly republican principles in the conduct of France, towards foreign nations? Was not the French sufficiently great, powerful, and victorious, to say to other nations—These are my just rights: I have proved that it is not in your power to ravish them from me; that, in the present contest, the risks incurred are greater on your side than ours; and thus that ye have as great an interest in peace, as we have. If, on the one hand, the French nation does not possess sufficient strength for holding such language: is it not sufficiently enlightened, on the other, on the sab-

ject of its true interests, to say—I confine myself to the just rights which I hold of nature and my own courage: respect mine, and I will respect yours. Let us both submit to the empire of that natural law which ought to be a bond of union among all nations; and let us not pretend to any other influence than that superiority which is the natural result of wisdom and industry. Before the eighteenth of Fructidor, (fourth of September,) of the year 5, the French government presented to its sovereign relations nothing but a precarious existence, and there was not any power that would treat with it. After the great event of that day, the whole power being concentrated in the hands of the directory, the legislative body was, in a manner, defunct. Treaties of peace were violated, and war was every where waged, without their having any participation either in its origin or conduct. The same directory, after alarming all Europe, and destroying a number of governments at pleasure, was found incapable of making either war, or peace, or of establishing itself. It was accordingly dissolved by a breath on the thirtieth of Prairial, (eighteenth of June,) to make way for other men, who might have other views, or fall before an opposite influence. Thus it was evident that the government had no fixed principles that could give personal security, or guarantee any established order of affairs. A flood-gate was opened to individual wills and particular passions, to the ephemeral and successive triumphs of particular passions. If, for want of a fixed and permanent system of foreign policy, it was difficult to make any sure treaty of peace, what security



curity had the people for domestic happiness? It was notorious, that personal security might be easily compromised, and that the greater part of property was in a state of insecurity; that all bargains, commerce, and useful arts, were in a state of stagnation, that there was no longer any confidence between man and man; that the people were vexed and tormented in every way that was possible; that their misery was so great, and their oppression so complete, that they durst scarcely to complain, and that those who saw the causes of those evils, had not courage either to make them known, or to point out the remedies. What was the principal cause of this deficiency of civil liberty and domestic happiness? The imperfections and vices of their social organization. As government was instituted only for the good of the governed, and that public liberty was nothing else than the means of securing individual liberty, it was evident that if this last had no existence; if the mass of the governed resigned themselves to their fate, in silent submission and passive obedience, it was because there was no effectual mode of obtaining justice; because the developement of the political powers was imperfect and vicious.

From the continued violations of the constitutional law, respecting the exercise of the sovereignty of the people, either by the undue influence of the executive government, or that of factions eager to convert its power to their own use, the orator passed on to that want of harmony which had been visible among the public functionaries, whose respective authorities were without any line of demarcation,

without any legal and co-ercive means of preventing their mutual invasions on public liberty, or the respective faculties which had been delegated to them by the constitutional charter. The line of demarcation between the legislative and executive powers, should have been clearly marked. There was no provision that could prevent the legislative body from trespassing on those limits, if such were its intention. This last body, possessing the exclusive right of interpreting the constitution, became the only competent judge between itself and the other powers, and had the only right of calling them to account. The independency of the respective powers was, therefore, either not reciprocal, or not sufficiently guaranteed. As to government, when the different ideas annexed to that word are considered, it will be found to be all uncertainty, embarrassment, and contradiction: if taken in the most extensive sense of the word, as embracing both the legislative and executive powers, these two authorities, so far from going hand in hand together, were almost always in constant opposition, presenting the spectacle of two furious enemies, continually aiming at each other's ruin. With regard to the executive government, the administrators were continually in a state of mutation, according to the will of the party alternately predominant, and continually occupied, not about the good of the people, but how to consolidate their triumph over their adversaries. In fine, is there a single part of the public service which is organized, or that proceeds in a regular and invariable movement? No! every thing is in confusion; and all our efforts

efforts to get out of it only serve to plunge us deeper and deeper in the jarring chaos. Is it surprising, then, that neither public nor private liberty has yet existed in France; that all command, and none obey; and that there is nothing but the mere phantom of a government?

But if the source of all our calamities be the faulty constitution of our government, what must we do to remove them? construct a new political edifice that shall be solid and durable. The basis, or general principles of the constitution were good. They were the principles of every republican government: the sovereignty of the people; the unity of the republic; an equality of rights, liberty, and the voice of the people declared by representation. But the constitutional superstructure, formed on those foundations, was essentially vicious, as experience had demonstrated. They must rise again, he said, to the sublimity of those fundamental principles, and in them only see the constitution, and their obligation to support it. To shew any anxious adherence to mere regulations, to the technical part of the constitution, would be a superstitious and fatal scrupulosity. It would tend to a dissolution of the political fabric, and be, in fact, a violation of the oath of fidelity they had taken to the republic. This salutary truth must be undauntedly brought to view and firmly contemplated. It was a truth, recognized by all enlightened and honest men; nor was it a matter that admitted of any doubt in the minds and consciences of those demagogues by whom the councils had been so long tormented. They were as sensible as they themselves

were, that the present order of affairs could not be of any longer duration. The only difference between these demagogues and themselves was, a change in the constitution should be operated by the jacobins, or by men of probity and enlightened understandings. They wished to take advantage of the present agitation, and to govern France as in 1793: whilst all present were anxious for the establishment of well-regulated liberty, a liberty productive of happiness. "We," said this orator for the committee of five, "wish liberty for all: they only for themselves. We wish to nationalize the republic, they to establish only their own party. They were eager to introduce a new cast of nobility, which would be so much the more insupportable than the old, which we have destroyed, that it would have comprehended only the most ignorant, the most immoral, and the vilest portion of the nation. If, therefore, the present state of things can no longer subsist, we must destroy it and replace it by another, which shall raise the republic out of the abyss in which it was on the point of being buried. But can this new order of affairs be definitive? no: it is impossible to frame a perfect constitution in a moment. In its creation we cannot exercise too much reflection. We must take the time, and use the precautions necessary for its establishment, and form the instruments by which this may be accomplished. We must have something provisional and intermediary; and this is, precisely, what will be presented to you in the project now to be submitted to your deliberation. It creates an executive power, composed of three



men, to be distinguished by the name of consuls, and who, by the purity of their morals, their talents, and the glory of their name, will revive public confidence, give energy and promptitude to all parts of the executive government, and by success, prepare the way for a solid and honourable peace. The two legislative bodies are adjourned, and leave two commissions for supplying their place, on any urgent occasion of police, legislation, or finance. Such are the leading principles of the project for an intermediary government now submitted to your consideration. It seemed necessary to the great end of the great political movement that has just taken place. At this crisis, representatives of the people, you will form a correct judgement of the actual position of the republic.— You will elevate your minds to the grand views of a sound and enlarged policy. There is an end of liberty if you have not courage to act a generous and magnanimous part.”

This speech, by Boulay de la Meurthe, who had so much signalized his zeal and talents, in opposition to tyranny and oppression, and who was a man not only of fine parts, but of unblemished character, and which was a kind of preamble to the new government, drew universal attention not only in France but the neighbouring nations: as it seemed not only to give a *prospectus* of the constitution to be established, but also of the spirit in which it was to be conducted: a spirit of peace, moderation, justice, and a respect for the rights of nations. It was no doubt intended to bespeak favour to the consuls, both with the French and other nations. The project being formally presented by another member of the commission, and

read over twice, was adopted and carried to the council of elders, by whom also, after some slight opposition, it was adopted and sanctioned. The project was detailed in the following articles:

Art. 1. There is no longer any executive directory, and the following persons are no longer members of the national representation, on account of the excesses and the violent attempts which they have uniformly made, and particularly the greater part of them in the sitting of this morning: [Here the names of the members, to the number of sixty-one were mentioned.]

Art. 2. The legislative body create provisionally an executive consular commission, composed of citizens Sieyes and Roger Ducos, late directors, and Buonaparte, general. They shall bear the name of Consuls of the French Republic.—Art. 3.

This commission is invested with the full powers of the directory, and especially commissioned to organize order in all parts of the administration, to re-establish internal tranquillity, and to procure an honourable and solid peace.—Art. 4.

It is authorized to send delegates, with a power limited according to its own power.—Art. 5. The legislative body is adjourned to the twentieth of February. It is to meet at that period in full power at Paris.—Art. 6.

During the adjournment of the legislative body, the members shall preserve their indemnity and their constitutional security.—Art. 7.

They may, without losing their quality as representatives of the people, be employed as ministers, diplomatic agents, delegates of the executive consular commission, and in all other civil functions. They are even invited in the name of the public good to accept

accept them.—Art. 8. Before their separation, and during the time of their sitting, each council shall name, from among their members, a committee of twenty-five members.—

Art. 9. The committees appointed by the two councils will, in conjunction with the executive consular commission, determine upon all urgent objects relative to the police, legislation, and finance.—Art. 10.

To the committee of the council of five hundred shall belong the right of proposing, and to that of the council of elders that of sanctioning.

—Art. 11. The two committees shall also, in the order above mentioned, regulate the changes in those parts of the constitution which experience may have shown to be inconvenient or vicious.—Art. 12.

These changes can have no other object but that of consolidating and guaranteeing inviolably the sovereignty of the French people, the republic one and indivisible, the representative system, the division of power, liberty, equality, and the security of property.—Art. 13. The executive consular commission may lay before the committee their views upon this subject.—Art. 14. The two committees are charged to prepare a civil code.—Art. 15. Their sittings shall be held at Paris in the palace of the legislative body, which they may convoke extraordinarily for the ratification of peace, or in case of great public danger.

—Art. 16. These resolutions shall be printed, and sent by extraordinary couriers to the departments, and solemnly published and stuck up in all communes of the republic.

As soon as the acceptance of the elders was notified, the president, Lucian Buonaparte, addressed the

council of five hundred, to the following effect—“ Representatives of the people, the liberty of France was born in the Tennis-Court of Versailles. From the immortal day of the assembly at that place to the present, it has been without efficacy tossed about, a prey to different factions, and subject to the weak- nels and convulsive maladies of infancy. It this day puts on the toga virilis. The days of its convulsions are at an end. No sooner have you seated her on the confidence and love of the French nation, peace and plenty smile and sparkle on her lips. Listen to the benedictions of this people, of her armies, long the sport of intestine factions, and let their cries of acclamation penetrate into the bottom of your souls. Hear also the sublime cry of posterity: ‘ If liberty was born in the Tennis-Court of Versailles, she attained to due strength in the Orangery of St. Cloud. If the constituents of 1789 were the fathers of the revolution, the legislators of the year 8 are the fathers and pacificators of their country.’ Already is the sublime cry re-echoed by Europe.— Every day it shall wax louder and louder, and shall by and by fill the hundred mouths of fame. You have just created a magistracy of an extraordinary and temporary nature, which may be expected to restore order and victory, the only means of peace. Next to this magistracy you have appointed two commissions to second its efforts, and the improvement of the social system, so dear to every heart. In three months your councils (who were present) are to give an account of your proceedings. They are to labour for the good of their contemporaries, and of posterity.—

[D 5]

They

They are invested with all the powers necessary for doing good. No more acts of oppression, no more lists of prescription, no more swiftness and immorality! Henceforth liberty and security of property for the French citizens: a sure guarantee for such foreign governments as are willing to make peace! And as for those who are disposed to continue the war, if they have been unable to prevail against France, in a state of disorganization, and exhausted by plunder, what can they do now?"

Thus we have seen the overthrow of four different constitutions in France in the space of ten years. The same soldier who established the constitution of 1795, by the mouth of the cannon, dissolved it, in 1799, by the point of the bayonet. It seems to be a law in the moral as well as political world, that nothing that is quickly produced, is of long duration. Two maxims both equally erroneous produced these rapid changes: the one, that governments may be made and perfected by one continuous and uninterrupted effort, like any inanimate machine or structure, and without a gradual and leisurely improvement of times and circumstances: the other, that the end justifies the means; and consequently that without any regard to oaths, compacts, or established authority, a political constitution may be taken to pieces without ceremony or hesitation, in order to make way for a new one. But this series of revolutions is marked by two distinct tendencies, by which, both in the order of time, cause, and effect, they were equally divided. From 1790 to 1795, the new institutions ran in favour of democratic anarchy;

from 1795, in favour of executive government.

Throughout the whole of the last revolution, effected on the ninth and tenth of November; the opposite characters of its principal authors were strikingly displayed.—Sieyes was as usual silent, reserved, and trusted for success entirely to intrigue and management. Not a word escaped from him. He might have been taken for a spectator.—Buonaparte discovered the natural impetuosity of his temper, the frankness of a soldier, and the confidence and assurance of a conqueror. Their opposite modes of conduct were variously spoken of, not only in point of moral and political propriety, but as they were calculated to effect or to frustrate the end proposed by both. It was certainly intended by abbé Sieyes, and others in the secret, to bring about the revolution, agreeably to the declaration of Boulay la Meurthe, by *moral*, though certainly not altogether *constitutional* influence; and by this influence, it was alleged by the partizans of Sieyes, it might easily have been brought about without violence, which was an object much to be desired, on many accounts.—“By the constitution, the elders were empowered to remove the legislature to St. Cloud, or any other place within a certain distance of the capital. By the constitution they were even authorized to propose a revision of it. It is true, that three affirmative resolutions of the two councils, in the course of nine years, were necessary to give authority to the assembly, which was to be charged with reviewing and correcting the laws. But the assemblies at St. Cloud might easily have found, in the urgency of affairs, excuses

excuses for departing from the decree, by shewing that the revision could not be deferred. The presence of the soldiers might have influenced the votes, without violating them by open force. A majority of the five hundred might, in a very short time, have been gained over to join the elders, by address; and the odious means of armed violence might have been avoided. But the impetuous and domineering character of Buonaparte, it was said, altered the original plan of the revolution for the worse.— In his speeches, proclamations, and all his deportment, particularly in his audaciously penetrating into the hall of the five hundred, while his myrmidons accompanied, or were ready in an instant to follow him. In all these particulars he assumed the style of an arbitrary legislator, determined to deal, alone, the destiny of the republic, which alienated the council of five hundred to such a degree, that, instead of following the example of the elders, they appeared almost unanimous for renewing the oath to the constitution; and a majority of them were even of opinion that Buonaparte should be outlawed. There remained now, indeed, no other means of overcoming their resistance, and saving himself; but that resistance, and the danger in which he was placed, were of his own creation. A little more condescension, moderation, openness, and attention to the members of the council of five hundred, would have smoothed the way to the object in view, without the odium, and the danger too that was incurred by a contrary mode of proceeding. So inattentive to that assembly, and so confident was Buonaparte that they

would follow the impulse given by himself, and the council of elders, that he was not at the pains to gain over more than ten or twelve of the members. What an illusion, to imagine that the majority of the five hundred, animated by the old conventionalists, who, out of power, had the prospect only of contempt, would lay down their offices without a struggle? What skill or prudence can be traced in the conduct of this military politician, who, elated with his military glory, could speak only of his victories, his soldiers, his brothers in arms?" Others, on the point of the general's conduct, as far as it related to the accomplishment of his design, observed "that any advantages that might have accrued to him from courting and cajoling, and giving his confidence to a greater number of the five hundred, were more than compensated, by secrecy and promptitude of execution. In the course of the time necessary to gain over a majority in the council, though opposition in certain quarters might have been avoided, adverse accidents might have happened, not thought of. The secret disclosed to a great number must have reached the ears of the three directors, Barras, Moulins, and Gohier, who would have arrested Buonaparte. In fact, he had crossed the Rubicon, and having gained the council of elders, and being sure of a few firm and able supporters among the five hundred, he trusted with confidence, and it was justified by the event, that the rest would be brought to submission, by terror."

It has been justly observed that in this, as in other great revolutions, not a little was owing to accident or fortune. If the minority in the

council of elders had been joined by a majority in that of five hundred, in a calm and regular manner, it is by no means certain that the soldiers would have cast the balance in favour of the former council and their general. The general was admirably seconded throughout the whole by his brother, the president: had it not been for his reasonable appearance and address to the troops, they might have hesitated which party to obey, divided by their respect for the general, and that authority which always attends every shew of established government. Time would have been afforded for the council to muster

a force, though small perhaps, yet not undecided; and this might have brought the events of the day to a quite different issue. But, after all, there arises, in the course of ages, men of such force of mind as in some measure controls fortune. The council of five hundred was not permitted to carry on their proceedings in a *calm and regular manner* any longer than it suited the general and his party that they should be thrown into confusion: and, on the whole, it may be said, that on the present great occasion, the genius of Buonaparte carried all before it.

## C H A P. IV.

*First Measures of the consular Government.—Proclamations by the legislative Body.—And by the Chief Consul.—New Oath to be taken by all public Functionaries.—Letter to the foreign Ministers of France.—Written Defences of the Revolution of St. Cloud, and the provisional Government.—Letter from the Chief Consul to the Army of Egypt.—Conciliatory Conduct of Buonaparte.—Professed Spirit of the new Government.—Odious Laws repealed.—Measures of Finance.—Of police and internal Government.—Mercy extended to various Classes of Men.—Marine and Commerce.—A new Constitution.*

**T**HE consular government were anxious, above all things, and, in the first place, to confirm their authority by the confidence and attachment of the French nation; and that they endeavoured to gain by good words and good actions, without, however, relaxing from that vigour, or even from such a degree of severity as might be necessary to maintain order and subordination among so numerous and inflammable a people. Proclamations explaining the causes of the recent revolution were published and sent to the armies, the departments, and all the principal divisions or classes of the citizens. The moment that the provisional government was agreed on, an address was published from the legislative body, dated at St. Cloud, the tenth of November, 1799, to the French people, briefly stating the reasons which had determined them to seek an asylum from the revolutionary government, in the arms of a constitution which promised, at least, some repose. For the purpose of arriving more speedily at

this end, a provisional government had been instituted; and they exhorted all Frenchmen to rally around their magistrates, and the soldiers of liberty to pursue the course of their victories, which would be followed by peace, and those honours and rewards reserved for their glorious labours. Buonaparte, in the character of commander-in-chief, issued a proclamation on the same day, dated eleven o'clock at night, in which he gave an account of the state of parties and public affairs, and of his own conduct, from the time of his return to Paris to the present moment. In the conclusion, he says, "the factious were intimidated, and dispersed themselves. The majority, released from their blows, entered freely and peaceably into the hall of sitting, heard the propositions which were made to them for the public safety, deliberated and prepared the salutary resolution, which is to become the new and provisional law of the republic. Frenchmen! you will recognize, without doubt, in this conduct,

conduct, the zeal of a soldier of liberty, and of a citizen devoted to the republic. The ideas of preservation, protection, and freedom, immediately resumed their places on the dispersion of the faction, who wished to oppress the councils, and who, in making themselves the most odious of men, never ceased to be the most contemptible." The three consuls met together, on the next day, for transacting public business, in the palace of the Luxembourg. Some changes were made in the administration; and the new ministers were generally approved, with the exception of Fouché, minister of police, formerly a great terrorist, as unexceptionable characters, in respect of both talents and morals. — On the twelfth, a short proclamation was published by the consuls to the French, stating that the patriots had made themselves to be heard; that every thing that could injure them had been removed, and that every thing that remained pure in the national representation, was now united under the banners of liberty. Still, amidst so many changes and violations of oaths, we hear of new vows! "Take with us," said the consuls in conclusion, "the oath which we have made, to be faithful to the republic, one and indivisible, founded on equality, liberty, and the representative system." The fertility of French genius was not able to substitute any thing in the room of an oath, though it favoured so much of the altar! Honour again would have recalled the great principle of the monarchy. On the thirteenth of November, a letter was sent from the minister for foreign affairs, Reinhard, to the foreign ministers, informing them, that the consuls of the French republic had taken into their hands the reins

of government, with orders to notify the same intelligence to the governments at which they resided. The political relations of France with other nations, and the diplomatic relations of its government with other governments were to remain the same, only that the public force would derive new energy from the public unanimity. Other proclamations were published to the same effect with these now noticed; and various defences of the revolution of St. Cloud, and the provisional government appeared, from time to time, in newspapers and pamphlets. Nor did Buonaparte, on his accession to the government, forget to write a letter to his army in Egypt. In this letter, he says, "the consuls of the republic have frequently their minds taken up with what regards the army of Egypt; the eyes of all Europe are fixed on you; I myself am frequently, in thought, among you. Whatever may be the situation in which the chances of war may throw you, shew yourselves always the soldiers of Rivoli and of Aboukir, and you will be invincible. Repose in Kleber that unlimited confidence, which you was wont to place in me, it is only what he deserves." Two deputies, one from the commission of elders, and another from that of five hundred, were sent with pacific overtures to the western departments, with a very agreeable pledge of mildness on the part of government, presently to be stated. It has already been mentioned, that Buonaparte had been joined by general Augereau, a violent and outrageous jacobin. As an instance of the conciliation, yet prudence, with which Buonaparte conducted himself, it may not be improper to notice the manner in



in which he treated this man, whose courage and entire devotion to the party he belonged to, pointed him out as a valuable partisan not to be rejected, but by all means to be attached to his cause and person. He accepted his friendship, but with propriety and dignity. He appointed him to the chief command of the French army in Holland. In the letter which conveyed this appointment, there was a friendly rebuke for his connection with the jacobin clubs, and a reprobation of part of their principles and actions; yet the turn of the whole expressed great confidence in his intentions. The consul, in that letter, also stated, that, if necessary, he was to take the command of the army in person, in which case, Augereau, would again be one of his principal officers.—The manner in which Buonaparte expressed his gratitude to the general who had saved his life, is characteristic of the sentiments and manners at this time prevalent in France, and particularly marks the great revolution, in the way of thinking, on the subject of distinction of rank. On the twelfth of November, the consul entertained the general, Thomé, at his own table at dinner, and after dinner, his wife made him a present of a diamond worth two thousand crowns. It is certainly not in this manner that a senator of Hamburgh would have expressed his gratitude to a private soldier, who should have laid him under such an obligation; nor even a lord mayor of London. The legislative commissions of twenty-five members, on the twelfth of November, also entered on their functions; and they divided themselves each into five committees, of five members each, for the purpose of preparing laws of police, legislation,

finance, a civil code, and a constitution. Lucian Buonaparte was chosen president of the commission of the five hundred, and Le Brune that of the commission of the elders. In these commissions, a new oath was drawn up and agreed to, to be taken by all public functionaries. It was conceived in these terms: “I swear fidelity to the French republic, one and indivisible, and to maintain with all my power the rights of the sovereignty of the people, a representative government, liberty, equality, and the security of persons and property.”

The commissioners began their operations with the abolition of bad laws. A proposition made by the first consul, of a very gracious nature, was the first subject that came under their consideration, and formed a very pleasing preface of the spirit that was to animate the new government. This was the repeal of two odious and oppressive laws: the law of the forced loan, and the law of hostages. The repeal of this law was no sooner promulgated in the western departments, by the two commissioners of peace just mentioned, than those who had taken up arms in their own defence against it, immediately proposed a suspension, which was acceded to by the republican general, Hedouville. But others of the insurgents, who were actuated by motives more hostile to the republic, continued their depredations, avowing, by proclamations, that their object was the restoration of the throne and the altar, and that directors and consuls were alike traitors and usurpers: but these things will be more particularly related in a subsequent chapter.

The consuls and the legislative commissioners professed to have nothing



thing else in view than, by the institution of a new republican system, to guard more effectually, than had been done hitherto, against the intrigues of faction, and the corruption and treachery of rulers. By the promises of peace, they endeavoured to restore the confidence of men of property, because peace alone could enable them to restore a regular system of finance, which the violent and temporary expedients required by war must destroy. But the derangement of the finances, and the general corruption of the country, made it a very difficult task for the consuls to raise the supplies by ordinary means. It was not an easy matter to preserve the promised respect for property, to give contentment to the French in this respect, and, at the same time, not to relax from that military energy which was necessary to render the republic respectable and formidable in the eyes of foreign nations. The financial expedients adopted by the new government were principally these:

In lieu of the forced loan of one hundred millions, a war aid was substituted, of a fourth part added to all contributions or imposts on property, territorial, moveable, personal, and sumptuary. Forty millions of what they called *bons*,\* payable to bearer, of the nature of our treasury-warrants, were issued for satisfying, for the last half year of the 7th year, the demands of the public annuitants. For a present supply, for the immediate exigences of government, Buonaparte assembled about sixty or seventy of the bankers and principal merchants of Paris, and hav-

ing addressed them in a short but very animated speech on the glorious destinies and approaching prosperity of France, obtained, without difficulty, a loan of five hundred thousand pounds sterling. And seven commissaries, or syndics were immediately appointed by the subscribers for making it good. The promissory notes they received from the new government were called *billets du syndicat*. The repayment of this loan was charged on the first two payments, which were made at the rate of twenty per cent. per month, of the war tax, in the different departments of the republic. It was ordained that these bills, to whatever discount they should have fallen, should be received, not only in payment of the war aid, but even in that of the taxes of the year 7, by exchanging them for their amount in cash. Contributors to the forced loan, who had paid a part of their contribution, were entitled to a discharge, so far as it went, from the new war aid: and if there should be any balance in their favour, after an examination by the minister of finance, they were to be re-imburfed out of the national treasury.

The whole of the financial plan of the year 8, and which was expected to pour into the national treasury six hundred and fifteen millions one hundred and seventy-two thousand of livres, was unfolded by Arnold, in the commission of the council of five hundred, on the eighteenth of December. This project he prefaced by observing that it was disorder in the system of finance that undermined

\* To our treasury-warrants dockets are subjoined, specifying the particular purposes for which they are given. The particular purpose is not mentioned in the French warrants. It is only said, in general, that they are *bons* (sons) for this or that sum.

ancient monarchy, and that the  
 in which the finances of the  
 country were involved, had thrice  
 followed up the social edifice.  
 By what magic spring therefore  
 of government hope to prosper,  
 in the eyes of which property was  
 nothing, and which absorbed to  
 all the revenues both from  
 land and industry, by palling them  
 in requisitions, maximums, and  
 forced loans? In order to break  
 this compact of violence  
 and misery, such events were  
 as had taken place on the  
 tenth of November, by  
 the nation had quickened  
 new life and activity by bold  
 and sound conceptions. Of the  
 last of the above-mentioned, he pro-  
 posed that one hundred and fifty mil-  
 lions of livres should be raised upon  
 territorial inscriptions, of one thou-  
 sand livres each, which were to  
 have for pledge or mortgage a far  
 greater sum, to be derived from the  
 sale of national domains. Other  
 means would be resorted to for  
 ensuring an interest of six per cent.  
 on these inscriptions until the ca-  
 pital should be repaid, which  
 should be on the twenty-third of  
 September, *anno* 9. Or, after  
 that period, it would be at the  
 option of the bearer of such inscrip-  
 tions to place out their capital at a  
 permanent interest of five per cent.  
 or to have it paid in annuities with-  
 in the period of twenty years. It  
 was accordingly resolved, and after-  
 wards carried into a law, by the  
 assent of the commission of elders,  
 and the consuls, that on the twenty-  
 third of December, there should  
 be raised a sum of one hundred  
 and fifty millions of livres on terri-  
 torial inscriptions, to be made  
 good out of the bulk of the national  
 property, comprized in a statement

annexed to the present law. These  
 inscriptions to be shared out in notes  
 of one thousand livres each, pay-  
 able to bearer; or in tenths, of notes  
 of one hundred livres, also payable  
 to bearer. Payment for these notes  
 to be made, two-fifths in specie,  
 and the other three-fifths in exche-  
 quer-bills of the year 5, 6, and 7;  
 in bonds of arrears, one-fourth in  
 specie, of the years 4th, 5th, and  
 6th; and in bonds of requisition  
 made out since the twenty-first of  
 March, *anno* 7. To each note of  
 one thousand livres there was an-  
 nexed a partial interest amounting  
 to sixty livres, payable in the pro-  
 portion of thirty livres half yearly.  
 During the years 8 and 9, there  
 were to be distributed by lottery,  
 fifty thousand prizes of six per cent.  
 annually, in the proportion of one for  
 three notes, or of a third of the sum  
 total of the one hundred and fifty  
 thousand notes. The bills to whose  
 lots the prizes should fall were to  
 enjoy the benefit of them during the  
 whole of the year in which the  
 drawing took place.

Independently of these prizes,  
 there was attached to each drawing,  
 for each twenty-fifth premium, the  
 sum of five hundred livres; for each  
 prize filling up the number of two  
 hundred, the sum of five hundred  
 livres; and for the first and last prize  
 that should turn up at each drawing,  
 the sum of five hundred thousand  
 livres. The drawings to take place  
 in the proportion twelve thousand  
 five hundred every half year, until  
 the whole of the one hundred  
 and fifty thousand notes should  
 be delivered out, the drawing of  
 the prizes was to take place every  
 six months, in proportion to the  
 number of notes delivered out in  
 the course of the preceding half  
 year.

For the punctual payment of the interest, and the prizes, the personal, moveable, and temporary contributions were to be responsible, to the amount of fifteen millions.

In order to redeem the capital of the territorial inscriptions arising from the present law, they were to be received as part payment for the national domains, to the amount of one hundred and fifty millions, and until the twenty-third of September of the ninth year. Every bearer of national inscriptions might at will insist, during that interval, on the sale of any particular national domain, on the condition of his acquiescing in the estimate of the twentieth penny, in consequence of the revenue arising out of the authentic leases that existed in 1790, or in default of such leases, in consequence of a contradictory estimate made by appraisement.—Every bearer of national inscriptions, who should become a proprietor of national domains, should cease to receive the interest of six per cent. beginning after the half year, after his purchasing the same. But the number of notes, the capital of which should be thus redeemed, to partake in the drawing of the prizes and other benefits; and the bearers of those notes to enjoy whatever should have fallen, or might fall, to their lot, during the two years fixed by the present law.—The national domains, situated in what was lately called Belgium, to remain disposed of for the payment of former loans, and for the payment of pensions granted to religious bodies and communities suppressed in these departments.—The bearers of the territorial inscriptions, not redeemed on the twenty-third of September of the ninth year, by the pur-

chase and payment of the hundred and fifty millions on the national domains to be allotted to them by the present law, to have the choice of a permanent interest of five per cent. on the capital of their territorial inscriptions, or a right to the repayment of it by annuities within the term of twenty years.

The means for raising what farther sums were wanted, were chiefly additional taxes laid on expenditure, or the various subjects of indirect contribution; a measure which would not oppress the poor, and could not justly be complained of by the rich. Duties were laid on cider, perry, and beer, and also malt. Some lands, yet to be disposed of, and some woods, were to be sold in Belgium; as also some salt-pits, and salt-works, formerly the property of the crown.

It was also ordained that the receivers-general should subscribe obligations, from the twenty-first of March ensuing, ensuring the direct contributions of the year 8, at twelve different payments; that they should make payment of these obligations in specie; that they should be payable at the house of the receiver on a day which was fixed, and by a twelfth part of the amount monthly. The receivers-general of the department were bound to furnish, in specie, a security equal to the twentieth part of the land-tax of their respective departments. The funds rising from the securities thus given by the receivers-general, were destined to make good the payment of protested exchequer-bills, or treasury-warrants, and successively applied as a sinking fund for the extinction of the public debt. The arrears of life annuities and ecclesiastical pensions,

frans, beginning with the last six months of the year 7, in proportion as they were extinguished, to be placed to the same account, and employed to the same purpose. From the date of the periods of payments of the securities, treasury-warrants, or *bons de requisition*, were to be granted by government to the receivers-general, and be payable every three weeks by the fund, for the management of which there was established a kind of bank, under the name of a *Caisse d'Amortissement*: a redemption chest.

The expenses of the war department, for the year 8, had been estimated by the late directory at four hundred and seventy-two millions; but reduced by the legislative body to three hundred and thirty-three millions: a sum which was deemed equal to the employment of five hundred and sixty thousand, four hundred and twenty men. But in the new estimates for the year 8, by the directory and councils for the year 8, no account was made of the army of Egypt. This omission could not be overlooked by Buonaparte. An annual fund therefore of fifteen millions, in consequence of a proposition made by the general to the commissioners of the councils on the third of December, was established, to be raised by contributions on Egypt. This arrangement was not an augmentation of expense, because the advances in France would be compensated by the receipts in Egypt. It merely, as was stated by Buonaparte, opened a credit in favour of the army of the east. In the mean time, it was but an act of national justice and gratitude to enable the minister at war, to make good in France the sums which were justly claimed by the soldiers

and military agents who were returning from Egypt, as also by the women whose husbands were in Egypt, and who were absolutely destitute of the necessaries of life. The national treasury was on this account authorized to leave at the disposal of the minister at war, the sum of one million, by way of advance, and to be taken from the fund of fifteen millions to be drawn from an equilibrium, arising out of the contributions levied in Egypt.

Instead of a number of particular sums allotted to particular purposes, under certain limitations, the gross sum of one hundred and thirty millions, and eight hundred thousand francs, was committed to the disposal of the minister at war, Berthier: a vast trust, and which strongly marked the confidence of Buonaparte in Berthier, and that of the councils and nation in Buonaparte.

In the whole of the financial plans, or, as we would say, the budget of Buonaparte, there is an air of justice, equity, and lenity to the great mass, that is the poor of the people, and at the same time an address to the sanguine temper of the French nation, ever prone to sacrifice a great deal to hope. His lottery allurements were not without their effect in France; but neither these, nor others held out by general Marmont, one of the consular agents, had any effect on the Dutch; very few of whom could be induced to subscribe to the loan, or to advance money to the French government on any account or consideration. They professed good will, but pleaded inability. But, after all, the main strength of the plan for raising the supplies, adopted by the consuls, rested, like those of their predecessors both during the monarchy

monarchy and since the first revolution, on anticipations, paying in bills, and contracts with the great officers of the revenue.

It does not appear for certain what was the real motive that induced the consul, in the midst of a career of conciliation, moderation, and justice, to condemn fifty-nine jacobins, excluded deputies and others to banishment, thirty-seven to Cayenne, and the rest to the neighbourhood of the Isle of Oleron. By an article in the law enacted at St. Cloud on the tenth of November, the consuls were charged with the re-establishment of the public tranquillity. But this, in the present tone of the nation, could not be in danger from any machinations against the army and government. Perhaps the sentence of banishment against the leaders of the jacobins was intended to impress a conviction that a plan of assassination had been really formed, and to magnify the clemency of the consul in sparing his greatest enemies. Certain it is, that the decree of banishment was quickly changed into an order for placing the same individuals under the inspection of the minister of police, and it was soon thereafter totally repealed, without the exception even of Arena, who had attempted to assassinate Buonaparte. The decrees against priests of the nineteenth of Fructidor (5th September), of the fifth year, were repealed, in as far as they related to priests of either of the two following classes: 1st, Those who had taken all the oaths prescribed by the laws for ministers of worship, and at the periods of time which the laws require.—2. Those who had married. Religious liberty was restored in its fullest extent, on

condition of the ministers swearing fidelity to the new constitution. The decrees forbidding the places of public worship to be used, except on *devoirs*, were repealed. The churches which had not been sold, were opened for public worship. The body of the late pope, which had lain unburied at Valence, was ordered to be interred with the usual funeral honours due to his rank. By a law of the twenty-fourth of December, a power was vested in the consuls of admitting the return of persons condemned to exportation by an act of the legislature to deportation, in consequence of the violence of the fourth of September, 1799, without a previous trial. It left to the wisdom and prudence of government the right of re-admitting, at the most convenient periods, those whom it might deem incapable of disturbing the public tranquillity, and to subject the interior of the country to whatever superintendency it might think proper. Thousands were struck off from the list of emigrants and hastened to return to their native country. All the vexatious laws which excluded the nobles, and relations of emigrants, from public employments were abrogated, and several persons of this class were nominated to various functions. Most of the members of the new government were of late, of the council of five hundred, or of elders. But there were likewise some who had been members of the constituent assembly and the convention. In the latter end of the year 1795, a number of emigrants, flying from their country by sea, were shipwrecked on the coast of Picardy, near Calais. By the orders of Merlin, minister of the internal

extraordinary police, under the name of commissary observator, they had been dragged from one dungeon to another, from tribunals to military commissions, and from these back again to their dungeons. He insisted that they fell under the law against emigrants who had returned, after emigration and banishment, without permission. He suspended over their heads the sword of death, but was unable to bend either the civil or military courts to a compliance with his inhuman design. At the epoch of the revolution of St. Cloud, they had been transferred from the citadel of Lille to the castle of Ham, in Piccardy. The minister of police was ordered to make a report of the case of those shipwrecked emigrants. His report was this: "The emigrants shipwrecked at Calais have often suffered the punishment inflicted on emigration. For death is, not the blow that strikes and deprives us of life, it consists in the agonies and tortures that precede it. For four years past, these individuals, thrown by a tempest on the soil of their country, have breathed there only the air of the tombs. Whatever then may have been their offence, it is expiated by the shipwreck."—If Fouché was, as represented, a willing and active instrument in the hands of terror, it appears that he was not a less proper agent in those of mercy. In consequence of his report, prompted no doubt by Buonaparte, the consuls decreed that the emigrants shipwrecked at Calais, and detained in the castle of Ham, were in no case within the contemplation of the laws against emigrants, but that they should be carried out of the territories of the republic. The consular govern-

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ment carried its humanity towards those unfortunate people so far, as to grant many of them individual passports, that they might not experience the disagreeable state of a public and military escort. In the number of the emigrants, and of those thus favoured, were the dukes of Montmorency and Choiseul, and Vibraye. The other emigrants, besides these, amounted to the number of twenty-seven. The president of the central bureau of Paris received orders, from the minister of the general police, immediately to repair to all the prisons in Paris, and to assemble all the persons in custody, by a warrant of the police, or under pretext of the general safety, to procure and transmit to him full information respecting their arrests, together with his opinion on the case of each of those prisoners. He was directed to particularize every circumstance that might operate in their favour, and all the considerations arising from age, infirmity, or misfortune. He was farther instructed to indicate to Fouché those who ought to be set at liberty, in the instant; those who ought to be placed merely under the superintending eye of their respective magistrates, without alarm to the general tranquillity; and also those whose constant hatred to the republic, or whose antisocial principles might induce him to consider them as enemies to order, and the public peace. All that justice required, he said, should be forthwith done; all that humanity solicited without danger to the state, should be favourably listened to. It was his intention to do prompt justice to all; that innocence might no longer have any thing to dread, or guilt any thing to hope. In consequence of the report made by the bureau,

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a great number of prisoners were immediately set free. A shocking monopoly of supplies to prisoners was overthrown; and great attention was shewn in every respect to their comfort. It was discovered that the hardened prisoners severely lorded it over the new comers. This tyranny was checked and subverted; and equality, with the concomitant degree of liberty which this, in every situation implies, restored to those abodes of desolation.

A number of journalists and printers, that had been exiled by the directory, were recalled: but, on the other hand, an immense number of journals was suppressed, and out of near forty only twelve permitted to be published; of these not a few soon assumed a tone of very free animadversions and censure, and became, what we would call opposition papers. The tolerance of these was undoubtedly a proof that the new government was neither very weak nor very tyrannical. Not less than fifty newspapers, before this purgation, have been in course of publication, in Paris, at one time: many dying daily, and being replaced by others, which expired in their turn, often neglected and unknown. Some of them were morning, others evening, papers. They were for the most part badly printed, both in respect of type and paper. The price was two *sous*: something less than twopence sterling, of which the hawker was allowed one-third for his profit. Every parisian had his favourite print, which, because it spoke his sentiments and wishes, became his oracle. Few of them, we believe, besides the *Mercur* *François*, existed before the revolution! They furnished a theatre on which the different parties engaged

one another, and on which champions did not fail to appear on the part of government.

Yet it would be wrong to suppose that the consuls were fond of newspaper and vulgar praise: although it would have been imprudent to have wholly despised the daily and other journals, and neglected them. They appear to have been as much afraid of indiscreet and passionate praise, as of censure and abuse. The following admonition, which was published, November 17, from the minister of general police to the theatres, claims notice and applause: "In the succession of parties which have by turns disposed of the supreme power, the theatre has often resounded with unprovoked insults on the conquered, and base flattery towards the conquerors. The present government abjures and disdains the resources of faction. It wishes for nothing from these. It will do every thing for the republic. Let the sentiments of concord, the maxims of moderation and wisdom, and the language of great and general passions be alone dedicated to the stage. Let nothing that may divide the minds of men, foment their hatred, and prolong melancholy recollections, be tolerated there. Let him be punished who would provoke re-action, or dare to give the signal. For re-actions are the fruit of injustice and feebleness in government. They can no longer live among us, since we have a strong, or what is the same, a just government."

A report of the minister of police stated that the police, as it was constituted in the third year, neither guaranteed the safety of person or property; its whole system, it stated, was destitute of unity, connection,

action, and partial application. From the centre to the circumference every intermediate part was isolated. The agent, in his commune,\* and the justice of peace in his canton, had not the necessary correspondence or communication with one another, or with respect to what related to the district in general. Neither had the department any communication with that common centre which is constituted by government. Thus the transgressors of the law knew that there was no eye which, contemplating every object, could follow them from one place to another, and arrest them in the midst of their crimes. While the police thus abandoned the citizens in general to the excesses of plunderers and robbers, it left every Frenchman subject to the arbitrary and unnecessary pursuit of its officers. From five to six thousand officers of police could summon before them every individual against whom there was either proof or presumption, and to declare what was a crime worthy of imprisonment, from the act of throwing a

glass from a window, to poisoning or assassination. And, as there were crimes, which, from the nature and extent of their ramifications, required ample and sometimes protracted examination, and which could not, by any known rule, be examined into within any determined period, the most trifling affair was not unfrequently confounded with the most serious, and chance or malice might retain in prison, for an equal length of time, him who might not finally be fined three francs, and him who might ultimately lose his head on a scaffold. As remedies against these two evils it was enacted, that the police appointed to discover robbers, and preserve citizens from their attacks, should be connected together in all its parts, from the centre of the system to its circumference; and that the right of imprisonment should be restrained, not only with regard to the officers who were to authorize imprisonment. From these and other measures respecting the interior administration and government of France, the consular

\* "Every *arrondissement* or circle of which a district or canton is composed, is thus denominated. This term, under the former kingly government, was applied to cities and towns in France, which, by special privilege granted by the crown, were in the enjoyment of civil liberty, and had the right of judges to decide differences arising from the oppression of the nobles who held these places in vassalage. The term is now indiscriminately applied to every city and town throughout France, from Paris to the meanest village, because the inhabitants of them are all free (or it may be said, rather lay claim to freedom). The communes in France amount to upwards of eighty thousand."—*NEOLOGICAL FRENCH DICTIONARY. By William Dupré, Esq.*

The little work from which we have borrowed this definition or description of commune, is not only a very useful companion to the readers of the French history of the present times, but is really a book of much amusement, and serves to give a more complete insight into the present political state, characters, caprices, and humours of the French, than any volume that we know of equal size and price. To adopt the new French terms, is certainly not consistent with the most perfect purity of the English tongue.—But it is not always to be avoided without tedious circumlocution; nor, indeed, can there be any such thing as perfect purity in any living language, especially in times of very extensive and close intercourse among nations. Had Cicero or Sallust lived two or three hundred years longer, in writing of their own times, they must have adopted new words with new facts, things, and ideas.



government proceeded to measures which respected the foreign relations of the republic.

In the beginning of December, a board of admiralty was instituted, with the intention of promoting order, economy, energy, and that promptitude and secrecy which naval designs and operations so often require, and which can be ensured only by unity of assent and action. It was intended for the purpose of giving the supreme maritime authority that preponderance and dignity requisite for exciting emulation, and restoring the marine to its former lustre and glory. The commissioners to whom the first consul gave it in charge to inquire into, and propose the best means for answering the ends proposed by that establishment, were instructed to investigate the institutions of the English marine, and the naval administrations of other countries.

The commerce of France, during 1799, was reduced, as it had been for several years before, to a mere piratical trade, which had its advantages and disadvantages; but of which the disadvantages greatly preponderated. As this is a matter of the highest importance in the present period of extended intercourse, when all nations are, more or less, united by the golden chain of commerce, and the reciprocity of their interests, becomes every year and day more and more apparent, it may not be improper to bestow upon it more attention than is permitted by our plan to the temporary intrigues and expedients of politicians, which, though they may perhaps be more amusing, afford less ground for useful inference and instruction.

The first act of French jurisprudence, respecting corsairs or priva-

teers, bears date at the end of the fourteenth century. From that period, down to the middle of the seventeenth, this branch of maritime legislation, in every country in Europe, was involved in a chaos of obscurity, confusion, and contradiction. At last, by certain articles in the treaty of the Pyrenees, it was established, that merchandise of any kind, found on board an enemy's ship, and to whomsoever belonging, might be confiscated: at the same time, the goods even of enemies, not contraband, were to be safe to their owners, when carried in neutral vessels. This twofold principle, that, on the one hand, an enemy's flag condemns all that it covers, and, on the other, that neutral or free ships make free goods, was superseded, in some degree, by an ordinance of the French king and parliament of 1681, by which it was declared, that all ships carrying any merchandise of an enemy, as well as any merchandise found on board an enemy, should be equally considered as lawful prizes. A regulation of 1744 went still farther. It confiscated not only the fabrics or manufactures of an enemy, but whatever was of the physical produce of his country, whether raw materials, or those wrought into any species of manufacture.

It is, however, to be observed, that, as the French government was obliged to apply, as well as to make the law, it was judged good policy to make the law very severe, that it might admit, without any injury to the state, of modification in practice. Accordingly we find, that, in all wars before the present, in every instance in which a vigorous application of the maritime law might be inconsistent with the interests of the state,

state, the French government never failed, either by a declaration in the name of the king, or simply by a ministerial letter, to prescribe the decision that was to be given, or even, in certain cases, to modify the decisions already made.

The French government was induced to observe more than usual management and respect, in their treatment of neutral vessels, by their new connection of friends and allies, with the revolted British colonies in America, in 1778: because every thing that should be done in favour of neutral ships, and of the free and unmolested navigation of the seas, would be, in fact, a blow struck against England. No sooner was the famous treaty for an armed neutrality ratified by the northern powers, than the French government, in order to give an emphatic proof of its regard to neutral vessels, and the freedom of navigation, acceded to the principle and spirit of that theory, and invited the Spaniards to do the same. All French privateers were ordered to pay respect to neutral flags; and the councils for maritime affairs, or, as an Englishman would say, the courts of admiralty, received orders to act in conformity with this new ordinance.

The national convention, in 1793, finding itself in the full possession of all political powers, granted letters of marque, with orders that the laws concerning prizes should remain on the old footing: on which, as already observed, the executive government took upon itself to interpret or modify the maritime law, according to circumstances. But, as any arbitrary interpretation or modification of laws is utterly in-

compatible with a free government, it appeared indispensably necessary to the national assembly, after the executive committee and the committee of public safety, which had for some time taken the management of the prize business, was (on account of their tyranny) suppressed, to refer this business, by a decree of November, 1796, to the ordinary tribunals; and now it was that the French privateers fell with little ceremony or distinction on neutral vessels, as well as on those of enemies. To former regulations new laws were added, of a nature to confirm an opinion, already very prevalent, that privateering could not be too much extended or encouraged.

The French directory, in 1799, considered this piratical system, both as it related to the internal prosperity of the kingdom, and as it might affect its credit, respectability, and general interests in its various connections with other nations.

In the most flourishing period of the French marine, the number of seamen, as appeared by the public enrolment of their names, amounted to eighty thousand. They were now reduced to half that number. It was the common fate of privateers to fall, sooner or later, into the hands of the English. But, even when successful, they were obliged to put their best hands into the prizes which they took; and, when these prizes were retaken, as often happened, both men and ships were lost to the republic. The business of privateering appeared to have absorbed the whole naval energy of the state. The arsenals and dockyards were deserted. Ships of war could not be manned, for want of seamen. In proportion as privateers

teers increased, the navy of France was diminished and weakened. In the mean time neutral ships were frightened from the French ports and coasts. The usual outlets were wanting for the productions of the soil and other commodities. The violent business of piracy might flourish in five or six places, but the republic, on the whole, deprived of the general influence of peaceable commerce, paid two prices for all colonial productions, while the productions of France were sunk in their value, by the want of means of exportation. Even ships laden with naval stores for the French government were often taken by French privateers, sometimes condemned, and never recovered easily. It appeared, on the whole, to the directory, that, as neither the number or qualifications of the seamen to be found bore any proportion to the exigencies of the navy, every privateer was a blow struck at the marine of the republic. That, as neither could the French navy be furnished with provisions or stores, nor the colonies be supplied with necessaries, nor the produce of France exported without the aid of neutral vessels, the French had weakened themselves with their own hands. With regard to foreign powers, the result of the French system of maritime affairs was, from its justice and moderation during the first years of the present war, greatly to their credit; and this was enhanced by the piracies of the English. It was against the English alone that neutral powers armed and sent convoys with their ships, and this very much at the instigation of the French government; which, in its negotiations with maritime powers, signified that it

was not their plan to make peace with England on any other terms than those of their subscribing such a fundamental code of maritime laws, as should for ever secure the rights of neutrality to pacific nations.

These declarations, however, which were confirmed by the whole conduct of the directory, did not, as they expected, rally all maritime powers around the republic, for maintaining the freedom of the ocean. The northern powers appeared cold and selfish in all their intercourses with the republic, and made but a very feeble resistance to the continued violation of their neutrality on the part of the English.

The French government and nation having equal cause of complaint against the piracies of the English, and the torpid submission of the neutral maritime powers, judged it necessary to depart, for a time, from the liberal maxims which they wished universally to establish. The republic, that it might no longer be the victim of a false generosity, announced to the neutral states its intention of treating them precisely in the same manner in which they allowed themselves to be treated by the English. This decree was dated fourteenth of Messidor (second of July,) 1779.

This measure was followed immediately by the best effects. The English became more cautious and discreet in their seizures of neutral ships bound for France. The owners of neutral vessels, seized and detained with their cargoes, obtained readier payment. But, while new encouragement was thus given to privateering, the French government determined not to give up the right formerly exercised by the executive

relative government, but to watch over the use that individual corsairs made, in fact, of the power granted them, and to judge ultimately concerning results in particular cases, according to the public interest, which required that the actual exercise of piracy should be confined, on the whole, to just reprisals. The consequence was, that the neutral powers shewed somewhat of more spirit in defence of their rights; but the privateers abandoning themselves to an unlimited and licentious exercise of the decree in their favour, carried their indiscriminate piracies to such a length, as to drive wholly away from the French coasts those neutral vessels, which good policy would invite and encourage, in order to raise the value of the produce and merchandise of France, and lower the price of freight and insurance. The French government, taught this by experience, laid it down as a maxim, that the most extended and unlimited piracy is by no means a genuine source of national wealth and prosperity. They were farther abundantly sensible, that an agricultural state, such as France, rich in physical productions and various industry, which consumes a great deal, and should export a great deal, is particularly interested in the preservation of all commercial relations, in their greatest extent and security.

The directory, having represented these things in a memorial, addressed to the legislative bodies, concluded that it was high time to adopt some system of marine affairs, that should be better suited than the present to the interest of the country, and fitted for curbing and overthrowing the monopolization of the English. They declared it to be their fixed

opinion, that, in the present circumstances, the liberty of privateering, instead of being farther encouraged and extended, should be restrained and modified.

This memorial, respecting the marine trade, was referred by the council of five hundred to a secret committee, as it was connected, in several points, with the relations and connections of France with foreign states. The subject of it was under consideration, but nothing determined on when the directory and legislative councils were suspended by the consular government. A matter of such consequence did not escape the attention of Buonaparte. A decree was passed annulling all the peculating decisions and practices of Merlin and others, respecting neutral vessels, and restoring the laws and ulages of the monarchy in 1778.

In these, and other measures of the consular government, for the correction of abuses, and the security and tranquillity of the state, it is evident that they were anxious to display, and, no doubt, were actuated sincerely by a spirit of moderation, harmony, concord, and a desire of, at least, internal peace: agreeably to the *toast of Buonaparte*, at the feast in the Temple of Victory, "the union of all the French."

In the mean time, while the consuls were thus occupied, the commissions were employed, under their influence and direction in framing a new constitution, the ground work of which was, the form of an ideal republic, drawn up formerly by the abbé Sieyès, which he had prepared for the convention, and to whose judgement he wished to have submitted it, in 1793—we say wished to have submitted it; for, after he had ascended

the tribunal, in the council of five hundred, and gone through some parts of his plan, there was a general cry of *bas chimères métaphysiques*,\* and the abbé was obliged to descend from his station without a complete hearing. In the abbé's constitution, the supreme magistracy was to be invested in a grand elector, who was to have under him two consuls: one for external, and the other for internal affairs, holding their places at the will of the grand elector, and also a conservatory jury for life, which was to name, from popular lists, the legislative bodies, and which was also to have a power of revoking, or *absorbing*, such citizens as, from talents and ambition, should acquire undue influence in the state. It was of little consequence whether the chief magistrate should be called first consul or grand elector: but the last question of *absorption*, as it was called, was of real importance to a man who was conscious of possessing a great ascendancy in the state, and, not improbably, had it at heart, above all other things, to maintain it. Sieyès and Buonaparte, however, were obstinately divided in both these points. The genius of Buonaparte, as usual, prevailed, and the title of grand elector was rejected, as well as the system of absorption; not, however, without a softening boon to the abbé, as will by and by be related.

The new constitution was read before the three consuls, and gave rise to a discussion which lasted till very late in the night. It was also discussed, at different meetings of the two commissions, where it met with very little opposition. As

a summary of the best arguments in its defence, we shall lay before our readers the speech of Cabanis in the commission of the council of five hundred on the sixteenth of December.

Cabanis, after considering the origin of society, examined in what manner the different governments, known to us, derived their origin. He reviewed the advantages and disadvantages of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. He shewed that the representative system must embrace every thing good in these different forms of social establishments; and he concluded that, in the present state of circumstances and of opinion, that system is the only one which can both secure public liberty, give sufficient force to government, and maintain peace with solidity.

"The great advantage of that form of government, said he, is that the people, without exercising any public function, can, nevertheless, point out for every situation of trust and dignity, the men who enjoy their confidence. Let not the people make laws—let them not exercise the duties of administration—let them not possess the power of judging; but let their legislators, their executive magistrates, and their judges be always chosen from the number of persons whom they shall point out for such stations.

But if the people are not calculated to exercise by themselves public functions; they, nevertheless, are qualified to appreciate the merits of those who are best suited to public situations. They ought not, therefore, directly to make any choice. The electoral body then

\* Down with all metaphysical chimeras.

entrusted with this choice, ought to be placed not at the base, but at the top of the establishment. The elections should proceed, not from the bottom, where they must necessarily be bad; but from the head, where they must necessarily be good; for the electors, if they are properly constituted, will always have the greatest interest in the maintenance of order and liberty, in the stability of institutions, and in the solidity of good principles. It is sufficient that their choice can fall upon none who are not pointed out by the people.

Such is a good democracy, with all the advantages of that form of government; for, in this system, the most perfect equality prevails among all the citizens, since every one may be placed upon the list of eligibles. But besides, you thus obtain the democracy purged from all its inconveniences; for under this order of things, there is no populace, or mob, to agitate in the forum or in clubs. The ignorant class exercise no influence either upon the legislature, or upon the government. By these means, too, you get rid of demagogues. Every thing is managed in the name of the people, and for the interest of the people. Nothing is done by the people, or under their precipitate direction. They are tranquil under the protection of the laws; they enjoy the advantages of real liberty.

The functions of the legislative body comprises three distinct operations. The proposal of a law, its discussion, and its adoption. The proposal ought not to be made by the same assembly which adopts. This is an acknowledged principle. The discussion ought not to take place without the

participation of that body by which it is to be executed. Experience has proved the necessity of this measure.

Along with the legislative body you have a tribunate, whose business it is continually to petition in the name of the people. Necessarily composed of the most energetic and the most eloquent men in the country, it will be entitled to make continual appeals to public opinion, to censure in every way the proceedings of government; to denounce those which it considers hostile to the constitution, to accuse and to prosecute all the executive agents; to speak and to publish their sentiments with the most complete independence, without the members ever being called upon to answer for their speeches and writings. The existence of this popular magistracy, together with the liberty of the press, which, under a vigorous government, must always be unrestrained, forms one of the principal securities for public liberty; for, do what you can, these securities can never be real and durable, but when they rest upon public opinion.

In a republic like France, the executive government must be strong. It ought to have unity of thought and of action. This is the only real advantage of a monarchy. The representative system may avail itself of this unity. Of whatever number of functionaries the head of the executive power may be composed, it is always evident that, ultimately, one must have the means of terminating discussion, and bring all opinions to concur.

The judiciary power may be considered as an emanation from the executive. It belongs therefore to the latter to appoint judges, without,



without, however, having the right to displace them, in order that thus the latter may be independent in the sentences they pronounce.

The connection of the executive power, with the armed force, must be regulated by the exigency of circumstances. Our situation may require, either that certain members of the executive should have the power of commanding the armies, or that numerous military corps should remain under its command in the neighbourhood of the great commune, or established capital. All this may be considered only as provisional, but we must hasten to get into the tract of principle in proportion as our situation becomes more calm, both at home and abroad.

The government, the foundation of which I have pointed out, is that which the new social compact presents. The basis of it has long subsisted in the mind of its author, Sieyès. It was eagerly adopted, with some alterations by another man of genius (Buonaparte) qualified to appreciate its merit, and made to derive new glory from the support given to its establishment after having enlightened the discussion of it by the powers of his understanding."

Cabanis then proceeded to answer the objections which had been made to the plan of the constitution.

"It is alleged," continued he; "first, that the power of the executive is immense; there is no security against its designs. We must have a government full of vigour and life. If it were not created so, it would usurp, or it would quickly perish, as happened in the case of the directory. The securities we here have are in the po-

tent permanence of the conservative senate, and in the turbulent character of the Tribune. The executive power, besides, is restrained by the decided responsibility of the ministers and the regular proceedings of the council of state.

It is next said, that it is to be feared that the scheme of the tribunate will produce turbulence and violence. These apprehensions spring from the remembrance of our past evils. But the demagogues of the convention, and of the council of five hundred, had a right to bring forward laws drawn up in form. They caused them to be discussed, and often to be adopted, by undue influence. They kept the property, the liberty, the life of the citizen in a constant state of uncertainty. Here the tribunes may make a great deal of noise in their own house; but all they can say, has no force but that which it derives from opinion. If they are very violent, public opinion will be decidedly unfavourable to them. They will alarm the public more than the executive power, or the conservative senate, which will know perfectly well how to maintain themselves against the result of their vain clamours."

"The constitution, after several meetings of the commissions and consuls, was carried by a great majority, and received the sanction of the whole. It bears date the thirteenth of December, and was offered to the French nation, in a proclamation by the consuls, on the fifteenth. It was therein declared to be founded on true principles of a representative government; on the sacred rights of property, equality, and liberty; that the authorities which constituted



that it would be firm and durable, in order to secure the rights of the citizens and the interests of the state; and, finally, that the government was now fixed upon the principles on which it had begun. This constitution consisted principally in three consuls, or rather one, called the chief consul with two assessors, who had votes only in matters of secondary importance; a conservative senate, and a legislative body divided into two parts, tribunes and senators; the tribunes to reason or plead on any proposition, but not to vote; the senators to vote and decide silently, but neither to argue nor even to declare the grounds on which they gave their opinion.

The chief consul was to propose laws, and make regulations for carrying them, when agreed to, into execution. He was to appoint the new councils of state, ministers, ambassadors, agents, all officers of the army and navy, judges, members of local administrations, and commissioners of the government to different courts. He was to proclaim and enforce the law, and to be allowed a yearly revenue of half a million of livres, or 20,833*l*. sterling. His two colleagues were allowed one hundred and fifty thousand livres each. The chief consul, quitting his station, either on the expiration of his functions, or in consequence of resignation, was to become a senator of immediate right and necessity. No new laws could be promulgated but when the project should have been proposed by the government, communicated to the tribunate, and decreed by the legislative body. And, in every stage of the discussion of these projects, government, that is, in fact, the

first consul, whether with or without the approbation of his two assessors, might withdraw them, and produce them anew in a modified state. The first consul was to take measures for the internal security and external defence of the state. He was to station the forces, military and naval, and regulate the manner of their being employed. The national guard in activity was also subject to his direction. He it was in whom the power was vested of maintaining political relations abroad, managing negotiations, making preliminary stipulations, causing, signing, and concluding all treaties of peace, alliance, truce, commerce, and other conventions. Declarations of war and treaties of peace, alliance and commerce, were proposed, discussed, decreed, and promulgated like laws: but discussions on these subjects, whether in the tribunate, or legislative body, were to take place only in a secret committee, and when the chief consul should desire it. The first consul was to direct the receipts and expenses of the state, agreeably to the annual law which should determine the amount of each. He was also to superintend the coinage of money. One of the ministers was especially intrusted with the administration of the public treasury. He was to secure the receipts, to order the transfer of sums, and the payments authorized by law. But he could not make, or cause to be made, any payment except in virtue, first of a law, and till the concurrence of funds, which had been fixed for a distinct species of expense: secondly, of a decree of the government: thirdly, of a warrant signed by a minister,

Next

Next in dignity and consequence to the consulate was the conservative senate, composed of eighty members, irremovable, and for life, who should be forty years of age at least. For the formation of the senate, sixty members were at first appointed by the consuls. This number was to be increased to that of sixty-two in the course of the year 8; to sixty-four in the course of the year 9, and thus be gradually increased to eighty, by the addition of two members during each of the ten first years. The appointment to the situation of a senator to be made by the senate itself, which was to choose one out of three candidates presented, the first by the legislative body, the second by the tribunate, and the third, by the chief consul. The senate was to maintain or annul all the resolutions referred to it as unconstitutional by the tribunate or the government.

The legislative body was composed of three hundred members, none less than thirty years of age. It was always to contain, at least, one citizen from each department of the republic. The legislative body enacted laws by a private ballot, and, without any discussion on the part of the members, respecting the projects of laws debated in its presence, by the speeches of the tribunate and government. The tribunate was composed of a hundred members, at least twenty-five years of age. They were to be renewed by a fifth part every year; and were indefinitely eligible as long as they continued on the national list. The tribunate was to discuss the project of a law, and vote for its adoption or rejection. It was to send three speakers, chosen

out of its own number, who were to explain and defend its views and motives, in either case, before the legislative body. It might refer to the senate; but that solely on the ground of constitutionality, the list of persons eligible, the proceedings of the legislative body, and the proceedings of government. It might express an opinion respecting laws made, or to be made concerning abuses that might require correction, or improvements to be made in any part of the public administration: but such opinion had no necessary consequence, and was not to bind any constituted authority to act. The sittings of the senate were not to be public. The sittings of the legislative body and the tribunate were to be public. The number of strangers in both not to exceed two hundred in each. When the tribunate should adjourn itself, it might appoint a committee of from ten to fifteen members, authorised to assemble it if thought advisable. The sitting of the legislative body was to commence every year on the twenty-second of November, and to continue only four months. But it might be convoked, extraordinarily, during the eight remaining months by the government.

The revenues of certain national domains, to be fixed on, were to be liable to the payment of the expenses of the state. The annual salary of each member to be equal to the twentieth part of that of the chief consul. The salary of a tribune was 625*l.* annually; that of a legislator, 416*l.*

With regard to the new judicatories proposed, and the regulations respecting the exercise of various ministerial functions, it may  
- just

just be observed, in this place,\* that in the former, due regard was paid to the equal distribution of justice; and that in the latter, the authority of the laws as well as the personal freedom and property of individuals, were consulted by the annexation of responsibility in many cases, to the sundry offices of administration.—But, on the other, the consuls were not responsible in any.

It was ordained that the citizens of every commercial district should point out by their votes those they conceived to be the most proper to manage their public affairs. The number so pointed out would form a list of men, worthy of confidence, amounting to a tenth of the number of citizens having a right to vote. Out of this list were to be chosen the public functionaries of the district. The citizens comprehended in the communal lists of a department, were likewise to point out a tenth part of their own number. Hence there was formed a second list, called departmental, from which were to be chosen the public functionaries of the department. The citizens whose names stood on, likewise named a tenth part of their own number. Thus was formed a third list, which comprehended the citizens of the department eligible to public national functions. All the lists made up in virtue of this last article, in the departments, were addressed to the senate, and composed the national list: out of which list the senate was to choose the national functionaries, as above observed.

This new constitution, as an universal subject, as might be expected, of critical observation, and in Paris, according to the genius of the Parisians, of jokes and raillery. The French nation, it was there acknowledged, must always have some darling idol. That which they had now got, possessed this advantage, that it might be worshipped without a breach of the second commandment; since it was not the “likeness of any thing in the heavens above, or in the earth beneath.” While some praised it for its unprecedented originality, and ingenious combinations, and launching forth on the ocean of possibility and human nature, conducted, not merely by shores and landmarks, but chiefly by the polarity of reasons, others for that very reason condemned it. Constitutions were not things to be formed like mathematical diagrams, or like syllogisms, by recluse metaphysicians, but grew out of examples and precedents, which could alone fix the nature of any constitution, and the limits of any form of government.

The most prominent feature in this new production was the great and almost unlimited, or at least, in fact, illimitable power of the first consul. One party of reasoners dreaded and detested this as the grave of liberty: others expressed an opinion that it was not greater than the temper of the French nation and the circumstances of the times demanded. On one side, an observation of Mr. Hume’s† was quoted that if the king’s negative,

\* This new constitution of the French republic is inserted, at full length, in the appendix of our last volume, page 142.

† This, ~~man~~ was very popular, and almost adored by the French. And certainly, though he was partial to absolute monarchy, and a sworn enemy to democracy, his writings had a great share in bringing about the revolution.

in the British constitution, went before a measure, and if he could prevent any bill from coming into parliament, he would be an absolute monarch. "If this opinion be just, what must be the importance of the preliminary negative of the executive power in the new French constitution? That scheme reduces the influence of the people on those who are styled their representatives, almost to nothing. Not only have the legislators no sympathies, no connections with the people: they have not the power, if they were the immediate representatives of the nation, to adopt a single law for promoting their advantage, or remedying their grievances. The executive power alone is to feel, to think, to suggest. Every measure of public liberty, and of national utility, must originate with that authority whose designs every wise legislator has contemplated with incessant jealousy, whose wisdom he has ever thought it necessary to support by authoritative counsel, whose misconduct and incapacity he has thought it indispensable to correct by senatorial advice, and by legislative controul. There was no contrivance by which the representatives could draw support from the people, even if there did exist between them a community of interests and sentiment: nothing by which the people might be aided through the representative body. There was no provision for the liberty of the press, none to enable the people to meet and consider the measures of government. While the principal members of administration were relieved from all responsibility, the ministers were not to be liable to impeachment, until the validity of the charges of any

illegal acts or warrants signed by them, should first be recognized by the senate, and all of them then admitted by the legislative body. The influence of the executive with the legislative powers must always be sufficient to procure impunity to its instruments. In truth, it was said, there was nothing in this government but a magistracy invested with unlimited power. The rest of the appendages were calculated for its convenience, and not given for the purpose of independent and liberal assistance; or if necessary, of adequate controul. The chief magistrate was, indeed, a king, invested with royal prerogatives. He was the fountain of honour and emolument. He was the source from which every favour must be expected. He was the instrument to punish or protect. His satellite councils, whatever fantastical appellations they might assume, were nothing: they gave neither light nor heat in the system; they neither warmed nor beautified. They begot no love; they dispensed no favours; they inspired no confidence; they attracted no admiration. They were the source of nothing liberal, nothing munificent, nothing beneficial. They did not emanate from the people; they did not belong to the nation; they could not fix its hopes, or be the depositaries of its wishes. They acted only by the sufferance of the king."

On the other hand, on this subject which was so interesting to all Europe, it was said, "that any constitution that possessed in itself the power of repressing anarchy, composing the agitated masses, and retaining men in society, was preferable to that state of disorder and distraction

diffraction which accompanied, or flowed from the preceding revolutions. There is nothing of human contrivance that is perfect. Free governments tend to one great evil, and arbitrary governments to another. The great evil incident to a democratical government, is turbulence, endless innovation, and civil convulsions. The great evil incident to arbitrary governments is of an opposite nature. It is monotonous and sad, but constant, stable, and permanent. Whatever evils might arise out of the new government, still fluctuation and instability would be none of them. As the evils of democracy were felt so severely, it was natural, and by no means improper to have recourse to the only remedy which was to be found: and if bad consequences, from adopting that remedy, should arise hereafter, none could arise worse than what the French people had suffered since 1789: and even a respite from suffering, for a time, was not a thing to be despised. There was every reason to hope that Buonaparte would mingle his power with moderation, benignity, and all the arts of a humane and generous policy. After so liberal a share of power as was necessarily vested, for the strength and stability of the government, in the hands of the first consul, it could not be expected that any considerable participation in political privileges could remain to French citizens at large, or the great body of the people; yet, in truth, the political situation of that numerous body was greatly improved in comparison of what it had been under the monarchy. As, on the one hand it was necessary to be a French citizen in order to hold any office, high or low, in the state;

so, on the other hand, there was not any citizen so humble in fortune as to be excluded from a possibility and chance of rising by merit to the most honourable and important stations, or even from the actual exercise of some small degree of political power."

Whatever may be thought of the political expediency of framing so unlimited a government, certain it is, that the name of a king or emperor alone was wanting to Buonaparte. With a senate appointed by himself, and recruited from year to year by his sole influence; the nomination to all offices, civil, political, military and naval; the command and distribution of the whole military and naval force of the empire; the power of foreign negotiation on peace, war, and commerce; a complete though indirect control over the treasury; the sole privilege of proposing laws, and withdrawing them in any stage of deliberation and discussion;—with all these and other means of influence and command, possessed by the first consul, he held in his hand as strong, and perhaps from the shew of liberty, even stronger reins of government than any Asiatic despot. The former constitutions, framed since 1789, resembled a stage-coach, crowded with passengers on the top and box, and holding in their hands both the whip and the reins. They were top-heavy and could not but be overturned; they were inverted pyramids trembling on their summits. The new constitution bore a resemblance to a pyramid resting on its base, and culminating into a proper apex. It would certainly be difficult to upset this pyramid by external impulsion. Whether it may not be torn in pieces by the internal powder of passion, remains yet

yet to be tried. It is certainly a very extraordinary and curious experiment. It appears to wear certain prominent features both of ancient and modern times. Consuls, senates, tribunes, municipalities, and other particulars, carry back our views to Roman history. Trial by jury and political representation belong to modern Europe.

The particular period of the Roman history that the legislators appear to have had more especially under their eye, is that of Augustus Cæsar; between whose situation, circumstances, and conduct, and those of the French consul, the readers of history cannot fail to discover several striking parallels.

The new constitution was presented to the acceptance of the French citizens, whether in their respective communes or the armies. In each commune, and in each regiment there was opened a book for acceptance or non-acceptance: the constitution was almost universally acquiesced in, not with alacrity and enthusiasm, but from a weariness and painful recollection of the times of the other constitutions. In a few weeks the registers were returned, and the constitution was found to have been accepted by an immense majority of the people.

Mean while, the consuls, presuming, with reason on the speedy acceptance of the constitution, took possession of the government, of which they gave official notice to the conservative senate, on the twenty-seventh of December, 1799.

Abbé Sieyès retired from the consulate to the conservative senate. The legislative commissions were instructed not only to make an offer to him, but to pass a law for compelling the abbé to accept the estate of Croissy, a national domain, of

600*l.* sterling a year. This act of national gratitude was generally understood to be a contrivance of Buonaparte's for lowering, and indeed humbling Sieyès in the eyes of the French nation. The decree for compelling the abbé to accept the estate, without convincing any one that compulsion was at all necessary, only served to call it more to recollection that the abbé had degraded himself in accepting what an elevated and generous spirit would not have accepted, and could not be compelled to do it; since it was in his power, on the very next day, if he had chosen, to have given it back to the nation, if not directly, yet in a thousand forms of public benefit which so fertile a genius could be at no loss to devise. Besides this domain, abbé Sieyès enjoyed his office of senator for life, with the pension annexed as above stated. The ex-consul Ducos, whose only merit was said to be that he prevented the other two consuls from jostling one another, was rewarded with a similar appointment. Buonaparte, with kingly power, was the first grand consul for the period of ten years, at the expiration of which he might be re-elected. Cambresis, a lawyer, who like other lawyers, had been an organ to all parties, was appointed second consul for the same term; and Lebrun, a man of business, a poet, and who had been an avowed loyalist, was appointed third consul for the period of five years. Gaudin was appointed minister of finance, and Reinhard of foreign relations; but he was in a few weeks succeeded by Talleyrand. It has already been mentioned that Berthier was minister of war, and Fouché of police. The residence of the first consul was in the palace of the Tuilleries;

Thulleries; the same suite of apartments that had been occupied by the late unfortunate king and queen of France. The two ex-consuls, Sieyes and Ducos, now senators, and the two consuls, Cambaceres and Lebrun, were intrusted with the nomination of a majority of the senate. Their choice in ge-

neral fell on men of unexceptionable characters. As soon as the senate was filled up, it proceeded to the nomination of the tribunes and the legislative body. The council of state, chosen by the first consul, was generally allowed to unite great talents with the most perfect integrity.



## C H A P. V.

*The Return of Buonaparte from Egypt, the leading Event in the History of 1800.—The vast and unbounded Power vested in him by the new Constitution.—General Expectations and Presages.—Able and prudent Conduct of Buonaparte.—The Justice and Moderation of his Government.—His Solitude to pacify and tranquillize France.—Means adopted for this Purpose.—Both of Persuasion and Force.—War in the western Departments.—Armistice.—The War renewed.—Overtures from Buonaparte for Peace with England.—Rejected.*

**W**HETHER we contemplate the great affairs of nations in a political or military point of view, the return of Buonaparte to France, in the beginning of October, 1799, is the grand and leading event in the history of 1800, and that which, more than any other, influenced the state and condition, not only of France, Italy, and Germany, but of every other country in Europe. Who could have believed that a simple sub-lieutenant of artillery, a stranger to France, by name and by birth, was destined to govern this great empire, and to give the law, in a manner, to all the continent, in defiance of reason, justice, the hereditary rights of the legitimate princes of the realm, and the combined efforts of so great a number of loyalists in the interior of the kingdom, and all the great powers of Europe? There is not any one in the world who could have imagined the possibility of an event so extraordinary. Almost forgotten by a nation, ever in motion, incapable of rest, and always

taken up with objects present to their senses, and new to their imaginations, he was suddenly exalted to an authority, at least as ample and absolute as any of the French kings. He was invested with the power of taxation, the power of the sword, the power of war and peace, the unlimited power of commanding the resources, and disposing of the lives and fortunes of every man in France. He was furnished with the means of creating an army, by converting every man, who was of age to bear arms, into a soldier, whether for the defence of his own country, or carrying war into the country of an enemy. He had no rival to thwart his measures, no colleague to divide his powers, no council to controul his operations, no liberty of speaking or writing for the expression of public opinion, to check or influence his conduct: and, to crown the whole, his power, resting apparently on the foundations of popular election and democratic sway. From such a man, invested with such

such power, much was to be hoped or feared. If his arrival at Frejus struck Europe with astonishment and raised a general expectation of some approaching and important changes in affairs political and military, the presage was confirmed and ratified by the proceedings at St. Cloud, and the subsequent constitution, formed so suddenly, as has been said, by an union of philosophy with the bayonet.

The glory of the French arms having fallen considerably into the wane, while the conqueror of Italy had become an adventurer, with various fortune, but never without renown in Egypt, he now appeared, on his return, to be the only arbiter, who could change the course of affairs, and decide the destinies of France. As in our researches into the history of ancient Gaul, before the Christian æra, we are guided solely by the commentaries of Julius Cæsar, and every where contemplate that renowned scholar and soldier, as the principal figure in the various scene; so, in relating the war of 1800, one seems as if he were writing the memoirs, and following, throughout, the designs, actions, and fortune of Buonaparte.

Scarcely had that fortunate usurper set his foot on the land of France, when he perceived the staggering state of the interior of that kingdom, and learned the consequences of the defeats which the French had suffered in Italy. They had been driven, by the Austrians and Russians, from all the places which he himself had conquered. Of these defeats he could not arrest either the course or the progress. They were continued, as will by and by be related, to the end of 1799, and even somewhat beyond it.

It would have appeared awkward and mortifying to that ambitious hero, to have placed himself immediately at the head of an army, beaten, discouraged, and ruined. He contented himself, for the present, with transmitting to them addresses after addresses, which served, at least, the purpose of calling him to their remembrance. But he entertained, at the same time, more extensive views. He knew how to appreciate and avail himself of the new enthusiasm in his favour: that enthusiasm of which every one knows the French nation is so highly susceptible. He conceived the brightest hopes of personal glory, and a renovation of the weakened strength of the nation. In order to succeed in these designs, he deemed it sufficient to seize the reins of government, ready to drop of themselves, from the feeble hands of its weak administrators. He had the boldness to do so, and they had not the courage to resist him.

Here it is natural to pause and consider if his rivals in power had succeeded in that anarchical and tumultuous resistance, which they did oppose to him, what the advantages would have been to France. From the success of Buonaparte, it is evident that the French nation had, by this time, become sensible that they stood in need of a master. And, as they were not yet sufficiently enlightened, by experience, to perceive that a hereditary chief was the best, as such a chief alone could prevent the evils of future changes, Buonaparte, being a stranger, and deriving no family consequences from any relationship to crowned heads, was as good as any other. In the opinion, however, of

many people, not only in France, but in other countries, the new dictatorship of Buonaparte was, in fact, a great step towards the restoration of the monarchy. Buonaparte, it was said, would save himself from many evils and cover his head with eternal glory, if he could accomplish that grand work in a manner consistent with the internal tranquillity and general happiness of France, and the peace and advantage of neighbouring nations.\*

The grand obstacle to such a design is, the distribution of the land of the church, and of the nobles, among so immense a number of new proprietors. Yet not a few were of opinion, that, in case of a general reflux in the political sentiments of the French nation, the thing might be found practicable, by means of what remains unsold, and in the hands of government, of royal, or, as they are now called, national domains, and compromises with the present proprietors or incumbents. But while many of the loyalists flattered themselves that there was yet to be another revolution, and that Buonaparte, influenced by public opinion and spirit, was going to imitate the conduct of general Monk, it appeared, from letters of congratulation from the departments, that the French, in general, were

pleased with the change that had taken place in the government, which appeared to have assumed a kind of consistency. Having long been ill governed, they were glad to see a change from which they could hope, at least, that their affairs would be conducted with vigour and ability. Meanwhile the public funds kept rising, and every thing was quiet at Paris, and in the departments, except in those of the West, where *Cornet*, who had been a member of the council of the ancients, with another deputy, was sent to pacify the loyalists, as above mentioned. Five and twenty members of the legislative body were sent as deputies, or military prefects, to five-and-twenty new military divisions of the country, called prefectures.

The force of the royalists, or Chouans, in Brittany and Normandy, November, 1799, amounted to sixty thousand. They threatened the town of Quimper, of which they were at one period in possession. Several garrisons were disposed by government on the coasts of Flanders and Picardy, for obstructing their progress. The army of loyalists, in Normandy, under the command of the count de Frotté, was considerable. A part of this army, called the divi-

\* The following note is taken from the conversation of an intelligent and moderate, though, perhaps, on the present point, too sanguine a loyalist. "If I had acquired what Buonaparte has acquired, I would give none of it up; and the only means, perhaps, of consolidating and eternizing his glory would be, after settling the affairs of France in the best manner possible, to call to the throne the duke of Angoulême, or the duke of Anguien. Having done this, I would not accept any secondary station: no, not even a sovereignty. As a simple compensation, I would accept only a sum of money, sufficient to form an independent establishment in some free and neutral country, such as the United States of America. I would thus be assured of living tranquil and happily all the rest of my days, and that no catastrophe would either bereave me of felicity, or sully my fame. In fact, it would be necessary to unite the examples of Sesostris, Lycurgus, and Belisarius, in order to form a just comparison with such a conduct on the part of Buonaparte."

tion of Evreux, at Pacy, near Evreux, stopped the dispatches for government, from Brest; and, on the seventeenth of November, Mr. Ingaut, of St. Maure, a chevalier of St. Louis, and commandant of the division at Evreux, had published a proclamation in the name of king Louis XVIII. inviting the loyal French to rally around the standards of their defenders against the new usurpers of the monarchy, adding these words: "Whether these ambitious men assume the title of directors or of consuls, or substitute, in room of the old institutions, a new code, be assured that you will have only one tyrant instead of another. Remember our oath, never to sheath our swords till we have destroyed the enemies of our august sovereign." The other chiefs of the loyalists of Normandy and Brittany published like proclamations. By letters from the department of La Manche, (the channel,) bearing date the twenty-fourth of November, that a body of loyalists, who had been defeated at La Foce, where they had lost two thousand men, had rallied in the forest of St. Lever, and that general count de Buais, with his division, had not quitted the cantons which border on the Orne and the Maus; and, on the Ville and Villaine, Fronca, with his division, had overrun all Brittany, and seemed to direct their march to Avranches, in the neighbourhood of which place were spread detachments of one, two, and three hundred men, who levied contributions, arms, and provisions. It was believed that the Russian troops, who had come to pass the winter in the isles of Jersey and Guernsey, were destined to favour the movements

of the loyalists, and even to join them.

Towards the end of November, 1799, Buonaparte and all the members of the new government expressed a desire of peace, not only with the royalist armies in France, but even a great number of the emigrants. On the twenty-ninth of December, the duke of Liancourt, whose name had been struck off from the list of emigrants, September, 1797, was appointed superintendant of the police; and the minister of police wrote letters to the commissioners of the armies of the North, censuring the harsh and inhuman behaviour of the men who had conducted, from Calais to Ham, the unfortunate emigrants who had been driven aground on the coast of France; the dukes of Choiseul, Vibre, and Montmorency, and twenty-seven others. This spirit of moderation, on the part of the new chief of France, did not yet rest on sure foundations. His authority, newly established by revolutionists, was not sufficient for the exercise of all that humanity and justice, which it was equally his interest and disposition to display; still less had he the power of restoring their possessions to the emigrants. Unhappily a great number of these, as well as of priests, fondly trusting in the first appearances of moderation, returned, but were repelled from France; subjected to additional inconveniences and miseries.

An armistice was agreed to on the twenty-third of November, between general Hedoville and the counts de Chatillon, Bourmont, and Autichamp, the principal leaders, of the insurgents in the western departments.

On the twenty-fourth of November, 1799, Hedoville, commander-in-chief of what was called the army of England, destined to reduce the loyalists to peace, from head-quarters at Angers, addressed them, in a proclamation, as follows: "Frenchmen, the happy change, which has taken place in the government, will bring to our nation peace, internal and external. The legislative committees, and the consuls of the republic, do not belong to any faction. Their object is the happiness and glory of the French nation. They have the firmest confidence in the victories of our armies, and every heart partakes with them in this confidence. There is already a suspension of arms in some of the western departments, and orders have been given for carrying it into execution. It is not to be doubted but the chiefs of insurgents, and the inhabitants of districts, occupied by the republican armies, will submit themselves, without delay, to the laws of the republic. A solid peace in the interior is to be established only by the united efforts of all good citizens, to conciliate and gain mutual affection. All who shall contribute their endeavours to this end will deserve well of humanity and of their country."

The conditions of the armistice, in substance, were, that all hostilities of every kind and degree should entirely cease; that all prisoners and hostages on both sides should be set free, but each party to be at liberty still to receive deserters; the number of the republican troops in the western departments not to be augmented; correspondence among the republicans to be carried on either by resolutions transmitted from one body

to another, or by means of very small detachments; correspondence among the disaffected to be protected by the republicans; requisitions to be made by the republicans for the maintenance of the troops only; hostilities not to be renewed on either side without eight days previous notice; no proclamation on either side to be published during the suspension of arms.

This armistice was but ill observed on the part of the *discontented*, as the insurgent loyalists were at this time called. Predatory parties infested still the districts occupied by the republicans, and even made attacks on small detachments and cantonments of the republican parties: separating and reuniting themselves, on certain occasions and signals, as usual. The situation of affairs being reported to the chief consul, bodies of troops were poured into the western departments in succession, and in such numbers as to cut off all hopes of success on the part of the discontented. It was decided by the consul, and peremptory orders were transmitted to Hedoville, and the army, if the soft method of persuasion should fail, to employ the troops in such a manner that there should not be left alive one leader of rebellion. Hedoville undertook the task, and had not a doubt, as he wrote to government, of accomplishing it. It had been reported at Paris that the English had landed on the coast of Brittany in immense force. Hedoville, in his letter to the minister at war, says, that all such reports were either entirely false or greatly exaggerated. And he adds, "That nothing could be more desirable than a descent by the English, as in that case the war might be

be finished at once: for, the great difficulty was not to find them."

Such was the state of affairs in Brittany and Normandy, as appears from the date of Hedoville's letter, in the earlier part of December, 1799. About the same time, a great number of conscripts, who had hid themselves in the woods, between Chateaurenault and Tours, in order to evade the republican armies, joined the royalists, who extended themselves from this quarter into the departments of the Loire and Cher, and those of the Indre and Loire. At the same juncture precisely, a battalion of conscripts, at Chalons, refused to obey the orders of the minister of war. During these transactions, a report was very generally spread, that the whole of the royalists had laid down their arms. But this report was yet premature. It was founded on the pacific disposition expressed by Buonaparte, who had sent addresses, fraught with these, not only to the royalist chiefs and provinces, but to the emperor, Prussia, Russia, Great Britain, and all the powers of Europe. On every side preparation was made for a renewal of the war. In these circumstances of preparations, expectations, and anxious suspense, the language held by Buonaparte, to the disaffected departments, was this: "An impious war threatens, a second time, to inflame the departments of the west. It becomes the duty of the first magistrates of the republic to arrest its progress, and extinguish it in its hearth. But they are loath to employ force until they have exhausted the means of persuasion and justice. The artificers of these troubles are the senseless partisans of two men who have

no honour, and who neither derive their rank from their virtues, nor their misfortunes from their achievements. They are farther traitors, sold to the English, or robbers who foment civil discord only as the means of sheltering them from the punishment due to their crimes.— With such men it is not the duty of government to keep any measures, or to make any declaration of its principles. It is to citizens dear to their country, who are seduced by their arts; it is to these citizens that the lights of the truth is due.

"Unjust laws have been promulgated and executed; arbitrary acts have alarmed the security of the citizens, and the liberty of conscience. Every where random inscriptions on the list of emigrants have struck citizens, who had never quitted their country or even their homes. In a word, the great principles of social order have been violated.

"It is in order to remedy these acts of injustice, and these errors, that a government, founded on the sacred basis of liberty, equality, and a system of representation, has been proclaimed to, and recognized by, the nation. The constant inclination, as well as the interest and the glory of the first magistrates, which the nation has given to itself, will be, to close all the wounds of France: and never yet has this disposition been falsified by any act originating with them.

"The disastrous law of the forced loan, and the still more disastrous law of hostages have been repealed. Individuals exiled without trial have been restored to their country and to their families. Every day has been marked, and shall be, by deeds of justice. The council of state labours incessantly for the re-



formation of bad laws, and a better arrangement for raising the public contributions.

“The consuls declare, moreover, that the liberty of religious worship is guaranteed by the constitution; that no magistrate dares to offer it any violence; that no man dares to say to another—you shall exercise such and such a mode of worship, on such and such a day.

“The law of the twentieth of May, 1795, which leaves to the citizens the free use of the edifices destined to religious purposes, shall be faithfully fulfilled. All the departments ought to be equally under the authority of general laws. But the first magistrates will extend their especial cares, and take a particular interest in the agriculture, manufactures, and commerce of those that have suffered the greatest calamities. Government will pardon and shew grace to the penitent. Their forgiveness and indulgence will be unlimited. But it will strike those who, after this declaration, shall dare to resist the sovereign will of the nation.

“Frenchmen, inhabitants of the departments of the west, rally round the constitution, which invests the magistrates whom it has created with the power, and made it their duty to protect the citizens; which secures them equally from the instability of the laws, and from their severity. Let those who wish the prosperity of France separate themselves from those who persist in their efforts to seduce them, in order to deliver them over to the chains of tyranny and the domination of the stronger. Let the good inhabitants of the country return to their fire-sides, and resume their useful labours. And let them be

on their guard against the insinuations of those who would throw them again into feudal slavery. If, after all the measures just taken by government, there should yet be found men daring enough to provoke a civil war, there would remain to the chief magistrates only the melancholy but necessary duty of subduing them by force. But we, even all of us, will henceforth feel only one sentiment: the love of our country. The ministers of the god of peace will be the first movers of reconciliation and concord. Let them speak to their hearts the language which they have learnt in the school of their master. Let them repair to the temples, again opened to them, to offer, together with their fellow-citizens, the sacrifice which will expiate the crimes of war, and the blood which it shed.” This proclamation was dated the twenty-fifth of December, 1799. On the same day, Buonaparte addressed the French soldiers as follows: “In promising peace to the French nation, I was your organ. I know your valour. You are the men who have conquered Holland, the Rhine, Italy, and made peace under the walls of astonished Vienna.

“Soldiers, it is no longer your business to defend your frontiers: you are now to invade the states of your enemies. There is not one among you who have made different campaigns, but who knows that the most essential duty of a soldier, is, with patience and constancy, to suffer privations. Several years of a bad government are not to be repaired in one day.

“It will be a pleasure to me, in the character of first magistrate, to proclaim to the nation the corps, that, by its discipline and valour, shall



shall best deserve to be hailed as the support of their country

"Soldiers, in due time, I shall be in the midst of you; and astonished Europe shall recollect that you are a race of brave men."

Hedoville, commander-in-chief of the *French army of England*, in the same spirit of reconciliation, which influenced the conduct and dictated the proclamations of Buonaparte, issued orders to the troops under his command, from Nantz, on the twenty-seventh of December, 1799, to observe, with the strictest exactness, the conditions of the armistice. He discharged them from making any attack whatever, or upon any pretence, on either bodies of armed men or individuals. They were ordered to abstain from all requisitions, except of things necessary to the subsistence of the French cantonments and garrisons: and requisitions, even of these, were not to be enforced by arms. It was true that the depredations committed every where, by the miserable banditti, in spite of the suspension of arms, and who were for the most part disobedient to their chiefs, were grounds of recrimination and reprisal. But it was proper to suffer these for a time. A short space would decide what was to be done on this point, and the whole of the question relating to the western departments.—At the same time he enjoined the strictest vigilance over the motions of the foreign enemy. The general officers were ordered to establish, by night and day, frequent and numerous patrols all along the coasts. If the English should land, the French general officers were to hold themselves in readiness to execute the orders they should receive.—

No soldier was permitted to appear alone, or at a distance from the troop or body to which he belonged.

Buonaparte, having established a new constitution, and a new government; having proclaimed his designs and views, founded, as he alleged, on principles of moderation, justice, and peace to all French citizens and soldiers, to the royalists, and to all the continental powers, had yet one step to take, in order either to accomplish a general peace, or to justify the continuance of war. He addressed the following letter, dated the twenty-fifth of December, 1799, to the king of Great Britain and of Ireland:

"Called by the wishes of the French nation, to occupy the first magistracy of the republic, I think it proper, on entering into office, to make a direct communication of it to your majesty.

"The war, which, for eight years, has ravaged the four quarters of the world, must it be eternal? Are there no means of coming to an understanding?

"How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe, powerful and strong beyond what their independence requires, sacrifice to ideas of vain greatness, the benefits of commerce, internal prosperity, and the happiness of families? How is it that they do not feel that peace is of the first necessity, as well as of the first glory?

"These sentiments cannot be foreign to the heart of your majesty, who reigns over a free nation, and with the sole view of making it happy.

"Your majesty will see in this overture, only my sincere desire to contribute efficaciously, for a second time,

time, to a general pacification, by a step, speedy, entirely of confidence, and disengaged from those forms which, necessary, perhaps, to disguise the dependence of weak states, prove, in those which are strong, only the mutual desire of deceiving one another.

"France and England, by the abuse of their strength, may still, for a long time, for the misfortune of all nations, retard the period of their being exhausted; but I will venture to say it, the fate of all civilized nations depends on the termination of a war, which involves the whole world."

Without pretending to decide on the humanity or good faith of Buonaparte, we cannot help observing that there is, in this epistle, a brevity, a dignity, and plausibility, that would not disgrace any throne, or any prince accustomed to, and not unworthy of, sovereign power. The answer of lord Grenville, the British minister for foreign affairs, was very unlike to that of Buonaparte. Buonaparte's letter was full of good sense, equally free from republican fanaticism, and courtly adulation. The answer of lord Grenville proves that a man may possess talents, and yet not always sound judgement and discretion. The substance of it was, that Buonaparte was not a person or character to be treated with; that he should acknowledge himself to be an usurper; retract his principles; and resign the throne he now filled to a branch of the family of Bourbon. It avoided general principles, and, with a mixture of passion and diplomatic pedantry, and petulance, entered into a detail of circum-

stances. But as lord Grenville's letter is given, at full length, among the State Papers in this volume,\* as well as the parts of the correspondence on the French overture, and as that correspondence became a subject of discussion in the British parliament, of which we shall presently give some account, we shall not, in this place, say any thing more of that piece of diplomacy.

The chief consul made another attempt at negotiation. In a letter addressed, by Talleyrand, to lord Grenville, the conduct of France was vindicated from the censures of the English ministers for foreign relations; and it was proposed that a suspension of arms should immediately take place, and plenipotentiaries be sent to Dunkirk, or any other convenient place of meeting. The reply to this second note of the French government was, in substance, the same with that to the first, as will be seen in turning to the State Papers in this volume.—The same dignity of moral and political sentiment, real or affected, that appeared in Buonaparte's communications to the British government, were conspicuous also in a letter which he addressed, nearly at the same time, to the burgomasters of the free and imperial city of Hamburg.

The senate of Hamburg had been, for some time, involved in a contest with the emperor of Russia, by surrendering the Irish rebel, Napper Tandy, and his accomplices, to the British government. In October, however, it had complied with the demand, and thus procured a removal of the embargo, to which Paul had subjected the

\* See State Papers, p. 204.

ships of the Hamburgers in his ports. The French government, incensed at the surrender, ordered a similar embargo, and denounced against the petty state farther vengeance. The burgomasters sent to Buonaparte, about the middle of December, a submissive and cringing letter of apology, excuse, and congratulation. They had submitted the matter, they said, to the decision of the king of Prussia, in capacity of chief director of the circle of Lower Saxony, and as a guarantee of the neutrality of the North of Germany. His majesty persisted in leaving it undecided.—Their ruin, and utter annihilation, they said, would have been the inevitable consequence, had they attempted a vain resistance. The only means left for escaping this destruction; was, to confide in the generosity of the French nation. They presumed to hope that the chief consul, having maturely weighed the merits of their cause, would not hesitate to suspend the severe measures which the directory had adopted, and ordered to be enforced against their town; and they concluded, with praying, that he would be pleased to accept the homage of their profound respect.

It is the sad lot of human kind, that, in large states, the bulk of the people possess little or no share of political power; and that small ones do not enjoy political independence.

To the letter of the Hamburgers, so like those of the small refractory states, reduced to obedience to the

Roman republic, Buonaparte gave the following answer, dated the thirtieth of December, 1799: "We have received your letter, gentlemen. It is no justification of your conduct. It is by virtue and courage that states are preserved: cowardice and vice prove their ruin. You have violated the laws of hospitality; such a violation would not have taken place among the barbarian hordes of the desert. Your fellow-citizens will impute it to you as an eternal reproach.

"The two unfortunate men, whom you have given up, will die illustrious; but their blood will be a source of greater evils to their persecutors than could be brought upon them by a whole army." But Buonaparte, himself, recognized the validity of the plea of weakness, urged by the burgomaster of Hamburg, when he imperiously ordered the senate to arrest the editors of the paper called the *Censeur*, printed at Hamburg, and circulated through all the north of Germany. This paper made repeated and continual attacks on the French government, with the most unbounded freedom. One Burgoyne, citizen Burgoyne, as he called himself, on the twenty-first of July, demanded, in the name of his government, the apprehension of the editors, Messieurs Berlin and Mesmot, who were arrested accordingly by the magistrate presiding over the police of the city, taken into custody, and seals put upon their papers.

## C H A P. VI.

*Meeting of Parliament.—Message from the King, respecting Overtures of Peace from the Consular Government of France.—Debates thereon in both Houses.*

**BOTH** houses of the British parliament, pursuant to adjournment, met on the 21st of January.\* In the house of commons some papers were laid on the table, and motions made and agreed to for the production of others. In the house of peers lord Grenville intimated that he would, the next day, bring down a message from his majesty, and at the same time, by his majesty's command, lay certain important papers on their lordships' table, to be taken into consideration on a future day. On January 22d, his majesty's message was delivered accordingly. As the supplies granted in the commencement of the present session had been calculated to provide only for the first months of the year, his majesty recommended it to the commons to make such farther provision as they might judge necessary under the present circumstances, for the several branches of the public service and for the vigorous prosecution of the war. And on this occasion he had thought it proper to direct that there should be laid before the house copies of communications

recently received from the enemy, and of the answers which had been returned thereto by his majesty's command.—These communications and answers have been noticed in the last chapter.—His majesty had no object more at heart than that of contributing, as soon as the situation of affairs should render it practicable, to the re-establishment of the general tranquillity of Europe, on a sure and solid foundation. And he relied on the continued support of his parliament, in such measures as might best tend to confirm the signal advantages which had been obtained to the common cause, in the course of the last campaign, and to conduct the great contest in which his majesty was engaged to a safe and honourable conclusion. After the papers mentioned in the king's message had been read, lord Grenville moved, that "his majesty's message be taken into consideration, on Tuesday next," which was agreed to. Lord Grenville then presented a second message from his majesty, relating to the accommodation of the Russian auxiliary troops in his

\* As the proceedings of what may be called the autumnal session of parliament, 1799, related to the war in Holland, and some other matters of concern of the time, we gave an account of that session in our last volume.

majesty's European dominions, during the winter, in the islands of Guernsey and Jersey. And he moved, "that this message be taken into consideration on the same day with the first:" which was also agreed to.

These two messages were brought down to the house of commons by Mr. Pitt, and a day fixed of course for their consideration. On Tuesday, January 28th, 1800, the order of the day, for taking into consideration his majesty's message, relative to the overtures from France, being read, lord Grenville made a variety of observations on the importance of the question under their lordships' consideration. "It was not possible," he observed, "to have made the study of the present condition of the world, as he had done, a principal object of care, without perceiving that a hostile mind still pervaded the whole conduct of the enemy. It was obvious that the same proneness to aggression, the same disregard to justice, still actuated the conduct of the men who rule in France. Under such circumstances there could be no security to Europe in peace. Peace, with a nation whose war was made against all order and religion, all morality, would be rather a cessation of resistance to wrong, than a suspension of arms in the nature of ordinary warfare. It was in war, that ourselves, and the great civil community of Europe, were to find security. To negotiate with established governments was formerly not merely easy, but, under most circumstances, wise: but, to negotiate with the government of France now would be to incur all the risks of an uncertain peace, without attaining one of the benefits of even a temporary peace.

The motion he was about to submit," he said, "would give to his majesty a pledge of the unchanged and unalterable affection of that house, while the continued support of parliament would give energy and effect to such measures as might be adopted to conduct the great contest, in which his majesty was engaged, to a safe and honourable conclusion. The motion would be founded on two principles: The first was, that France still retained those sentiments and views which characterized the dawn, and continued to march with the progress, of her revolution: the second, that no safe, honourable, and permanent peace could be made with France in her present situation. The French minister, Talleyrand, had asserted in his note, 'That, from the commencement of the revolution, the republic solemnly proclaimed her love of peace, her disinclination to conquests, and her respect for the independence of all governments.' Yet, she had been at war with all the nations of Europe, except two, (Sweden and Denmark,) and next to being at war with America. And if war had not been formally declared by France against those two northern powers, their subjects, and the commerce that had been carried on by them, had suffered, in aggravated instances, from the cruizers of the republic, whose depredations found sanction from her laws, a series of injuries, of insults, and injustice: tolerable in war, because common to it; but most intolerable in peace, because directly repugnant to the principles of any just peace, or recognized equality. With regard to the second principle, that no safe, permanent, and honourable peace could be made with France,

France, in her present situation; every power with whom the republic had treated, whether for armistice or peace, could furnish melancholy instances of the perfidy of France, and of the ambition, injustice, and cruelty, of her rulers."— This position lord Grenville illustrated by a review of their conduct to the Swiss, the grand duke of Tuscany, the king of Sardinia, the pope, the king of Naples, Spain, Holland, Venice, Genoa, and other smaller Italian states: and, lastly, on this subject of the ambition and injustice of the rulers of France, he mentioned the French invasion of Egypt.

His lordship then proceeded to an investigation of the degree of credit to which the present character of Buonaparte could be considered as justly entitled: "We shall not be destitute," said his lordship, "of sufficient grounds for judging what degree of reliance is to be placed on his present promises and professions, from considering his past actions, if we trace general Buonaparte from the period when, in the third year of the republic, he imposed upon the French people, by the mouth of the cannon, that very constitution which he has now destroyed by the point of the bayonet." He enumerated many instances in which Buonaparte had violated the treaties which he himself had made.—"Even the affiliated republics," he said, "were equally the victims of his destructive perfidy. The constitution of the Cisalpine republic, which was the work of Buonaparte, was overthrown by the hands of his general, Berthier. But this is not all, my lords; let us now pass from the continent of Europe, and try if the subsequent

conduct of the first consul can furnish any grounds more satisfactory, to give us a favourable opinion of his sincerity. When he arrived at Malta, he held the same specious promises of good faith, by which he had so frequently succeeded in betraying states and governments; but he treated this island as a conquered country, and despoiled it of every thing that was valuable. I now come to his proceedings in Egypt. It would be very unnecessary in me to detain your lordships by details with which you are already too well acquainted; but I cannot avoid calling your attention to that part of his conduct which is diplomatic. I shall, of course, pass over his deceitful professions, his rapacities, and the cruel massacres which were perpetrated by his troops, and by his immediate orders. He solemnly declared to the Porte, that he had no intention to take possession of Egypt; he declared to his own generals, that his object was to take possession of that country; and he assured the people of Egypt, that he had taken possession of it with the consent of the Porte. What can we think of his blasphemies, his hypocrisies, his repeated acts of perfidy, his multiplied violations of all religions and moral ties? Did he not declare, in the most unqualified terms, that the French were true Mussulmen? Is it in that country that he has laid the foundation for us to rest with security upon the good faith and sincerity which he now professes? Having, therefore, such bases for us to form a correct opinion of his policy, can it be thought inconsistent to believe that he has no intention of fulfilling his engagements? Can we so soon forget his delicate apprehensions



fens, with respect to the lives of his remaining soldiers, after his flight, and his directions to general Kleber to propose preliminaries of peace to the Porte; to enter into a treaty of peace, and to defer the execution of the articles? ‘You may, (says he, in his official letter,) sign a treaty to evacuate Egypt; but do not execute the articles, as you may observe, with great plausibility, that it must be sent home, in order to be submitted to the inspection and ratification of the directory.’—Thus, my lords, we are in complete possession of his system of politics, a system as fraudulent, perfidious, and destructive, as ever was practised, to the disgrace and misery of human nature. Thus are we provided with unquestionable pledges of his future integrity. In the correspondence which appears upon your table, his motives are open and undisguised; and there is not the least necessity for having recourse to conjecture to ascertain that he has a double object in his communication. The one is to amuse Great Britain, and the other to induce her to give offence to her allies. I hope I shall not be accused of entertaining any unfounded jealousy of such a man, who, having done nothing to redeem his good faith, so often violated, but the overturning the government of his country by the terror of military despotism, now comes forward with proposals of pacification. When we are fully satisfied with the share which he has had in previous aggressions and depredations, can we be too slow in giving him credit for professions of sincerity?”

Lord Grenville had heard it reported, as a matter of opinion, that it was the peculiar interest of the first consul to make peace. He was

convinced that it might be the interest of general Buonaparte to consolidate his power; but it could not be forgotten, that whenever any acts of atrocity were to be committed by the French, they had been usually effected by a suspension of arms. The proposed negotiation would relieve France from the present pressure of numerous and alarming difficulties, and could not relieve England from any. The ports of France, now blockaded by our fleets and cruisers, would be thrown open, for the purpose of introducing naval stores: fleets too would be sent to bring back the troops which were now deprived of all intercourse with the republic.—From a negotiation Buonaparte would derive considerable advantages to the commerce and manufactures of the republic, whilst this country, with respect to any benefit, would be left merely in its present situation. He would also enjoy the satisfaction and the triumph of lowering the tone and the character of a people who had hitherto proved the great and the effectual barrier against the encroachments of republican policy, and infuse into our allies, and the other powers, a distrust of our resolution and integrity.—His lordship observed, that, in turbulent republics, it had ever been an axiom, to preserve tranquillity by constant action; this axiom had uniformly been the standard by which the system of the politics of France had been regulated. Buonaparte had made strong professions of a desire of peace, and he had said that the present overture was the second proof of his wish to effectuate a general pacification. But lord Grenville was at a loss to find any proof of his having entertained such a desire. Did he allude



to the treaty of CampoFormio? When official intelligence of that transaction was sent by him to the directory, *Mongé*, speaking in his name, and delivering his act, his acknowledged instrument and confidential agent, declared, that the French republic and England could not exist together. So that, if he even were allowed to have an evident interest in promoting peace, would not their lordships be perfectly justified in pausing and reflecting on what degree of faith should be given to the interest and power of such an individual? They had been lately told, by the present government of France, that there existed no security, no guarantee for the preservation of peace in the republic from 1793, to November, 1799. So much did the actors in the last revolution believe the statement of *Boulay de la Meurthe*,\* that they founded their claims to the approbation and assent of the people of France, on the declaration that their government was founded on a just view of those vices and defects, which were to stop the revolutions of the republican order. What other course then would wisdom bid Great Britain adopt, but await the event of things, to await the result of future experience, and not to enter on negotiation at a time when no advantage could be fairly expected from it? If they abandoned the manly and energetic conduct which had hitherto distinguished their proceedings, they would descend from a station which they had filled with so much honour to themselves, and advantage to their country. On these grounds he moved, "That a humble address be pre-

sented to his majesty, thanking him for his gracious message, and expressing the concurrence of that house, in the sentiments which it contained.

The duke of Bedford rose to give the address his decided negative. The noble secretary had attempted to defend the conduct of his majesty's ministers in refusing to accede to overtures for peace, from the impossibility of any government that France had, since the revolution, affording a sufficient guarantee for the success of any negotiations that might be entered into. But all the objections now advanced to preclude negotiation might have been urged when the negotiations were opened at Lisle. This argument the duke placed in various points of view, and urged it with much ability.—It was clear that the wild scheme of restoring the French monarchy was the *sine qua non*, if not of peace, at least of negotiation. What hopes there were of such an event ever taking place by the exertions of this country, he would leave their lordships to determine: but of this fact he was certain, that in proportion as this country oppressed France, in the same proportion did its government become violent. When a country was kept in a state of warfare, it was always able to adopt and carry on more violent measures than in times of peace.—If the restoration of the monarchy were not the object of ministers, what was it? Were they contending for a more favourable opportunity of entering on negotiation? How, if that was the case, was a more favourable opportunity to be attained? Was it by railing at

\* See his speech in the committee of elders, in chap. III. page 32.

Bonaparte? He could not, in terms sufficiently strong, censure that littleness of mind which prompted his majesty's ministers to attack the character of Buonaparte, with a view to ruin him in the esteem of the French nation; as if, by doing so, they would be able to negotiate with more effect, or gain a fairer prospect of peace.—His grace admitted that there might be occasions when it might be necessary to decline the negotiation: but no such occasion existed at the present moment. He referred to former declarations of the noble secretary, wherein he had stated that his majesty would never suffer the enemies of the country to possess that advantage which they necessarily must derive from his refusal to discuss their overtures for peace. In fact, every thing he had advanced, as reasons for entering into the former negotiation, was at variance with what he had said to-night. It had, in the note to Barthelemy, been asserted, that England would always be willing to treat, when its enemies shewed a disposition to that effect.—If this disposition was not a mockery, why did it not treat now? France had shewn a pacific disposition, and the only way to ascertain whether she was sincere, and whether Buonaparte was willing to do these acts, by which he could guarantee the security of this country, was to enter into a negotiation. To determine to persist in the war after the concessions on the part of the French government, was neither open, manly, nor characteristic of the British nation. He next referred to the report of Boulay de la Meurthe, relative to the government and situation of France and its rulers for the last seven years, and admitted,

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that what was said by Boulay de la Meurthe was the same as proceeding from Buonaparte: but his report was no more to be used by the people of this country as an argument against the lately abolished constitution of France, than a report of any violent jacobin upon the ancient government of Louis XVI. He referred also to the reports of Mongé, upon presenting the treaty of Campo Formio to the directory; and maintained, that his declaration in that report was far from complete evidence; that it was the general opinion of the French nation that England and France could not exist together. With regard to the character of Buonaparte, he did not see any use that could be drawn from going into it. He, like all statesmen, no doubt, wished to make a peace, advantageous to himself, and the nation over which he presided. Like all other statesmen, his motives in wishing to make a peace were not influenced by humanity; it was to be supposed that he would not make any peace, but such an one as would satisfy the French nation. He believed him sincere, because France wished for peace, and peace alone could consolidate his power. The events of war were uncertain; and, whenever a leader failed, and was deserted by fortune, the people deserted him likewise. If Buonaparte should experience reverses, he would, no doubt, be destroyed, and some other idol substituted. It was for their lordships to consider, whether they would continue the war for the purpose of establishing some other person in the room of Buonaparte. As to the abuse which ministers had thrown upon the character of that man, he felt no concern upon

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the subject; for he entertained no doubt that they would retract all they had said if it should be necessary to do so. They had abused every ruling power in France; but, whenever they had been driven by the general voice of the people to negotiate, their former ill language had never been any impediment. Ministers had tried negotiation, and had failed, and, because they had failed, it was to be a reason why they should not persevere. Let the people tell them to make peace, and they would make it. Without the voice of the people they never would: for they were sensible, that in the calm moments of peace, the people would inquire of themselves for what they had been spending their best blood and treasure. They would find, that they had obtained nothing to justify such expenditure and heavy calamities as war had produced. Such would be their reflections; and ministers, knowing this, wished to procrastinate the war. Nothing but the courage and magnanimity of the people themselves could relieve the country. The people were bending, the duke observed, under the accumulated weight of taxes, and it was for the rulers to take care that they did not sink. A continuance of that oppression, which they had endured, would either make them torpid slaves, or prepare them for revolution. If the people were driven to despair, by griping tax-gatherers, like the French, they would look up to themselves, and redress their own grievances. If he failed in stemming the torrent, and checking that system which involved the people's liberties, and threatened to plunge the country into all the horrors of

a devastative revolution, he should in future refrain from troubling the house. He would now only observe, that they could not regard the address proposed by ministers, as containing the sentiments of their sovereign, but their own; and, as such they should freely and vigorously discuss and examine it. He then submitted to their lordships consideration a counter address; which, after enumerating the repeated declarations, of a pacific disposition, and overtures for peace on the part of his majesty, expressed the "Regrets of the lords spiritual and temporal at perceiving that his majesty had been advised to reject the first overtures for a general pacification on the part of the enemy; and humbly implored his majesty to give directions for the immediate renewal, if possible, of a negotiation for peace with the French republic, most fervently beseeching his majesty to recur to those principles of moderation and equity, so solemnly and so repeatedly avowed, and which, if strictly adhered to, must ensure the speedy restoration of all the blessings of peace, or, render our enemies alone accountable for all the calamities too certainly attendant on a continuance of hostilities."

Lord Borringdon said, that a revolution, perhaps the most important that even France, herself, had yet witnessed, had lately placed on the throne of power, in that country—he would give him no epithets—he was certainly a most celebrated and extraordinary man. Without considering his personal character, it was sufficient for his purpose, if he stated that he was very recently arrived at the post which he occupied; that it was utterly impossible

impossible to guess how long he might remain there; and consequently equally impossible to feel any security with respect to his power of observing any treaty that might be concluded with him.—He might be succeeded in the government by the jacobin faction, whose old cry of war, eternal war with England, would, no doubt, lead them to put an end to any treaty which might be depending between the two countries: when we should be entirely at the mercy of France. He could not pretend to determine what might be the real dispositions of the first consul, relative to general pacification. It was, however, not a little remarkable, that though, in the first note transmitted, by the secretary of state, to France, his majesty expressly stated his intentions of acting only in concert with his allies, not one word should be said, in the second French note, respecting peace with the allies. We were expressly invited to Dunkirk, for the purpose of concluding peace between England and France; and no reference whatever was made to any of those allies, in concert with whom, alone, his majesty had so properly declared his intention of acting. He argued, therefore, that even if we had acceded to the French propositions, it was highly probable that we might have left in existence the continental war: we might have enabled France, in a certain degree, to have recruited her forces; and to bring her forces so recruited, against our allies. We might have left alive the military, habits, spirits, and occupations, of that military nation: we might have prepared for Buonaparte's successors, (for he

would not, as the noble secretary had, at least, imprudently done, suppose that general to be a faithless observer of treaties) a power more formidable than that now enjoyed by Buonaparte himself; more formidable from its intrinsic strength; more formidable from the views and principles of those who might be intrusted with the direction of it, but above all, more formidable, from the depressed and abject state in which it would, most assuredly, under such circumstances, find this country.

The duke of Bedford had said, that the first note, transmitted by the secretary of state to France, was not one that was likely to induce Buonaparte to acknowledge the original aggression of France, or to disclaim those principles which had contributed so much to the commencement and continuance of the war. But, in a paragraph in lord Grenville's letter, it had been stated, that no advantage could arise from negotiation until it should distinctly appear, that the principles, which originally produced the war, had cease to operate. If Buonaparte was really sincere in his professions (for lord Boringdon, in the course and animation of speaking, was seduced from his determination to say nothing of Buonaparte's sincerity or insincerity)—if Buonaparte was sincere in his professions of peace, this would naturally have induced him, if not to make any new professions of principles, at least, to confirm those which he had already made, on the eve of his revolution, by his organ, Boulay de la Meurthe. But Talleyrand, in his second note, is made, in a great degree, to justify all the excesses of the former government,

vernments, and to plead the cause of those whose aggressions had originally provoked the war. Had Buonaparte been really desirous of peace, is it not probable that he would have taken advantage of the invitation which he had just read, to announce his dereliction of those principles and objects which had hitherto guided the different governments in France, and to confirm those professions which he had made through Boulay de la Meurthe? This organ, Boulay de la Meurthe, is, however, ordered to renounce them when no negotiation is depending: but his organ, Talleyrand, when negotiation is depending; when he is invited to renounce them; and when the renunciation of them might remove an obstacle to peace,—his organ, Talleyrand, is then ordered to adopt and justify them. Lord Borringdon asked if that looked like a sincere desire of continuing the peace.

Lord Romney had little faith to place in Buonaparte's professions. The chief consul might mean by these merely to perplex our government, and to render himself popular at home. But, in this case, we had laboured that he might gain his end. We certainly should have entered into negotiation, and seen what terms he would have offered us. We should have said, "We formerly made propositions of peace to you, let us now hear the nature of yours." From this, no bad consequence could have followed. All military operations were suspended at any rate, and the preparations might have gone on with equal vigour for next campaign. If the terms offered by Buonaparte should have been unreasonable, they might have been rejected with disdain.

The odium of continuing the war would thus have been thrown on Buonaparte, and every Englishman would have contributed with cheerfulness to carry it on.

The earl of Carlisle said, that, by carrying on the war, their lordships had obtained every object they had proposed to themselves in beginning it. We had destroyed that monster which preyed on the vitals of the constitution, and threatened its existence. We had checked the career of the conquests of France. We had obtained security, and security we should continue to enjoy, by continuing the war, and in this way only. He was confident that to enter into a negotiation at present would be to ruin the country, and would therefore vote heartily for the address. As to the violent answers that had been returned to the overtures of the French government, ministers might not improbably have reasons to justify these, unknown to their lordships. He thought very highly of ministers. They had, by their prudence and steadiness, saved the country, which would inevitably have been ruined, had the opposition been allowed to carry into execution their impolitic projects.

Lord Holland made the following, among a great variety of observations:—One great point was now ascertained by the correspondence, which, in a most important degree, changed the relative situation of the two powers. We could no longer say, as formerly, that the continuance of the war was to be ascribed to the avowed animosity of the enemy. It was not said, now, that the enemy would not make or listen to overtures: but, that the English ministers did not

not like to listen to, or to make overtures: that is, that it was our animosity that precluded a negotiation for peace. One of the principal objections now urged, to any negotiation with France, was the recency of the late revolution. On former occasions, ministers themselves had not considered such a circumstance as affording any objection against negotiation, as of itself it could be none. It was said, that Buonaparte might be insincere. There were no good grounds for supposing that the French government was insincere: on the contrary, every day tended to demonstrate its sincerity. Was it reasonable to suppose that Buonaparte should admit that the guilt of the original aggression lay with France? The noble secretary himself, in an official correspondence, during a former negotiation, had expressly stated that there was no reason to go into the question, who was right or wrong in a preceding negotiation. The object was, to negotiate on the actual circumstances of relative situation, and on the real grounds in dispute. It was not Talleyrand who began this contest about the original aggression. He merely stated, that the original aggression was not the question. Suppose that Buonaparte, desirous to obtain peace by every means, should sit down to consider how he would succeed in the object of his wishes, what does lord Grenville's note allow him to do? He would find, indeed, that the restoration of the hereditary line of kings was the only case in which a speedy peace was admitted to be possible. His own government must be proved, by experience and the evidence of

facts, before it was admitted to negotiate. But what was this experience and the evidence of facts? Formerly six weeks were deemed sufficient. Now the probation required was neither ascertained by its direction, nor by the mode in which it was to be conducted. Unfortunately it was too true, that the example of this country might give to France an apology for some part of her violence. What had been our conduct to neutral powers? Had not we violated the neutrality of the grand duke of Tuscany, in spite of the most solemn treaties? Had we not violated the neutrality of Genoa? What was the conduct of our allies? Did not the Russians violate the neutrality of other states? Did it not prescribe to the king of Denmark that no clubs should be permitted in his dominions? The noble secretary, in justifying the conduct of ministers in rejecting all negotiation, drew many of his arguments from the second letter of Talleyrand. But nothing in that note could be the least palliation of the refusal to negotiate; because the decision of ministers was pronounced, before they would know or suspect that a second messenger would be received. It was objected, that the French had said nothing of a general peace, to which alone we could agree. The letter of the chief consul however, to his majesty, alluded to the miseries of war every where, and expressed a desire, every where (in fair construction) to put an end to them. At any rate, we might have suggested the propriety of an explicit avowal. The noble secretary had enumerated the evils that would arise from negotiation. But



these sentiments were new with him. Not a word was said of that matter after the failure of the negotiation at Paris and Lisle. We had now taken up the principle so much objected to the jacobins, of distinguishing a people from their government. What, on the contrary, was the conduct of the French? In the letter to the king, Buonaparte distinctly renounces this principle, and acknowledges the title and character of his majesty's government. On our part, the note of ministers was a manifesto to the royalists. It spoke of the miseries of France: but the miseries of France were not the cause of the war. They might interest humanity, but they were not fit to be noticed in diplomatic papers. We had as little to do with the internal miseries of the republic, as Talleyrand would have to retaliate, by reproaching us with the test-acts, the want of parliamentary reform, the income, or assessed tax-acts, or any other public measure that might be considered as a grievance. If it should afterwards clearly appear that Buonaparte had been sincere, how would their lordships reconcile it to their consciences, to have given their implicit sanction to measures that prolonged the calamities of war for so long a period, without any motive of honour, interest, or security?

The earl of Carnarvon did not consider the answer given to Buonaparte as a refusal to treat for peace, or a declaration of eternal war, but only as a call on the house and country to pause, before they suffered themselves rashly to enter into negotiation with a government, of the principles and

probable stability of which it was absolutely necessary, that they should be enabled to judge from experience and the evidence of facts.

The earl of Liverpool concurred so entirely with the noble secretary, in the topics he had urged, on the present occasion, that he needed not to go over them again, but merely to express his assent. He did, however, go over several of them; and added the following argument of his own: All the commerce of the world was now brought into our harbours. Should we depart from a system that had brought us into such a situation, without the least chance for security for its continuance, but, on the contrary, almost the certainty of its destruction, by following another course?

The earl of Carlisle asked, to what we were indebted for the commerce of the world? No doubt to the war. Peace, therefore, must deprive us of a part, and return it to its former sources. This argument, then, was not only against entering into a negotiation with France, now, but at any future time, and under any circumstances whatever; and he put it to the noble lord, whether it was arguing like a philosopher or a statesman, to insist that war must be continued in, in order that all the ships of the world should come into the ports of London?

On a division of the house the address was carried by 79 against 6. His majesty's message respecting the Russian troops was also approved, and assented to.

On the third of July, the order of the day, for taking into consideration



tion his majesty's message, was moved, in the house of commons, by

Mr. Dundas, who, in considering the question before the house, called their attention to the leading principles of the French revolution, whatever form it might assume. He stated it as an undeniable fact, that the leading feature of the French revolution was a total disregard to all treaties and obligations, and a sovereign contempt for the rights and privileges of other powers. "If," said Mr. Dundas, "it were necessary to adduce a proof, I should refer merely to one transaction. Has there been, I ask, any attempt to palliate the French decree of the nineteenth of November? a decree constituting it a part of their bounden duty to excite insurrection and sedition in other states, for the purpose of overthrowing their existing governments. I contend, that this proclamation contains the code of the revolution, and that its spirit never has been departed from in a single instance; and I also contend, from its obvious overture, that there is no person present who would attempt to justify the publication of that decree. I do not, as I have already stated, intend to detail the various enormities and offences that have occurred since the French revolution; but it is necessary to consider and weigh with due attention how far France has observed its faith with foreign nations, and whether it has constantly manifested a peaceable disposition. Sir, I know perfectly well, and have no hesitation to confess, that the French revolution professed its object to be purely pacific, and at an early period proclaimed such to be its intention. I admit a proclamation to that effect, shortly after the revolution; but it

is necessary to recollect whether this that was proposed was its real genius and character; and a singular thing it is, truly, that in the interval between the date of that proclamation and the present moment, there is scarcely a nation that has not been either at war with France, or on the eve of being so; not from any ambition or want of faith on their part, but in consequence of the open violation of subsisting treaties, and direct aggression by the French republic. In proof of this assertion, I beg leave merely to recite the names of the different nations with which it has been at war within that time; Spain, Naples, Sardinia, Tuscany, Genoa, Geneva, Modena, Venice, Austria, Russia, England, Egypt, (a laugh), aye, and even that creature of its creation, the Cisalpine republic; so that Denmark and Sweden are the only two kingdoms that have not been in actual and avowed hostility with it; and even they have suffered injuries scarcely inferior to what it has inflicted upon the nations with whom it was engaged in open war. This short statement shall at present suffice me; and I shall only observe, that France, which set out with such pacific intentions, has, some how or other, not been able to escape from being constantly involved in war. Sir, is it nothing that this should arise (not from accident, or any fortuitous combination of circumstances, but) from the inherent principles of the revolution; and that, from a strict adherence to them, negotiation has been ineffectually tried: or, in case of its success, grossly violated by France, with respect to the nations with which she was at war; and that in the case of the two countries

to which I have alluded, they have, in consequence of her hostile conduct and aggression, been under the necessity of recalling their ambassadors? This, then, being the strong feature of the revolution, the peculiar character of the jacobinical government of France, and it being clear and manifest that a principle hostile to peace, and in opposition to the spirit of peace and treaties, has characterized the French revolution, the question, at this present day, resolves itself simply into this, whether that constitution, such as I have described it, does or does not exist? In arguing this point, I have no occasion to resort to abstract reasoning, I have only to state the authority of the supporters and advocates of the late revolution, every one of whom is of opinion, that it was impossible, from the nature and constitution of the French government, that it would present any thing but continual war to all nations within its sphere of action. This is no description of mine; it is the account given of it by those who have lived under it, who have taken an active part in its administration, and judge, from a ten years experience, of its merits. Having thus ascertained, from the testimony of the French themselves, what the government of France was, I am led, by the natural progress of discussion, to inquire what it is now. Are the practices of which all other nations have complained, now reprobated by France? Are the principles of aggression and ambition, on which she has acted, laid aside? Have we any positive proof of these changes, or any reasonable cause to presume that such have taken place? It is a mistake to suppose, that these principles

were essentially connected with the jacobinical form of government, and therefore must stand or fall with such form; but, in substance, all the other qualities of the revolutionary government are as much in force at this moment as they were in the days of Barrere and Robespierre.

What, then, the peculiar nature of the change that has recently taken place may be, or whether it be for the better or for the worse, with respect to the people of France themselves, I shall leave others to decide. But if we consider the change, in relation to other governments, and the degree of confidence which they ought to place in the future conduct of France, the only difference that I see between the present and any of her former governments is this, that the others were derived from republican assemblies representing the people; and though the people always, and these assemblies often, were nothing but the blind instruments of the executive, the appearance of the constitution was still preserved, whereas all this is now at an end. Form and substance are all now concentrated and consolidated in the hands of Buonaparte, and the government now stands, with a military despot at its head, with unlimited power and authority to revive the practice of forced loans and requisitions, to wield the force of the state as he pleases, and resort to all the resources of the revolutionary government. Upon this question I may expect to hear it asked, if, as I have stated upon the authority of the French themselves, there was no security afforded by the government of France for a faithful observance of treaties with other nations, previous

vious to the month of November last, whether it has not afforded any since? and here, I contend, if gentlemen will take a review of that interval, and all the circumstances attending it, that they will not find a single security in the present government of that country, which was not possessed by all those that preceded it, and that have been condemned as defective in that particular. Under these circumstances, recent overtures are made for opening a negotiation for peace. This proposition his majesty's ministers have thought proper to reject, assigning, at the same time, as a reason, that, as all the former attempts made for that purpose had proved abortive, or, if successful, were followed by violation, nothing yet presented itself, arising out of the present revolution, that promised any other termination to any negotiation which we might enter upon, or afford greater security than what we possessed before. To these observations I cheerfully subscribe. In the first place, we are not certain of the sincerity of the overture; and secondly, if we were, there is nothing of stability yet acquired by the present government to satisfy us, that, if sincere, it affords security for the observance of the treaty. This, then, is the outline of the argument that I mean to pursue; and I wish the house to consider, whether it would be consistent with the line of conduct which it has uniformly followed, and justified by the dreadful expense of blood and treasure, to which we are indebted for our present situation, to risk it by entering into a negotiation with a government of which we have had no experience, and which affords no security that we are aware

of beyond any that preceded it. Laying aside then all personal considerations of Buonaparte, but viewing his government, in a general and abstract point of view, as a recent assumption of power, I ask, what are the circumstances of confidence that it affords? What are the grounds on which we have security for the due observance of a treaty in the event of its conclusion? To ascertain these points, we must resort to the power with which we have to deal for a criterion by which to try the question. In doing this, we are sometimes decided by the character of the king of a country, sometimes by the conduct of his ministers, and sometimes by the general conduct and character of the government; but is there any one of these criteria to be found in the present case? Is there any one of its ministers, or any thing in the executive power or government of the country, of sufficient standing to afford any of these criteria? If, then, in the present instance, we have none of these rules, by which experience enables us to judge in treating with other power, all rests upon the assertion of the party himself, declaring that he is of a pacific disposition, accredited, it is true, by his minister Talleyrand; for, to him he has referred, as appears from the correspondence, to vouch for this pacific character. It is not this country's business, however, to judge the private character and conduct of Buonaparte. He is the repository of the power of France, and it is only as connected with that situation that we feel an interest in his disposition. In this view, then, I shall consider it; and here let it be understood, that it is far from my intention to enter into any abuse

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or railing against the character of Buonaparte. I disavow any such intention. At the same time, I must confess, I have an old national prejudice about me so far influencing my judgement, as to make me regard the blasphemer of his God as not precisely that sort of man with whom I could wish to treat; but any objection of this kind I readily wave, and wish only to consider him in the character in which he forces himself upon the house, namely, as professing a pacific disposition, and proposing a negotiation for peace. I say, I am bound to consider the character of the man as connected with his proposal, before I can feel sufficient inducement to tempt me to enter into negotiation.

I shall refer merely to the cases in which Buonaparte has been the only agent, the scenes in which he has been the sole performer: I shall not place to his account the contribution imposed on Hamburg, nor the conduct observed by France towards Spain and Portugal, but I shall refer you to the Cisalpine republic, Naples, Venice, Genoa, Tuscany, and Sardinia; for, in the case of all these, the conduct of France was the conduct of Buonaparte himself. With regard to Venice, what was his conduct to that state? He entered it on the faith of a previous proclamation, avowing that his sole object was to protect it from falling under the power of Austria. What was his first act? The dissolution of its government. What was his second? His surrender of it to the very power against which he declared his only object was to afford it protection. What were the circumstances of his conduct with respect to the Cisalpine republic? A proposal of a treaty of commerce

and alliance was made to it by France, which the government of that republic had the audacity to decline; and for this free and just exercise of its rights, the persons who exercised it were punished by Buonaparte. With regard to Malta, we have never heard of any aggression committed by her against France, any ground or pretence of hostility; yet the attack upon that island was open, and that attack conducted by Buonaparte. The whole of this question would embrace a variety of instances of fraud and unprovoked aggression too numerous in detail; I shall therefore select only such as immediately apply to the proper object. What, then, I ask, has been the conduct of Buonaparte with regard to Egypt? It is not pretended that there was any aggression on the part of the Ottoman Porte.—But what has been the conduct of Buonaparte? His last act, before he left that country, was to send a memorial to the grand vizier, stating, that he came to it without any hostile intention; that his only object was to relieve him from the tyranny of the beys; and that he (the grand vizier) had only to desire him to withdraw with his army, and the order should be instantly obeyed. But what does this man, who makes such pacific and friendly professions to the grand vizier, say, when writing to general Kleber? He desires him to enter into a negotiation with the Ottoman Porte, but to endeavour to prevent the evacuation of the country by the army, until after a general peace (a cry of “hear! hear!”), that he might still preserve a chance of returning to that country. We have this man stated as a lover of peace; yet all this unprecedented conduct to the Ottoman

Ottoman Porte, the old friend and ally of France, is the conduct of Buonaparte, who, in his proposals for negotiation, plays the double dealer with that government to whom he professes sincere attachment, while the instructions to the respectable officer whom he leaves behind are of a quite contrary import. These are the views of his character, of the most recent parts of his conduct, that I wish to consider; I regard him in the character in which he wishes to be understood, as a negociator for peace; and I fancy the house has anticipated me in the inference which I mean to draw from them. This inference is, that, by the late revolution, we are deprived of all the criteria of sincerity and fidelity which we ought to find in a power with which we could negotiate, and are obliged to rest on the sole character of the French consul himself, with this disadvantage and strong objection to it, that there is not a single case on record in which he has not violated his faith; and I state it again, and I am ready to prove, that in all this catalogue of crimes he himself has been the actor of the principal parts; and that not only when acting under the order of government, but from the uninfluenced impulse of his own mind, and the dictates of his own conscience, in which capacity he appears in the several transactions alluded to, and in all of which he has conducted himself in utter contempt of faith or friendship. If I am right in stating these facts, the conclusion I draw from them is, that we should be sure that there was something more of sincerity in the negotiation which he now proposes, than characterises that which he en-

tered into with the Ottoman Porte; that there should be some proof, arising out of his conduct in the transactions with which he was connected to evince a truly pacific disposition: but, unfortunately, nothing of this kind is to be found; the current runs the other way. In short there is not a single step, on which you can get foot, that you do not find marked with hostility and breach of faith. But it has been said, why not make the experiment? If it should not succeed, we should be just where we were before. This language I know has been held out of doors. But I ask, does any gentleman who hears me, seriously mean to say, that in the present relative situation of Europe, this would be an experiment perfectly innocent in its nature? If we succeeded in the last campaign in calling forth the exertions of foreign power, in exciting the energies of Europe, and in making the most illustrious efforts—if we have reason to be proud of the share we have contributed to these achievements, is it a matter of indifference to dissolve that connection to which they owe their birth, and to send the other nations of Europe scrambling for a peace, deserted and abandoned by us, their allies? Is this, I say, a matter of indifference? and yet this would be the first effect of an acceptance of the overture. But this question I shall leave others to decide. I shall only contend, that without something to rest upon for sincerity in the proposal, and fidelity in the observance, it would be a degree of insanity to open a negotiation. On this point I may be told, that the present reduced state of France affords an ample security: but this is a double-edged weapon,

weapon, that may cut both ways. The weakness of France may produce a desire for negotiation for the purpose of gaining time, recruiting her strength, and assuming a more formidable attitude; but it affords no proof of desire, (when her private views shall be attained) to conclude the negotiation when entered upon, or to observe it when concluded. Are we then, I ask, to stretch out our hands to nurse and uphold the usurpation of Buonaparte, to assist him to consolidate his power, and become the instrument of his strength, that we may see it, when opportunity shall occur, turned against the powers that created it? Sir, before this line of conduct shall be adopted, I hope ministers will pause and weigh well the consequences to which it would lead."

Mr. Dundas admitted that within these ten years past, this country had twice entered into negotiation with France: but he contended, that there was no part of administration that was not deeply impressed with a sense of danger at the time in the event of such negotiation proving successful. He put the following questions: Whether in the event of a peace having been concluded at Lisle we should not be now at war? Whether the correspondence with the Irish rebellion would not have gone on just as it has since done? Could there be a doubt that the expedition to Egypt would have taken place? If a treaty of peace were actually signed, would Britain venture to disarm? How did Prussia stand? She had to maintain a large army to preserve her line of demarcation: how could we stand? We could have a garrison in every

foreign colony; so that we would have all the expense of keeping up a large force, without the power of exercising it. Would not a peace engage us to refrain from all hostility against France, leaving her at liberty to act against the different governments of Europe, while our hands were tied up, and we should be held back from every thing but the expense. Under these circumstances he did not think that this government would act wisely, were it now to enter into negotiation.

Mr. Whitbread observed, that had it not been for the interference, the folly, and the ambition of the other powers of Europe, the French revolution would, at this time have borne a very different complexion: but that every attempt to repress its evils had only disseminated them wider. A worse effect had followed; the extinction of liberty in every country of Europe, under the pretext of counteracting the licentious principles of France. Mr. Dundas had said, that from the commencement of the revolution, France had shown a sovereign contempt of treaties, and within these ten years past, had been at war with almost every state of Europe. In saying this the right honourable gentleman had only pronounced his own panegyric; for he had informed the house, that he thought it his duty to invite every power in Europe to unite in one common cause against France, the common enemy of mankind. In this he had succeeded. But the views of the allied powers had been frustrated. The want of good faith had been alleged as a reason for not entering into a negotiation with France. Mr. Whitbread asked if his majesty's ministers had always acted on principles of



of good faith in their former negotiations with France? During the mission of lord Malmſbury to Paris, the jacobin government, then existing, was no obstacle to negotiation in the estimation of them who sent him. He was not commissioned to insist on a renunciation, on their part, of existing principles, or on acknowledgments tending to their crimination. Yet, without these essentials, these preliminaries, his lordship expected good faith on their part to any treaty that might have been concluded: otherwise their attempt at negotiation could not have been sincere. In the second negotiation at Lisle, one set of negotiators were recalled, and a more jacobinical set sent in their places. Still no objection was started to further negotiation. His majesty declared, in the face of all Europe, that he was ready to conclude a treaty with them, if their overtures had been at all reconcileable to the honour and interests of his subjects and allies. To discountenance negotiation, many arguments had been drawn from the character of the first consul, who was represented both as an infractor of treaties, and an unprincipled blasphemer. Every topic that could revile, and every art that could blacken, had been resorted to for the purposes of political slander: and he was very sorry to see that the intercepted correspondence, strengthened with notes, had made its appearance, with a view to prejudice the country against the first consul, and thereby to set every hope of negotiation at a distance. It had been said by Mr. Dundas that since Buonaparte had been known to mankind, in no one in-

stance had he ever observed a treaty or kept an armistice. It was well known, Mr. Whitbread observed, that the preliminaries of Leoben were not broken, or the peace with Austria infringed by Buonaparte; for, before these events took place, he had left Europe. The conduct of Buonaparte, at Venice, Mr. Whitbread did not attempt to defend any more than that of Austria. As to the charge of misconduct towards the Cisalpine republic, the ground of accusation was the entire act of the executive directory.— With regard to what had been said of treachery on the part of Buonaparte in ordering general Kleber to negotiate with the Porte, but to delay the completion of the treaty till such time as he should hear from France, the completion of the treaty was the evacuation of Egypt, which Kleber might have been very well told to delay, without any reasonable charge of treachery on the side of Buonaparte. It was said that he who could have invaded Egypt ought never to be treated with. To seize and colonize that country, Mr. Whitbread observed, had always been a favourite scheme of the old government of France. The only difference between the two was, that the new government of France had executed what the old had only planned. Treachery, however, of that kind, was not confined to France. For Prussia could seize Silesia, and three of the first powers of Europe, while England was a tame spectator, could divide and appropriate to themselves the unfortunate kingdom of Poland. Yet Austria and Russia, the chief agents in this transaction, were still our good and true allies: and with  
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this contradiction staring them in the face, ministers refused to treat with any one whom they deemed treacherous and unjust. "Buonaparte," said Mr. Whitbread, "is full as good as they are. If he has broken treaties, so have they: if he has killed his ten thousands, Suwarrow also has killed his ten thousands." Mr. Whitbread having enumerated many instances of the treachery, perfidy, and injustice of the kings of France, asked whether it could really be supposed that it was really the wish of the people of England to lavish their blood and treasure, for the purpose of restoring to the throne of France the family of Bourbon? Could it be supposed that it was the duty of an Englishman to restore a banished king to his throne, or a pope to his tiara?

Mr. Whitbread, then insisted, that we were now contending for one or the other of these two things: to reinstate a Bourbon on the throne, or to exterminate the rest of those persons in France who held jacobinical principles. If the former was the case, we were fighting, he thought, for an unattainable object, and the contest must be endless: if for the latter, we were fighting for an opinion; and both were equally absurd. Mr. Whitbread recommended it to the house, to consider the relative situation of this country with her allies. The allies did not appear to enter at all into each others views. There seemed to be no regular points of union between them: no community of interests. This position Mr. Whitbread illustrated. He was fully persuaded that the present French government were sincerely

desirous of peace, and that they would negotiate if we would let them.

Mr. Canning was very much displeased at Mr. Whitbread's attempt to justify the enormities of the French, by saying, that we ourselves and our allies had been guilty of others little less flagrant. As a proof of this position, he had stated, that our conduct was unwarrantable both towards the republic of Genoa and the grand duke of Tuscany. Had the Genoese performed the duties of neutral nations, their rights would never have been infringed; but they had sent to the French clothes, provisions, military stores, and supplies of every kind. As to the grand duke of Tuscany, lord Hervey had taken measures for the preservation of British property at Leghorn, and to prevent, as far as was in his power, the government of Tuscany from assisting the French; but he had done nothing which the general practice of nations did not entitle him to do. The court of Florence had complained; but small states were always irritable, and sensible that they were liable to insult, apt to think themselves insulted. Great stress had been laid on the declaration of his majesty after breaking off the negotiation of Lisle; but because he was willing to negotiate, on certain terms then, did it follow that he ought to be so now? Must a declaration be eternally binding, notwithstanding the greatest change of circumstances? The new constitution, as it was called, of France, was more despotic, and more detestable than any that had gone before it; and unless it could be upheld by some supernatural power, like that of the Weird Sisters, in Macbeth

Macheth, it must be soon overthrown. By entering into any negotiation now, we should only throw a damp on the minds of our countrymen, introduce discord into the councils of our allies, and consolidate a power, which would afterwards be employed for our destruction.

Mr. Erskine, having read over his majesty's message, said, it was plain that they were called upon not to advise his majesty on the fitness of an armistice, or of an immediate negotiation, but to ratify or condemn the policy and fitness of the specific answers which ministers, on their own authority, had previously sent to France. "His majesty entertained the fullest confidence that those answers will appear to this house to have been conformable to that line of conduct which was required from his majesty on this occasion, by his regard to all the most important interests of his dominions." No materials had been laid before the house to enable it to judge of the fitness of an immediate armistice, or even of an unqualified acceptance of an immediate negotiation, because the one and the other might depend on our engagements with other countries, and the actual position of the war. But, to judge of the unfitness of the answer, the answer itself furnished a sufficient foundation; because, under no circumstances, and at no time, could such an answer be either wise or decent, from the ministers of any nation, to any possible profession of conciliation and peace. It was rash, insolent, and provoking, without necessity. It was dangerous, as a precedent, to the universal interests of mankind. It rejected the very idea of peace, as if

peace were a curse, and the demand of negotiation an insult; and held fast to war, as if war were an inseparable adjunct to the prosperity of nations. The question was, not whether the original or present effects of the French revolution were beneficial or dangerous, but what was our own policy and duty as connected with their existence.—The American revolution when it first broke out, was inveighed against by its opponents in the same extravagant and useless declamations. But it had been asked very properly by an eloquent member of that house, Mr. Burke, "What, in God's name, are you to do with it?" Had ministers yet been able, by eight years invective, to mitigate the evils of the French revolution? On the contrary, after, in a manner creating the worst of them, they had prevented them from subsiding, and provoked most of the excesses which now furnished the pretexts of perpetual and unavailing war. What Mr. Erskine wished principally to impress on the house, as a caution not to let slip the present auspicious period, was, that when ministers, at various periods of the war, had been pressed not to repel peace by general objections to the capacity of France to maintain the relations of peace and amity, they had, by persisting in that irrational system, produced the very evils which the war was entered on to avert. Our enemies uniformly increased in strength, keeping pace, on their side, with the hostile mind on our's, and which every day became more severe and unrelenting. In this manner we conducted ourselves till Holland was overrun; the Netherlands annexed  
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to the republic; our principal allies detached from the confederacy; some of them connected in alliance with the enemy; and, what was worse than all, schemes of extension and aggrandisement avowed and acted upon, which not only had not existed before the war, but which the war had positively courted. If Buonaparte found that his interest was served by an arrangement with England, the same interest would lead him to continue it. If sincerity in a foreign government was a thing which could ever be correctly estimated or acted upon, as a basis for listening to, or rejecting peace, there was more reason now than formerly for considering that Buonaparte was sincere. Surrounded with perils; at the head of an untried government; menaced by a great confederacy, of which England was at the head; compelled to press heavily on the resources of an exhausted people, whose power of renovating riches and prosperity were suspended by war, it was his interest undoubtedly to be at peace with England. But though it was thus his interest to negotiate a peace, it might be no less his interest to accept it. Buonaparte, looking to himself, and to his own power, would make national sacrifices to preserve tranquillity, and England would thus acquire an additional influence in the scale of Europe; because, no man in his senses, in the circumstances of Buonaparte, at that moment, having once reconciled, by wise policy, so mighty a power as Great Britain, would run the risk of oversetting his own authority, by throwing her back again into the war, without the most unlooked-for provocations.

If Buonaparte's government, said Mr. Erskine, became established and confirmed in its authority, it was admitted, that, after some undefined period of probation, we were, in the end, to consent to peace; but was it certain that France would then be as willing, as at present, to be at peace with us? Fatal experience has taught us the contrary; for, after every interval, when peace had been repelled by us, we had seen France in a more formidable aspect, and with a more alienated spirit. If, on the other hand, the government of Buonaparte gave way to an *internal democratic* revolution, additional difficulties presented themselves: ministers, upon their own principles, must put that new government upon a similar state of probation, and so *in infinitum* any other establishment, which might succeed in a revolutionary system. But what internal revolution might be expected to destroy Buonaparte's government from within, if ever it should be destroyed? From whence could its destruction possibly come, but from the revulsion of democracy, overawed by armies, and chained down by the complicated forms of the present complex government? In the event of such a revolution, all our panics would return upon us: the terror of French principles would again become predominant, and war would be persisted in, though ruinous and hopeless, to prevent the more dangerous contagion of opinions to be engendered by a peace. But was it Buonaparte we objected to? Was it the *man* and not the *government* we mistrusted? Were we to make war then till his place was taken by some new con-  
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ful, though the present government might remain? He did not mean to enter into any discussion of the character of this extraordinary person; but he would ask, whether the history of the world, much less the present state of France, moral or civil, furnished a reasonable expectation, that either accidents or new convulsions would raise up to power some character, whose moderation and justice might be more safely reposed in?

As to the restoration of the house of Bourbon, he would not enter into what good could be expected for England from such an event. He would, in the teeth of all history and experience, suppose it to be auspicious, and confine himself to its practicability. He might assume the utter impossibility of such a change, except by the success of the confederacy. The whole property of France, real or personal, in the hands of its present possessors, depended on the existence of the present, or some similar government. It was impossible to restore the princes of the house of Bourbon, without restitution to those who had been exiled in its defence, which, in effect, raised up the whole property in the nation to support the republic, whatever they might feel concerning its effects. In every view, he disapproved the answer that had been sent by ministers to Buonaparte. It appeared to him to be pregnant with danger, and to entail an awful responsibility on those who advised it, and those who supported it.

Mr. Pitt, the chancellor of the exchequer and prime minister, considered the French revolution as the severest trial which the visitation

of Providence had ever yet inflicted on the nations of the earth. But he could not help reflecting with satisfaction, that this country, even under such a trial, had not only been exempted from those calamities which had covered almost every other part of Europe, but appeared to have been reserved as a refuge and asylum to those who fled from its persecution, as a barrier to oppose its progress, and, perhaps, ultimately as an instrument to deliver the world from the crimes and miseries which had attended it. This outline, Mr. Pitt filled up in a speech of great length. Before any man could concur in opinion with the learned gentleman who had spoken last, Mr. Pitt contended, that he must come within one of the three following descriptions: he must either believe that the French revolution neither does now exhibit, nor has at any time exhibited, such circumstances of danger, arising out of the very nature of the system, and the internal state of France, as to leave to foreign powers no adequate ground of security in negotiation; or, secondly, he must be of opinion, that the change, which had recently taken place, had given that security; which, in the former stages of the revolution, was wanting; or, thirdly, he must be one who, believing that the danger existed, nevertheless thought, from his view of the present pressure on the country, from his view of its situation and prospects, compared with those of the enemy, that we were, with our eyes open, bound to accept inadequate security for every thing that is valuable and sacred, rather than endure the pressure, or

incur the risk which would result from a farther prolongation of the contest. Having described the excesses and outrage with the principle from which they flowed, in the different stages of the French revolution, and endeavoured to establish the proposition, that the French revolution had been such as to afford to foreign powers no adequate ground for security in negotiation, he came next to shew that that security had not yet been afforded by the change which had lately taken place: that we could not derive any confidence either from the frame of the government, or the past character and conduct of the person who was now the absolute ruler of France. The name of Buonaparte would be recorded with the horrors committed in Italy, in the memorable campaign of 1796 and 1797, in the Milanese, in Genoa, in Tuscany, in Modena, in Rome, and in Venice.

Mr. Pitt having considered, lastly, whether there was any thing in the circumstances of the present moment that could justify the acceptance of a security confessedly inadequate, against so great a danger as was threatened by France, concluded, not that we were entitled to consider ourselves certain of ultimate success in the war; but that, considering the value of the object for which we were contending, the means for supporting the contest, and the probable course of human events, we should be inexcusable if, at this moment, we were to relinquish the struggle on any grounds short of complete security.

Mr. Fox concluded a long, animated, and masterly speech, with

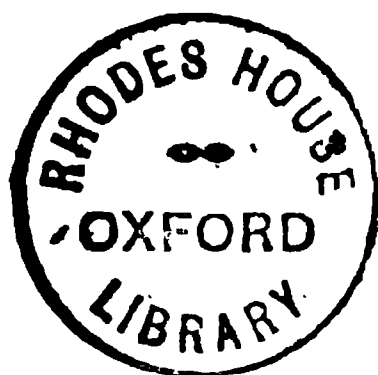
the following peroration: " Sir, I think you ought to have given a civil, clear, and explicit answer to the overture which was fairly and handsomely made to you. If you were desirous that the negotiation should have included all your allies, as the means of bringing about a general peace, you should have told Buonaparte so: but I believe you were afraid of his agreeing to the proposal: you took that method before. Aye, but you say, the people were anxious for peace in 1797. I say, they are friends to peace, and I am confident you will one day own it. Believe me, they are friends to peace; although, by the laws you have made, restraining the expression of the sense of the people, public opinion cannot now be heard, as loudly and unequivocally as heretofore. But I will not go into the internal state of the country. It is too afflicting to the heart to see the strides which have been made, by means of, and under the miserable pretext of this, against liberty of every kind; both of power of speech and of writing: and to observe, in another kingdom, the rapid approaches to that military despotism which we affect to make an argument against peace. I know, sir, that public opinion, if it could be collected, would be as much for peace now, as in 1797: and I know that it is only by public opinion, not by a sense of duty, not by the inclination of their minds, that ministers will be brought, if ever, to give us peace. I ask for no gentleman's vote who would have reprobated the compliance of ministers with the proposition of the French government; I ask for no gentleman's support, to night,  
who

who would have voted against ministers, if they had come down and proposed to enter into a negotiation with the French: but I have a right to ask—I know that in honour, in consistency, in conscience, I have a right to expect the vote of every honourable gentleman who would have voted with ministers in an address to his majesty diame-

trically opposite to the motion of this night.”

On a division of the house, the address was carried by 260 against 64.

An address, approving and assenting to his majesty's message, respecting the Russian troops was also voted.



## C H A P. VII.

*Message from his Majesty, respecting the Employment of German Troops instead of Russians.—Debates thereon in both Houses.—Motions for an Inquiry into the Failure of the Dutch Expedition, in both Houses.—Debates thereon.—Supplies required.—Ways and Means for raising them.*

**A** Message was brought down from his majesty to the house of peers, on the thirteenth of February, stating, that his majesty was, at present, employed in concerting such engagements with the emperor of Germany, the elector of Bavaria, and other powers of the empire, as might strengthen the efforts of his imperial majesty, and materially conduce to the advantage of the common cause, in the course of the ensuing campaign. His majesty promised to give directions that these engagements, as soon as they should have been completed and ratified, should be laid before the house. But, in order to insure the benefit of this co-operation at an early period, his majesty was desirous of authorizing his minister to make provisionally such advances as might be necessary, in the first instance, for that purpose; and he recommended it to the house to make such provision accordingly.—A similar message was delivered to the house of commons.—The secretary of state for foreign affairs, lord Grenville, in the house of peers, moved an address to his majesty, thanking his majesty for his gracious communication, and assuring him that the house, conscious of the necessity of prosecuting the war with

vigour, would readily concur in the wishes of his majesty, and give their support to such measures as should be deemed most likely to make good his engagements with his allies.

Lord Holland said, that, if the purport of the present measure were merely to exchange Russian for German mercenaries, to that he not only should have no objection, but even should think we had gained by the exchange. We should have the satisfaction of knowing that those we employed, rendered the horrors of war less heart-breaking, less disgusting, than those we expected to employ. We should also gain in point of soldiers; for he was happy to find that the troops of the more enlightened and civilized nations of Austria, Prussia, France, and England, were greatly superior to the Russians in discipline, in courage, in military skill, and all the qualifications necessary to form a powerful army. It was a matter of sincere satisfaction to find, that skill and civilization had so decided a superiority over ignorance and barbarity; that the enlightened nations of the South had not so much to fear, as had often been thought, from the inroads of those savage and ignorant barbarians of the North. But it was not a mere exchange of troops.



troops. We were indeed to subsidize and employ German troops instead of Russians; but were German troops ready to contend for the same objects? Did the cabinet of Vienna cordially approve of all the principles laid down by the noble secretary of state in his answers to Buonaparte? Did the emperor of Germany really think, and, if he did so, where had he declared it, that the speediest and surest means of restoring peace would be the restoration of the Bourbons? Lord Holland did not know but that monarch might rather imagine that the sacrifice of the territories of his fellow-hireling, the elector of Bavaria, to his ambitious projects, would be the speediest and surest means of restoring tranquillity. His lordship proceeded to speak at great length of the different views entertained, or that might be entertained in the progress of events, by Austria and England, the power and the advantages enjoyed by the French government, among which he enumerated the haughty and irritating answer of lord Grenville to Buonaparte, the improbability of success on the part of the allies, and the improbability also, that even victory and success in arms would lead to peace. In a word, he expatiated over all the wide and beaten field of the policy or impolicy of the war, and of our mode of treating, and treating with the French. He also reverted to the debate on the answers that had been given to the French overtures, and to certain maxims and considerations which he had endeavoured to impress on their lordships minds, and he had reason to think, he said, not without success. He conjured the house, since they had that night

learnt, that one of their chief hopes was to be a reliance on the cabinet of Vienna, to reflect again, and not to engage in an undertaking so desperate in its appearance, in which success itself seemed only to lead to new wars, new expenses, and new embarrassments, and in which failure, (which seemed but too probable,) was disgrace and ruin.

The duke of Montrose said, that it was not his intention to go through the variety of topics touched on by the noble lord who had spoken last, but to advert merely to the single question, which appeared to him to arise out of the proper consideration of his majesty's message and the address now moved; namely, whether, during a war with France, under singular and unprecedented circumstances, it was wise in this country to subsidize the princes of the continent, and purchase the aid of auxiliary troops, in order to harass the enemy near their native country; or let them have an opportunity, for want of a politic diversion, to bring the war into the British channel, and on the coasts of this kingdom? The History of England proved, by a variety of precedents, that it had always been the policy of Great Britain, when engaged in a foreign war, to avail itself of the assistance of auxiliary troops.—On a division of the house, the address was carried by 28 against 3 —The order of the day, for taking his majesty's message into consideration, being, at the same time, read, in the house of commons.

Mr. Pitt rose, and said, that he had stated yesterday the general ground on which he flattered himself that this message was likely to be received without opposition. The ground was this, that the ob-

ject now was, to maintain such a force on the continent, as should enable the allies to make greater efforts than they had done in any other campaign, even should the Russians not co-operate to the same extent as last year. He stated also, that five hundred thousand pounds was proposed to be voted on Monday, in a committee of supply, to which it was proposed that his majesty's message should be referred. This sum was for the purpose of enabling his majesty to make such advances as might be necessary in the first instance, and until the whole subject to which the message referred should come regularly before the house; for the purpose of ensuring the benefit and advantage of the co-operation of the powers there mentioned, in the common cause, in the course of the campaign. On Monday, accordingly, the seventeenth of February, the house having resolved itself into a committee of supply, and that part of the king's speech which refers to a provisional supply, being read, Mr. Pitt said, that the motion which he should submit to the committee that day, proceeded on a principle which had been often, and had recently been recognised in that house, that we were to proceed in a vigorous prosecution of the war, which they all felt to be necessary, for the safety, honour, and happiness of this country. The majority of that house, and the great majority of the people of this country, he was confident, would agree, that, if the war was to be carried on at all, it should be carried on on that scale which was most likely to bring it to an honourable, a speedy, but, at all events, a secure conclusion. There was no reason to believe that his imperial

majesty, the emperor of Russia, would withdraw from the most cordial co-operation with this country, or cease to shew his resolution, not to acquiesce with France, whilst it pursued a system dangerous to the tranquillity of Europe, and all its establishments. But, if there were any grounds for apprehension that his imperial majesty would withdraw all co-operation, he would state that circumstance as an additional reason for the measure which his majesty had taken. The committee would learn with satisfaction, that the force from the power of Germany would be greater in the ensuing campaign than it was in the last, great and brilliant as its victories were. From the circumstances of the continent, the negotiations between us and our allies were not fully concluded. It was therefore impossible for him to state the whole of the force to be employed, or the total amount of the pecuniary assistance which this country was to afford to his imperial majesty. It was proposed, in the mean time, as he had already said, that five hundred thousand pounds should be advanced, by way of commencement. The object of it was, to secure the co-operation of such a force as his majesty's ministers had reason to believe was likely to be superior to any force the French could bring to the frontier. The total amount of the advance, upon that subject, would probably be about two millions and a half, the sum now proposed to be voted was only five hundred thousand pounds. He therefore moved, "that it was the opinion of that committee, that a sum, not exceeding five hundred thousand pounds, be granted to his majesty, to enable his majesty to make such

such advances as might be necessary, for the purpose of insuring, at an early period, a vigorous co-operation of the emperor of Germany, the elector of Bavaria, and others, in the ensuing campaign, against the common enemy."—This motion was opposed by Mr. Nichols, Mr. Tierney, the honourable Mr. William Bouverie, Mr. Sheridan, Sir William Pultney, and Mr. William Smith; and defended by Mr. Joliff, Mr. Pitt, (in a warm and long reply to Mr. Tierney,) Mr. Wilberforce, and Mr. Windham.

Mr. Nichols hoped that the committee would pause before they consented at once to adopt a measure, which might prevent the relief of the poor of this country, and, at the same time, affect its commercial credit. He hoped they would inquire whether we were able to pay away two millions and a half in subsidies to foreign powers, and, at the same time, pay twelve millions for the supply of the necessaries of life, without endangering our prosperity and trade.

Mr. Sheridan asked, if Germany possessed those wonderful forces we had heard of, before the present subsidiary treaty, why were they not called into action? And, if not, why were we to subsidize the *posse comitatus*, the rabble of Germany? He also put the question, whether it was not Buonaparte's interest to make peace with us? Whether it could be supposed, that, if peace were made, he had not the power to make it be observed by the people of France? and whether the people of France were not aware that an infraction of that peace would bring with it a new order of things, and a renewal of those ca-

lamities, from which they were desirous to escape? Mr. Sheridan was a friend to peace at this time, because he thought that Buonaparte would be as good a friend and neighbour to this country, as ever any of the Bourbons were.

Sir William Pultney observed, that there was, in the overtures made to this government, on the part of France, a general, but loose and remote allusion to a general peace. If that was too vague on the part of France, our ministers should have returned an answer to that effect. They should have endeavoured to know what the terms were which the French were willing to accede to, instead of rejecting all consideration of them before they knew what they were. Because ministers neglected to try the effect of a negotiation, he thought they were wrong; and, as the measure now before the house was part of that system, which, in his opinion, was founded in error, he should therefore vote against the present motion.

It appeared to Mr. William Smith to be a great misconduct in ministers to give away the money of Great Britain to other powers, who, if ministers chose to be consistent in their language, were bound to take care of themselves as much we were; and the powers on the continent had proved themselves able to maintain this contest without our aid.

Mr. Tierney having expressed a wish that Mr. Pitt would state, if he could, in one sentence, without his *ifs* and *buts*, and special pleading ambiguity, what the object of the war was: the minister replied, that he could tell him, in one word,

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that

that it was *security* against a danger the greatest that ever threatened the world.

Mr Windham said, that the explanation of the grounds of the war, and its continuance, had been so often repeated, that it was folly to dwell any longer upon them. It must be intelligible to all mankind, if we could not gain all we wished by the war, we must obtain all that we could.

Where the best thing was unattainable, the second best must be had; but there was one question that deserved a definitive answer. "Will you, it was said, fight for the restoration of that monarchy in France, which was always hostile to this country, and the occasion of our wars and debt?" This, he said, was a matter of calculation. The monarchy of France existed eight hundred years; and, if we considered the evils it had occasioned to us in that time, not by their numbers but weight, we should find them far inferior to those accumulated on us by the unprovoked aggressions, the plots, and the arts of France, in the short course of her eight years revolution.

On a division of the house, Mr. Pitt's motion was carried by 162 against 19.

On various other subjects, that drew the attention of parliament in the course of this, as in so many of the preceding sessions, the origin and the necessity, or expediency, of continuing the war was brought incidentally on the canvas. But the present seems no improper place for just mentioning that this question was, at three different times, made a subject of regular and formal motion in the house of

commons. On the twenty-eighth February,

Mr. Tierney moved, "That it was the opinion of that house, that it was both unjust and unnecessary to carry on the war, for the purpose of restoring monarchy in France."— This motion was seconded by Mr. Johnes, and supported also by Mr. W. Bouverie, and Mr. William Smith. It was opposed by Mr. Elliot, lord Hawkesbury, Mr. Yorke, sir G. P. Turner, lord Belgrave, colonel Elford, and Mr. H. Browne.

Mr. Smith argued, that though lord Hawkesbury had, in terms, denied that the restoration of monarchy in France was the object for which we now contended, he had stated his own wishes for its accomplishment so strongly, and had laboured so much to prove those wishes to be just, wise, politic, and humane, that if he were himself minister, no one could doubt what his own system of measures would be: let then this language be combined with that of the court, and it would appear impossible to doubt that this restoration was the point *now* in view, the object for which the present campaign, at least, was to be persevered in. On what ground, he said, was this denied, but that of the qualifying clause in lord Grenville's note, which declared that "his majesty did not limit the possibility of secure and solid pacification to this mode only." Giving then the fullest credit to this declaration, it allowed only a bare possibility, that at some *future time* a peace might be concluded without this restoration, while the preceding paragraph stated in express terms, that, for want of it, we could not *at this time* even commence a treaty.

Italy, or permit a truce. Mr. Tierney's motion was negatived, after a very long debate, by 142 against 34.

A motion to the same effect, by Mr. Johnes, on the eight of May, was negatived by 59 against 51.

Another, of the same tendency, by Mr. Western, under the name of a motion for an inquiry into the state of the nation, on the ninth of July, was negatived by 143 against 27.

The members of parliament, in opposition to government, not only opposed the grant of a supply for the entertainment of new armies, but called them to account for the use they had made of those already at their disposal.

On the tenth of February, Mr. Sheridan, after a very long speech in the house of commons, in which he acquitted the commander-in-chief, officers, and army, that had been sent to the Helder, of all blame, but arraigned the impolicy, ignorance, and rashness of ministers, moved, "That the house resolve itself into a committee of the whole house to inquire into the causes of the expedition against Holland."

Mr. Dandass rose to assign the reasons why he could not give his consent to the honourable gentleman's motion. He touched on the various topics, political and military, introduced by Mr. Sheridan, and insisted much on the advantages that had accrued to Britain by the Dutch expedition, particularly the capture of the Dutch fleet, and the diversion of the French arms from the Upper Rhine to Holland.—Mr. Dandass, on a review of the whole affair, objected to all public military criticism on any part of military operations. This was a considera-

tion, he said, which did not fall within the scope of the charge committed to the honourable gentleman who had made the motion, as a member of parliament. He thought it his duty to resist a motion of inquiry, which could not be productive of any benefit, at the same time that it might considerably clog and harass the measures of government.

Mr. Bouverie thought that the business should be investigated, in order to ascertain whether blame was to be imputed to the projectors of the expedition, or to those to whom the execution of it had been intrusted. So also thought all the members who supported Mr. Sheridan's motion.

Mr. Tierney, in the course of a long speech, in which he made many shrewd remarks, said, "The capitulation seems to me to enfix an indelible stain on the national character, and inflicts a deep wound on the soldiers honour. A king's son, who commanded forty thousand men, capitulated to a French general who had only thirty-one thousand. We owe it to our sovereign, and we owe it to our constituents, to inquire strictly into the causes of this unheard of disgrace. The expedition either failed from unforeseen accidents, or from the folly of those who planned it. Let these circumstances, then, be stated, or let the guilt be dragged forth to punishment."

Mr. Percival allowed that capitulation, abstractedly considered, was not a very honourable conclusion to a military expedition. But that was a more abstract consideration. Two of the three grand objects of the expedition were attained; the Dutch fleet was captured;

tured; and a strong and powerful diversion was effected in favour of our allies. The third was found not attainable. The consideration then was, how the return of our troops to their own country could be best effected. And the expedient that had been adopted, for this purpose, appeared to him to be the best that could be adopted. It was not disgraceful, because it was merely an adaptation to circumstances, which were countenanced by the attainment of the other objects of the expedition.

Mr. M. A. Taylor assured the house, that the support he was ready to give to the present motion, did not arise from any thing like party spirit. In doing so, he acted in conformity with the wishes of a great majority of the country, on whom the failure of the expedition and the capitulation of the duke of York had made, the most deep and serious sensation. The attempt to rescue Holland he had always supported. He therefore wished to be informed, on what ground the expedition was undertaken, and why it was not sent out earlier; for the lateness of the attempt was, in a great measure, the cause of its miscarriage. As to the mode in which the militia had been treated, in being, in a manner, incorporated with the army, he had always disapproved of it. The country gentlemen were driven from the militia, and its principal officers were disgusted. If, on occasion like the present, the house did not press for an inquiry, their inquisitorial capacity was gone. Blame must be imputed either to the army or mi-

nisters; the inquiry would decide on which of them.

Mr. Addington thought it impossible to suppose that the Dutch would, if favoured with an opportunity, suppress their sorrow, their regret, and indignation at the yoke imposed on their necks, by the French republic. He contended that government would have been guilty, in a great degree, had it not made an attempt for their deliverance. He concluded his speech with an eulogy on the skill and valour of the generals employed in the expedition, and the courage and intrepidity of the army.

Sir J. Murray Pulteney rose merely to correct an error of Mr. Tierney's, respecting the numbers of the respective armies. The English and Russian army had been stated at forty-five thousand men, and that of the French at thirty-five thousand. He did not pretend to an accurate knowledge: but he believed the number of the former might be estimated at thirty-six thousand men,\* of whom there were found, at the end of the campaign, to be about ten thousand killed, wounded, and missing. The French might have had twenty-five or thirty thousand in the action of the second, and from the sixth to the time when the convention was agreed to, the enemy was continually receiving reinforcements. Large bodies of troops had been drawn from the frontiers of France, which were replaced by troops from the interior: and, therefore, the force of the enemy, which was superior in numbers, was every day becoming more so. Had the army

\* Our readers may recollect that this corresponds very nearly to our statement of the matter in our last volume.



been treble the number of the enemy, it must have embarked. There was, in his mind, a clear, evident, and absolute necessity for making a sacrifice, in order to embark with security. Mr. Sheridan's motion, on a division of the house, was negatived by 216 against 45.

On the twelfth of February, lord Holland made a motion, in the house of peers, to the same effect, on the same subject. His lordship was of opinion, that the principal share of the disgrace, with which the expedition was attended, was to be imputed to ministers, and none to the commander, the officers, or the army. Having pointed out what he considered as great errors, blunders, and omissions, and also some of the advantages that must revolt from inquiry, he said " We know that it is natural to impute the blame of unsuccessful military operations to the commander of an army. In this country, such blame may not be imputed; but, in Europe, the charge will be made, and it stands supported by the statements of general d'Essen, in the Petersburg Gazette. It is necessary to demonstrate the truth, by a fair investigation. By no other course can you satisfy the demands of your national honour, and your military reputation. At a moment, too, when it is decided that the war should be continued to a period which we cannot fix in idea; when new expeditions are, it is rumoured, about to be undertaken, it becomes you to ascertain how they are likely to be conducted, by inquiring what has been the ability and the wisdom displayed in other instances, by those who plan and conduct them. Is it not proper to inquire whether ministers may not

again be encouraging those delusions by which they have already been misled? They rely upon the favourable dispositions of the French people to justify their attempts for the restoration of the house of Bourbon. The proportion of the disaffected, in France, seems, however, to be less than it was in Holland. If the expedition to the Helder failed, by the rashness, the negligence, and incapacity of ministers, will you encourage them by your acquiescence in past misconduct and former disgrace, to embark in schemes so much more doubtful in their policy, and likely to be so much more perilous in their consequences? I move, therefore, that the house resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to inquire into the causes of the failure of the late expedition to Holland.

The earl of Moira coincided with the noble lord in his sentiments respecting the illustrious personage who conducted the expedition.— That he did not appear in his seat, on the present occasion, he was convinced, proceeded from delicacy, lest his presence might repress the full disclosure of opinion on a question on which he felt himself so deeply interested. Were that illustrious personage to yield to the impulse of his own mind, he was satisfied that he would solicit inquiry. But the great objection to such a wish was, that it necessarily connected itself with the public good, and therefore he preferred to submit to ill-grounded calumny, rather than risk the interest of the country, by a personal vindication. As to the general question, he put it to the candour of the noble lord not to press it against men who stood upon a ground where it was impossible



impossible they could make a defence. The difficulty of operations in Holland was admitted, and, that such an enterprize could not succeed without the co-operation of its inhabitants; that ministers were aware of this, and were confident of such co-operation, it was therefore natural to presume. But this very circumstance was a sufficient argument against inquiry. The dilemma, then proposed by the noble lord, whether or not the people had an opportunity to rise.— Lord Moira wished not to be entertained. To determine that point, to justify the confidence of co-operation, would inevitably lead to the most dangerous disclosures, to the public designation of our friends in that country, their number and situation, and of the whole correspondence on which the confidence of co-operation was founded, and the practicability of the object presumed: a procedure that might not only prove injurious at the present moment, but interfere with all future operations of a similar kind. In candour, therefore, to the ministers, to the illustrious person at the head of the army, and to all the parties concerned, and from a consideration of the injury which might result from disclosure, in case a similar attempt should be made again, an event, from the determination to continue the war, not impossible, he must request that the noble lord would not press his motion. If the noble lord, however, should persist, it was Lord Moira's intention to move the previous question.

The earl Spencer was at a loss to know on what grounds the motion before the house could have been made. He confessed that it was one of those difficult

things that could be thrown in the way of ministers. Their silence was made a subject of suspicion: their disclosure of all they knew must lead to serious consequences. The noble lord, who had made the motion, had, in the course of his speech, made many omissions, and dwelt only on such parts of the expedition as tended to set it in the most unfavourable point of view. It was acknowledged by the noble lord that the expedition had objects sufficiently important to induce this country to undertake it. It was admitted that to rescue Holland, and to cause a diversion of the forces of the enemy, were legitimate objects. It was admitted that the capture of the Dutch fleet was an advantage gained for the country. On these two points the expedition had not failed. Of three objects, all of them considerably important, two out of the three had succeeded most completely.— The house, in confirmation of what he stated, would call to mind the month when the expedition took place, and to what good effect it operated in favour of the allies. The signal defeats, which the enemy experienced, was one of the good effects of this expedition: for it was fair to infer, that the forces called into action in Holland, as withdrawn from the French in Italy and Switzerland, tended to weaken their efforts, and increase the force of the combined armies.

Lord Mulgrave said, that the plan of the expedition was good. There was, at the time of its plan, in August, in Holland, an enthusiastic attachment to this country; and, had sir Ralph Abercromby, when joined by general Don, and possessed of a force of fifteen thousand

land men, penetrated into Amsterdam, he would then have been in a situation in which the duke of Brunswick said he would bid defiance to all Europe. Lord Mulgrave would negative the motion as it was a question of climate, wind, and weather.

Lord King, in his first speech in parliament, said, that as ministers had declared their determination to continue the war, it became the duty of that house to investigate their conduct in the last expedition, in order to ascertain whether they ought to be farther intrusted with the prosecution of hostilities. If he referred to the test of experience, and the evidence of facts, the favourite phrase of administration, there were still greater grounds for the necessity of an inquiry: for the incapacity of ministers had already been manifested, by the expeditions to Corsica, Toulon, Quiberon, and Ostend. With respect to the state of the weather and unfavourable winds, his lordship insisted that that consideration could not be urged in defence of its failure, as ministers had sufficient time to make every preparation. The object was clear and precise, and lay at the distance of only forty-eight hours sail. And was it not the duty of administration to run as few risks as possible? If there appeared to be but a faint chance of failure from any inclemency of the weather, why was not the expedition undertaken in the months of June and July, when that chance would have been considerably lessened? The house could not forget the two inquiries which had been instituted during the American war; and at present the grounds for a similar proceeding were much strengthened, since

administration, being possessed of unlimited means, both in a financial and a military view, was of course more responsible for the use and application of those means.

Lord Holland, in reply to lord Mulgrave, asked if sir Ralph Abercromby might have secured the success of the expedition with fifteen thousand men, why more were sent? The inquiry would inform us what probability there was of success at that time, and how far the sending reinforcements to sir Ralph Abercromby, and the delay occasioned by these reinforcements, tended to increase that probability. The only argument that appeared to lord Holland of any force against the inquiry, was, the danger of disclosure; but this danger might be avoided, in that house, as it had been more frequently in another, on former occasions, by leaving the names blank: and even if disclosure was insisted on, by preventing any questions being put, or documents produced, which might tend to create this danger. Lord Holland concluded this reply, or second speech, with drawing a contrast between the manner in which we had been received by the Dutch, in our first invasion of their country, and that in which the French had been received in their second attack on Holland. When they overran the whole country, and with deducing from that contrast, the inference, that we had little ground to applaud the information, or the judgement of ministers, in undertaking an expedition which depended for its success on the co-operation of the people, when it appeared that they were wholly indisposed to our attempt.

Lord

Lord Grenville approved of the motives which prompted the earl of Moira to endeavour to put an end to the discussion; yet said, he should be sorry that the present motion should be disposed of by the previous question, lest it should imply, that his majesty's ministers would be inclined to refuse an inquiry, were sufficient grounds for it laid down. To him it appeared that no ground whatever had been made out. He therefore hoped that the noble lord would withdraw his motion for the previous question, as he should otherwise have to oppose it, in order to give his negative afterwards to the original motion. The earl of Moira restated the motives which had induced him to move the previous question. However, if lord Grenville thought that his motion would admit of any unfavourable construction, he was willing to withdraw it. The previous question was accordingly withdrawn. The whole house murmured approbation and applause of the delicate sentiment, sound judgement, and noble candour of lord Moira. The house then divided on the original mo-

tion, by lord Holland, for which there appeared 34 : against it 51.

We come now to the great test and sanction of all the great measures of administration, the granting of the supplies. In the house of commons, the twenty-fourth of February, being in a committee of ways and means, Mr. chancellor Pitt said, he would not detain the committee with any preface to the account of the supplies that had already been granted, or that remained to be granted, for the service of the current year; but should proceed directly to state, generally, the several heads of which those accounts consisted. The supply which he deemed requisite amounted to thirty-nine millions and a half.\*

Mr. Pitt, in detailing the means for raising his supply, estimated the income-tax at 5,300,000*l.* after the deduction of interest payable for the borrowed sum of 13,500,000*l.* But he thought it highly probable that it would produce a greater sum in the course of the present year than it had done in the last, as he intended to propose some regulations calculated to augment its efficacy. He had negotiated a loan of 18,500,000*l.*;

• Navy	£.13,619,000
Army	11,350,000
Ordnance	1,695,000
Miscellaneous services	750,000
Interest due to the Bank	816,000
Deficiency of the ways and means of 1799	447,000
Duties on land and malt	250,000
Exchequer bills issued on income-tax	2,506,000
Bills issued on other taxes	79,000
— on the vote of credit of the last year	1,914,000
Subsidies to German princes	2,500,000
Expense of Russian troops	500,000
Towards the reduction of the public debt	200,000
Probable contingencies	1,800,000
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	£.39,500,000

but

but the assignment of 1,700,000*l.* out of the income-tax to the payment of a part of the interest, rendered 313,000*l.* sufficient for the remainder. This last demand was answered by a new duty of 5 *per cent.* on all kinds of tea, sold at 2*s.* 6*d.* each pound, and by a small augmentation of the duties on rum and brandy. The whole of the ways and means for raising the supplies, are stated below. \*

Mr. Pitt concluded his financial estimates by saying, that he needed not to add any thing to a statement so highly satisfactory; which proved

to the committee, and would prove to the public, the growing prosperity of the kingdom: and, by shewing the resources we had for war, would be a means of enabling us to persevere in the struggle, until we could obtain a peace; until we could obtain a solid and permanent peace.—The financial resolutions, proposed by Mr. Pitt, after a variety of strictures by Mr. Tierney, and a reply by the minister, were put and agreed to, and afterwards, through the usual forms, passed into laws.

• Malt, sugar, and tobacco	•	•	•	£.2,750,000
Exports and imports	•	•	•	1,250,000
Lottery	•	•	•	200,000
Tax on income	•	•	•	5,300,000
Renewal of the charter of the Bank	•	•	•	3,000,000
Vote of credit	•	•	•	3,000,000
Surplus of the consolidated fund	•	•	•	5,500,000
Loan	•	•	•	18,500,000
				<hr/>
				£.39,500,000
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## C H A P. VIII.

*Union with Ireland.—Resolution of the British Parliament thereon ratified by the Irish Parliament.—Debates on this Subject in both Houses of Parliament.—The Resolutions, with a few Alterations made in Ireland, ratified by the British Parliament, and passed into a Law.—Suspension of the Habeas Corpus.—Continuance of an Act for preventing Mutiny and Sedition.—Corn and Bread Bill.—Other Bills—And Motions for Bills.—Prorogation of Parliament.*

**T**HE first law of nature is a desire of self-continuance, or self-preservation, and a correspondent horror of annihilation: a desire not only that the elements or principles of which this living and thinking being is composed, may be preserved, but that personal identity should remain, a consciousness of identity be retained, and that individuality, which distinguishes one man from another, and makes him to be himself. The ancient Stoics endeavoured to console mankind with the reflection, that, though the human frame would be dissolved by death, not an atom of its component parts would be destroyed or lost. The earthy part would be reunited to earth, the watery to water, the fiery to fire, the airy and ethereal to air and ether. However personal identity might be discontinued, the universe would remain the same, unimpaired and eternal. The permanence, the order, and perfection of this, in which every one participated, ought to be ever uppermost in the mind of a wise man, and his consolation through life, and in the crisis of death. This

kind of immortality, however, is but cold comfort to the human heart. If a man is to be taken to pieces, and lose consciousness of identity, he will make little account whether his elementary parts remain in any other form, or, if that were possible, totally annihilated.

This consciousness of identity, this anxious desire and love of self-preservation, that reigns supreme in the breasts of individuals, is felt in different degrees by nations, and generally more or less according as they are simple and virtuous, or corrupt, sensual, and selfish. The first notice to any small nation of a formal proposal for an union and amalgamation with a great and powerful state, is, accordingly, an alarm for self-preservation. The powerful nation feels no alarm of this kind, because it is only strengthened by such accessions which it assimilates and transmutes into its own nature and form; but the small nation is loath to abandon its separate existence, as a sovereign power, and be swallowed up like a stream in the ocean. This principle of human nature is to be recognised in the history of  
all

all unions, of all times: but, not to go too far back, or wander too far from our subject, we shall only mention the discontents, the tumults, and the violence of the Scots against the union of their poor country with England. The soil of Scotland might be improved, and the Scots might acquire more wealth, and more comforts; but Scotland, as a kingdom, would be no more. There would be no more any genuine Scotsmen: by the operation of government, they would be gradually mingled and melted down with Englishmen; the Scotch would cease to be a national character; their genius and manners would be formed by various objects of pursuits, various hopes and fears, common to them, with all the other inhabitants of the island.

A similar train of thinking, exactly, on the subject of the proposed union with Great Britain, prevailed in Ireland; and, as in Scotland, a majority of the men of property and political influence were induced, whether from selfish considerations, or from views of real patriotism, (for there certainly were many who acted from both) to exchange, as it were, in some measure, the national identity and existence for a share in the British legislature; and the great mass of the people clung, with fond embraces, around their expiring parent, though she had been, in too many instances, to them but a harsh step-mother: so also a majority of the men of property and political influence in Ireland were induced, from divers motives, no doubt, to favour and adopt an incorporating union between Great Britain and Ireland; and so also the great mass

of the people of Ireland, though more harshly treated by their mother-country, that had fallen into a state of thralldom, and was under the sway of strangers, than even the Scots, stuck fast by Hibernia in her last moments. The Irish harp was attuned to strains of lamentation and complaint; but martial music would have aroused the people to arms, if they had not been kept in subjection, by an irresistible armed force, poured in upon them from England.

When the resolutions of the British legislature, intended as a basis for an union with Ireland, being remitted, with some alterations, for the reconsideration of that country, in May, 1799, became a subject of parliamentary discussion, the populace of Dublin, and many other towns, manifested an aversion to the union in every mode in which they could shew it, short of an armed opposition: from which they were restrained only by a dread of the English soldiers, and the *claymores*\* of kindred celts; the Scotch Highlanders, many regiments of whom, fencibles and volunteers, as well as regulars, were stationed in the provinces of Leinster and Ulster.

The Irish parliament having assembled, on the fifteenth of January, 1800, it was moved, by sir Laurence Parsons, in the house of commons, that they should, in their address to the viceroy, declare their disapprobation of an incorporating union. This motion was negatived by 138 voices against 96. On the fifth of February, the whole plan of the union was detailed, in the house of lords, by lord Castlereagh, principal secretary of state, who, after display-

\* Great swords.

ing the general principle of the measure, proposed eight articles, as the foundations on which it might be established, to the mutual benefit of both kingdoms.

The first imported, that, on the first day of January, 1801, the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland should, for ever after, be united into one kingdom, by the name of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The second, that the succession to the imperial crown of the said united kingdom, and of the dominions thereunto belonging, should continue limited and settled in the same manner as it now stands limited and settled, according to the union between England and Scotland. The third, that the same united kingdom be united in one and the same parliament. The fourth, that four lords spiritual of Ireland, by rotation of sessions, and twenty-eight lords temporal of Ireland, elected for life by the peers of Ireland, should be the number to sit and vote, on the part of Ireland, in the house of lords, in the parliament of the united kingdom. The fifth, that the churches of England and Ireland should be united into one protestant episcopal church, to be called, "The united church of England and Ireland," and that the doctrine, worship, and discipline, of the said church, should remain in full force for ever; and that the continuance and preservation of the said united church should be, for ever, held as a fundamental article of the union.—It appears singular, at first sight, but the reason will quickly occur to every reader of history, that the legislatures of the two countries, on this occasion, should recognise particularly the laws already made for the continuance and pre-

servation of the church of Scotland, by the union of England and Scotland. The sixth article provided for a fair participation in commercial privileges; for which end, however, it was thought necessary to impose certain countervailing duties. The seventh left to each kingdom the separate discharge of its public debt already incurred, and ordained, that, from twenty years from the union, the national expense should be defrayed in the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain, and two for Ireland. The eighth ordained that the laws and courts of both kingdoms, civil and ecclesiastical, should remain as they were now established, subject, however, to such alterations, as the united legislatures might hereafter deem expedient—All laws, at present in force in either kingdom, which should be contrary to any of the provisions that might be enacted by any act for carrying the above articles into effect, from and after the union, to be repealed.

In support of these propositions, the secretary displayed great ability, sound sense, comprehensive views, clear arrangement, and an easy flow of eloquence. One of the most important and interesting points in question was the parliamentary representation of Ireland. On this head, his lordship contended that the proposed number of Irish legislators ought to satisfy every reasonable man, as it might be deemed a just proportion, under the combined view of the respective population, and future contributions of Great Britain and Ireland. As many boroughs would be disfranchised, by the new regulations, it would be proper, he said, to make compensation to such individuals as might be



be injured by the loss of their prescriptive privileges. By the new arrangements, he added; the question of parliamentary reform would be superseded, as the present plan was a reform of the most popular kind.—With regard to the church; another important and a delicate topic, and what had been frequently a subject of acrimonious contest; he expressed his conviction of the inferiority of that of Ireland, if it should continue separate from the English establishment; but, in event of an union, he had no doubt that the present ecclesiastical establishment, founded on the protestant ascendancy, would be stable and permanent. The catholics, who, trusting to their great superiority of numbers, were continually urging claims against the minority, would be checked in their confidence and forwardness, and exhibit fewer marks of jealousy and mistrust; and their pretensions would be temperately discussed by an imperial parliament, at a time when local circumstances would cease to irritate and inflame.

On the subject of trade, lord Castlereagh observed, that the circumstances of the two countries did not admit a complete incorporation of commercial interests; because some of the Irish manufactures were not sufficiently advanced to prosper without protecting duties; and the disparity of the burthens borne by the British manufactures, in consequence of a greater share of taxation, rendered it impracticable to adjust this part of the system, on any other principle than that of a full freedom of export between the countries.

The noble secretary of state proceeded next to maintain the pro-

priety of the financial system of the plan proposed for an union. This part of the arrangement, he said; was more beneficial to Ireland than to Great Britain: but he entered a strong caveat against any idea that this pecuniary advantage was intended as a compensation to the former realm, for the loss of honour, or of other interests. The offer was made on the wide basis of a fair and mutual agreement. It were greatly to be wished, he said, that the two kingdoms should be so completely incorporated, as not to have distinct revenues; but, in the present circumstances of both realms; this point could not be satisfactorily adjusted. It was therefore expedient to select a criterion of relative ability, by which the separate contributions could be regulated. Lord Castlereagh, having compared the exports and imports of Ireland with those of Great Britain, and the excised articles of consumption in one kingdom with those of another, for the last three years, estimated the ratio of ability in the different kingdoms, as one to seven and a half. And to shew the operation of this proportion, he stated the respective expenditures of the two countries in the last year, and compared that of Ireland with what it would have been, according to the alleged ratio, so as to prove that nearly a million sterling would have been saved by the western realm. Ireland would gain another advantage in a participation of a proprietary right in the territorial revenue of Britain, whence she would derive two-fifteenths of the sum annually paid to government by the East-India company.

This project, or plan for an union; was opposed by various  
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speakers, from, no doubt, various motives; some of them private, some of them public. Mr. Grattan, a pensioned tribune of the Irish nation, and a true orator as well as acute reasoner, was, as might be expected, one of the warmest and the most impressive opposers of the union, in the house of commons.—The vehemence of his zeal and oratory exposed him to an attack from Mr. Corry, the chancellor of the Irish exchequer, whose recommendations of the union he answered in terms so bitter and offensive, that a challenge ensued. Mr. Corry was wounded in a duel; but Mr. Grattan escaped unhurt.

In the Irish house of peers, the man who signalized his zeal against the union, above that of all the peers, in opposition to the union, was the marquis of Downshire.—He opposed it with indefatigable industry and perseverance, with moderate eloquence, but with the weight of a fair and unblemished character, and the reputation of being sincerely and faithfully attached to his native country.—Neither his exertions nor those of other lords were of any avail. The measure of the union was agreed to, in the Irish house of lords, by a great majority. Yet a protest against a legislative union with Great Britain was entered on the journals of the Irish house of lords, by twenty peers; for an account of whom, and of the grounds of their protest, as well as for a more particular account of the articles of the union, we must refer our readers to the State Papers in this volume.

The most interesting debates on the union took place, as was to be expected, in the Irish house of commons. On the thirteenth of

March, sir John Parnell, wishing to have the sense of the nation more decisively ascertained than it could be in the present parliament, moved that the king should be requested to dissolve it, and convoke another, and a kind of convention parliament. Mr. Saurin, a barrister, distinguished himself greatly, by his eloquence and spirit in support of the motion, and strongly urged an appeal to the people. The solicitor-general accused Mr. Saurin of “unfurling the bloody flag of rebellion;” Mr. Egan insinuated that the solicitor and other members of administration, “had unfurled the flag of prostitution and corruption.” The motion was negatived, after a long and animated debate, by a great majority. After some alterations of the articles, the plan of the union, as was foreseen by the British government, was approved by the same parliament, which the year before had rejected it. And an address was voted by the two houses, on the twenty-seventh of March, informing his majesty of the result of their deliberations. In that address, “they considered the resolutions of the two houses of the British parliament as wisely calculated to form the basis of an incorporation of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, under his majesty’s auspicious government, by a complete and entire union of their legislature. They had adopted them as their guide in the measures they had pursued, and they now felt it their duty to lay before his majesty the resolutions to which they had agreed, and which, if they should be approved by the two houses of the parliament of Great Britain, they were ready to confirm and ratify, in order that the same might be

be established for ever by mutual consent of both parliaments." This address, with the resolutions of the lords and commons of Ireland, containing the terms proposed by them for an entire union between the two kingdoms, was communicated by his majesty to the British parliament, on the second of April, and became the chief subject of their deliberations from the twenty-first of that month to the twelfth of May. The great measure of the union, its principle, conditions, and tendency, having been amply discussed in the parliamentary proceedings of 1799, fully stated in our last volume, it would be unnecessary, and might appear tedious to give an account of all the questions, arguments, observations, and adjournments that arose in the various discussions it underwent, in the different stages through which it was again carried, after it was remitted, slightly altered, and approved by the Irish parliament. The measure of the union, in the house of peers, was opposed by lord Holland, who, among other arguments against it, urged its probably unhappy effects on the British constitution. The introduction of one hundred Irish members into the house of commons, and thirty-two into that of their lordships, must add, he thought, considerably to the influence of the crown. This innovation in the frame of the house of commons naturally involved the question of parliamentary reform. The great ground on which this was objected to, heretofore, was innovation. That place being now done away, he knew not with what consistency they could refuse reform. Though the parliament of Ireland was to be abolished, yet all the

engines of corruption in that country, the last of places, were still to remain, and their influence brought to bear; not on three hundred legislators as formerly, but on one hundred, which obviously must add to the influence of the crown.— Lord Grenville expressed his surprise at being called on, this day, to support the general principle of a question which had been repeatedly, recently, and almost unanimously recognized by both houses of parliament. He defended the measure, as beneficial to the two kingdoms, and as being carried on, not as lord Holland had contended, by corrupt, or intimidating, but by fair and constitutional means. With regard to the argument of the noble lord, that the introduction of one hundred members into the house of commons, and thirty-two into that of peers, would endanger the British constitution, by increasing the influence of the crown; he observed that the mode chalked out for the election of members was such, under the genuine principles of the British constitution, as would render them as free from any imputation as that suggested, as could possibly be done; as was also the mode of electing the peers, by rendering their seats as secure and independent as that of any individual peer in that house, namely, for their lives. Ireland, he contended, would be best governed through the medium of a joint legislature, to which Ireland should send her full and fair proportion of representatives. The measure of the union was formed on principles similar to those furnished chiefly by the precedent of the Scotch union. The effect of the whole system was such as to insure a permanent and considerable in-

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crease of wealth and prosperity to Ireland; but on principles of reciprocal benefit to both countries; which must ultimately tend to consolidate the connection, and augment the strength and resources of the empire. With regard to the idea that parliamentary reform could not, after an union with Ireland, be resisted, on the ground of innovation, Lord Grenville said, that parliamentary reform should always be resisted by him, as it ever had been, on account of its general dangerous tendency, and its hostility to the genuine and vital principles of the British constitution; which, as experience had proved, was fully adequate to all its purposes.

The marquis of Townshend approved of an union with Ireland, as the most effectual means of educating and civilizing the natives of some part of that country. Even in certain parts in England they were not a little deficient in education and civilization, but in none so ignorant and barbarous as in some parts of Ireland. The marquis himself knew a place there, where an attorney and a publican, the stewards of the landlord, raised what contributions they could, without returning a fourth part to the proprietors, and oppressed the poor people who had no magistrate to interfere for them.

The earl of Westmoreland took a general view of the distractions, religious and political, which, for some years past, had agitated Ireland. These, he thought, were almost unavoidable, under the existing form of government in that country, and, of course, to be removed only by the expedient of a legislative union with this country.

He admitted that a respectable party in Ireland, and a number of well-intentioned persons, were hostile to the union: but the greater part of this hostility, he said, proceeded from prejudice, want of information, or the influence and exertions of the evil-minded and designing: but all the traitorous, and disaffected in that country were, to a man, opposed to the union, and for an obvious reason—that it would annihilate their system, and render all things abortive.

Lord King considered the measure in question, carried as it had been, rather as a species of conquest in Ireland, where not only the means of corruption had been used, but intimidation also. The introduction of the thirty-two peers and one hundred commoners into the united parliament would, he thought, materially increase the influence of the minister, which would be much strengthened by the circumstance of the Irish exchequer and establishments being kept separate from those of this country.

Lord Darnley answered, in a very able manner, the principal objections to the union. With regard to the great objection of its being likely to shake the British constitution, he said, that no possible plan, of some parliamentary representation for Ireland, could have been devised so consonant to popular principles, or that before the house, which selected from the present Irish house of commons all the members for counties, with a few only for the principal cities and towns, and made the election of peers for life.

In the house of commons, Mr. Pitt, in the course of a long speech, in defence and commendation of the

the union, on the twenty-first of April, admitted, that if any thing could, in his mind, throw a doubt on the question of union, it would be the necessity of disturbing the representation of England. But that necessity, fortunately did not exist. He had once, indeed, entertained a different opinion. But times and circumstances had changed. And he thought it right to declare farther his most decided opinion, that even if the times were proper for experiments, any, even the slightest change in such a constitution, must be considered as an evil. While Mr. Pitt was thus illustrating the consistency of his own conduct, on the point of parliamentary reform, a commotion and clamour of hear! hear! arose on the opposition benches, which was carried beyond the usual pitch of such vociferation, and bore some resemblance to the debates in the convention assembly of France, and afterwards, in the council of five-hundred. Some muttered censure, some laughed aloud, all cried hear! hear! while, on the ministerial side of the house, there was as loud a cry of order! order! Mr. Pitt, after a long and involuntary pause, said, calmly "I wish gentlemen would hear me and then answer me. When I see that the constitution has supported itself against the open attacks of its enemies, and against the more dangerous reforms of its professed friends; that it has defeated the unwearied machinations of France, and the no less persevering efforts of jacobins in England, and that, during the whole of the contest, it has uniformly maintained the confidence of the people of England: when I consider all these circumstances, I should be

ashamed of myself, if any former opinions of mine could now induce me to think that the form of representation, which, in such times as the present, has been found amply sufficient for the purpose of protecting the interests, and securing the happiness of the people, should be idly and wantonly disturbed, from any love of experiment, or any predilection from theory. Mr. Pitt had been led farther, he said, by the unusual interruption he had met with, into the subject of reform, than he intended. But he did not mean to have passed by the subject of the Irish members, without accompanying it with some observations on British representation. However these members might be chosen, there was one consideration which could not fail to press itself on their minds, namely, that, by the laws of England, care had been taken to prevent the influence of the crown from becoming too great, by too many offices being held by members of parliament. In Ireland there were laws of a similar nature, but not quite to the same extent: so that it might happen that, in the hundred members to be chosen, there might be a great number holding places. It was impossible to provide against this contingency by an article of union to be binding on the united parliament, because it was found, from experience, that the number of offices, to be held by members, must always remain in the discretion of parliament, to be regulated from time to time, as circumstances might require. On the other, if no regulation on this subject should at present, be made, it might happen that, in the first hundred members chosen, there might be a great number

number holding places, and consequently under the influence of the crown, who would have to decide, in the imperial parliament, on the extent to which that influence ought to extend. The greater number of the members that were to come over, would be the representatives, and great commercial towns: of whom there were not above five or six who held offices. With respect to the remainder, it was obvious, from the manner in which they were to be chosen, that it was impossible to ascertain, exactly, the number of offices they might hold. They would not, however, exceed the number of twenty: a number not sufficient to have any great effect in deciding upon the question of the extent of the influence of the crown.

“ We then, said Mr. Pitt, proceed to the number of the other house of parliament; and their precise number, I own, does not appear to me a matter that calls for close investigation or minute inquiry. The number for Scotland, as we all know, is sixteen to represent the peerage, and for the commons forty-five. There may, indeed, be another view of considering it on the part of Ireland, different from that of Scotland, which is true to a given extent, and, on which extent, I shall observe hereafter; but in the view in which I take it, at present, and thinking, as I do, that the whole should be a representation, having for its object the general welfare of the empire, the number cannot be very material; besides, we are to look at Ireland as represented locally, by thirty peers, and also by those peers in England who possess great part of their property in Ireland; so

that, in comparison of the thirty-two Irish peers, there may be said to be no less than one-fifth to be added from the peers of Great Britain.

“ With respect to the manner in which they are to be chosen, I can only say, that I have never heard of any objection to the arrangement which is proposed in the resolutions of the Irish parliament; should any opposition be offered to that branch of the subject, I should say, that the choice of the peers, to represent the Irish nobility for life, is a mode that is more congenial to the general spirit and system of the establishment of a peerage, than that of their being septennially elected, as the nobility of Scotland are: upon the whole of that topic, I am satisfied that no gentleman in this house will think this part of the arrangement in any degree improper. Another part, branching out of this subject, is that which has attracted a great deal of observation. I mean the right reserved for the peers of Ireland, who are not elected to represent their own peerage, to be members of the house of commons, of the united parliament in Great Britain, until they shall happen to be elected to represent the nobility of their own country. This has been described and stated as a subject fit for ridicule; I own I see it in no such light. If, indeed, they were subject to be chosen alternately, to represent the lords and commons of Ireland, the objection would be well founded; but here they are not so; for when they are chosen to represent the nobility, they are so for life, and can never return to the house of commons: and, by the way, I consider this a better mode than that which was adopted with regard to the nobility of



of Scotland; and my reason for it is this, that a nobleman in Ireland, if not chosen by his own order, may be chosen as a legislator by a class of inferior rank, and which I am so far from regarding as improper, that I deem it, in a high degree, advantageous to the empire, analogous to the practice, as well as friendly to the spirit of the British constitution. We know full well the advantages we have experienced from having, in this house, those who, in the course of descent, as well as in hopes of merit, have had a prospect of sitting in our house of peers. Those, therefore, who object to this part of the arrangement, can only do so from the want of due attention to the true character of our constitution, one of the great leading advantages of which, is, that a person may, for along time, be a member of one branch of the legislature, and have it in view to become a member of another branch of it; this it is which constitutes the leading difference between the nobility of Great Britain, and those of other countries."

A motion, by Mr. Grey, for limiting the number of Irish peers, who should sit in the house of commons, to nineteen, instead of twenty, was negatived, without a division.

Dr. Lawrence wished to call to mind the influence which the addition of one hundred members, to the British house of commons, from another kingdom, might throw into the hands of the crown, which he thought, with his late illustrious friend Mr. Burke, had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished. He compared the pension-lists of the two countries. In this it amounted to 120,000*l*. In Ireland there was, besides the civil list of

104,000*l*. a pension-list, amounting to 110,000*l*. The proposed addition of one hundred Irish members to the British house of commons, superadded to what was already at the disposal of the crown, made him afraid of throwing any farther weight into a scale, which, in his opinion, preponderated too much already. But a matter of greater alarm to the learned doctor was, the disturbance that might be occasioned, by the introduction of so many members from Ireland, in that house, from a quickness of disposition, and a propensity to duelling. He confessed, that he was not without apprehensions for the order, the tranquillity, and the security of the house, even under the good government and authority of so excellent a chairman as the present speaker.

The resolutions for the union having, after various amendments, proposed and rejected, been agreed to,

Mr. chancellor Pitt, in the house of commons, the fifth of May, moved, "That an address be presented to his majesty, humbly begging leave to acquaint his majesty, that, in conformity to his majesty's gracious message, laying before them the resolutions of the lords and commons of Ireland, they had proceeded to resume the consideration of the great and important subject of a legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland. That it was with unspeakable satisfaction they had observed the conformity of the said resolutions to those principles which they had humbly submitted to his majesty in the last session of parliament, as calculated to form the basis of such a settlement.—That, with the few alterations and additions which they had found it necessary to suggest, they considered these resolutions



as fit to form the articles of union between Great Britain and Ireland. And if those alterations and additions should be approved of by the two houses of the parliament of Ireland, they were ready to confirm and ratify these articles, in order that the same might be established for ever, by the mutual consent of both parliaments. That they offered up to his majesty their humble congratulations on the near prospect of the accomplishment of a work, which his majesty, as the common father of his people, had justly declared to be so near his heart, concurring with his houses of parliament in Ireland, on the full conviction that, by incorporating the legislature, and consolidating the resources of the two kingdoms, we should increase the power and stability of the British empire and, at the same time, contribute, in the most effectual manner, to the improvement of the commerce, and the preservation of the liberties of his majesty's subjects in Ireland." This address, being voted, was communicated, in a conference, to the lords (who, in a previous conference had made some small additions and amendments to the resolutions of the commons) on the ninth of May, and a joint address, of both houses, on the subject of the union, agreed to, was carried to his majesty: who, in his gracious answer, on the twelfth of May, expressed the greatest satisfaction at their proceedings: and engaged, without delay, to communicate to his parliament of Ireland the sentiments and declarations contained in the address. "The dispositions which had been manifested by his parliaments, in

both kingdoms, afforded his majesty the best pledge of the speedy and prosperous conclusion of the great measure of the union: an event to which he looked forward with the most anxious expectation as tending, above all others, to secure and perpetuate the happiness of all his subjects."

The resolutions of the British parliament were remitted to Ireland; and, being approved by the Irish parliament, after a few slight alterations, were ratified by the parliaments of both kingdoms, and passed into a law, by the royal assent, on the second of July. The opposition to the union in Ireland had by this time become faint: some of its adversaries, by mature deliberation, had brought their minds to a conviction of the utility of the measure; while others, in whose minds nothing could counterbalance the loss of independence, perceiving the inefficacy of remonstrance and complaint, began to fix their attention on other objects.

Having now given some account of the proceedings of parliament, with respect to finance, to foreign nations, and to Ireland, which seemed, before the union, to hold a kind of middle place between a foreign country and a portion of our own, we come now to notice the principal measures adopted by the legislature, for the internal security and quiet of the empire, and the general improvement of the country, and condition of the people.

On the thirteenth of February, the attorney-general rose, in the house of commons, pursuant to notice, to move for the renewal of the act, to enable his majesty to secure and detain persons who should be suspected of conspiring against his person and government: which act would

would expire on March next. The country might, at this time, be in a state of greater safety than it was a year or two ago: but it was impossible to read the whole of the report of the committee of that house, published last year, without being convinced that there were persons in this country who would disturb the peace of it, if any opportunity presented itself. Conceiving it to be necessary, therefore, to continue the same powers, he moved for "leave to bring in a bill to continue the act of last session." This motion was opposed by Mr. Jones, Mr. Sheridan, and sir Francis Burdett. Mr. Sheridan said, "It was cruel that the people at large should be deprived of their privileges, merely because one Irishman, and one Swedish baron, had been taken up since April, 1799." The motion was supported by Mr. Buxton, the secretary-at-war, Mr. Canning, and Mr. Wilberforce. Mr. Windham said, among a variety of other positions, that the question was, whether any such change had taken place, since the last suspension of the *habeas corpus* act, as to require measures different from those which parliament has hitherto pursued, by way of general safety? Now, on that subject he must contend, that we were not warranted in saying that there is no symptom now of the mischief which we formerly dreaded; and, therefore, that the *habeas corpus* should not now be suspended: he was very far from being sure that such a mode of reasoning ought to be adopted; or that the reverse was not, in some measure, to be taken up: because the very cessation of the mischief proved, to a certain extent, the efficacy of the remedy; and, therefore, the non-appearance of the evil, instead of

being a reason for taking off the remedy, was a reason for its continuance; otherwise the house must come to this sort of reasoning, "We will repeal the act because we believe it to be efficacious." The case was, indeed, open to two ways of reasoning: for he believed that both were in a degree true. He believed that the quiet of the country was partly owing to this act; and he believed also that there was a change in the dispositions of some parts of the country: he would say again, some parts of the country: for he begged leave to distinguish that part from the great mass of the people, who were now, as they always had been, perfectly loyal.

Mr. Wilberforce said, that ministers were entitled to confidence, unless there appeared, from their character and conduct, reasons for refusing it: and, on the view of their character and conduct, parliament were now to judge, whether they were persons disposed to abuse their trust. Parliament would also consider, whether the persons who opposed this bill were persons that might not be imposed on, and whether they had not, under such imposition, been led solemnly to attest, upon oath, the characters of persons who were highly suspected, and afterwards convicted of crimes, from which they then escaped. This testimony was not then given, under any hasty and transient act of the mind, but formally, and solemnly, in a court of justice: and he thought that such gentlemen, if they did not confess their being imposed on, should, at least, refrain from the discussion. The motion, for renewing the act for suspending the *habeas corpus*, was carried by 69 against 9.

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The second reading of this bill was opposed at greater length, but by much the same arguments, as had so often been used before, by Mr. Jolliff, Mr. Hobhouse, sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Tierney, Mr. Sheridan, and sir W. Milner. The most eloquent and impressive speech that was made, in the course of this night's very long debate, against the suspension of the greatest palladium of our liberty, was that of Mr. Hobhouse.

Mr. Windham, it will readily be recollected in the last debate on the present subject, observed, that the danger of treason was considerably diminished, and that the present tranquillity was to be ascribed to the suspension of the *habeas corpus act*. That argument of the secretary's-at-war had been also urged in favour of the suspension, by Mr. Laſcelles.

Mr. Hobhouse observed, that both these gentlemen had said, that if the suspension were not continued, the traitors, should France once more become successful, would shew themselves in full force, and with renewed activity; and in the language of one of them, a revolution might burst forth as suddenly, as characters inscribed with lemon-juice upon paper, started into appearance upon being applied to the fire. This argument, Mr. Hobhouse observed, was a little at variance with the former: *that*, supposed the ground for alarm to be as strong, as when the panic-struck committee made their report.— *This* gave a more favourable representation of the present times; but, it was curious to contemplate both those modes of reasoning in a connected point of view. Upon appearance of danger, the liberties of the subject must be suspended;

upon disappearance of the peril, the same arbitrary powers must be placed in the hands of ministers; and thus, whether the state were, or were not, exposed to risk, an individual might be committed, under a warrant from the privy council or secretary of state, and denied the privilege of demanding his trial within a given time. "Farewell then, an eternal farewell, to the blessings of that great charter of our personal freedom, the *habeas corpus act*." It should also be remarked, that this argument was not quite consistent with itself. It assumed that the danger was diminished, and yet supposed that it was only concealed, which, in fact, rendered it more formidable. Traitors, but for the measure now recommended, it was said, would no longer lurk in their hiding places, but, on the first favourable opportunity, make the most daring exertions to accomplish the ruin of their country.— What was this, but to contend that the suspension of the *habeas corpus act* had produced only a hollow and delusive quiet, which was rather the suppression of murmur and complaint, than a proof of content and happiness? Was not this a strange method of demonstrating its efficacy? As to the argument made use of by Mr. Wilberforce on the present subject, on a former night, "That it was our duty to confide in administration," Mr. Hobhouse observed, that this doctrine of confidence was extremely convenient, and of universal application. If a strong measure, like the present, were proposed, no evidence of its necessity was to be given, because the communication might be dangerous. But, supposing that, in some instances, such communication might be attended with detriment either

to individuals or the public, still it was unnecessary to resort to this doctrine of confidence. A select committee, fairly and impartially chosen out of gentlemen on both sides of the house, might be appointed to examine into the grounds for suspecting that a conspiracy against the state was in existence, and their report would prove completely satisfactory, though any part of their information were withheld from the house. On the question being put, that the suspension of the *habeas corpus* till the first of February, 1801, be read a second time, it was carried by 98 voices against 12.— It was afterwards read a third time, on the twenty-fifth of February, and carried up to the house of lords, where it was read a first time.

On a motion that it should then be read a second time, lord Holland exclaimed against the indecency of hurrying a bill of such importance, so rapidly through the house.

Lord King said, that before their lordships could judge of the propriety of vesting such powers again in the hands of his majesty's ministers, it would be necessary to know how they had been formerly exercised. He therefore moved that there should be laid before the house a list of all persons confined by virtue of the suspension of the *habeas corpus act*, with the places of their confinement, and dates of their commitment; which was ordered. And a list of the persons, confined on treasonable charges, was, on the twenty-seventh of February, laid before the lords, when the third reading of the bill was opposed by

Lord King, who had always been taught to look up to the *habeas corpus* as one of the strongest and most sacred barriers of the constitution. It was the opinion, he ob-

served, of all the most celebrated political writers, that the *habeas corpus act* ought never to be suspended, but upon occasions of the most urgent and imminent necessity. Those occasions had been pointed out in 1798 and 1799. They were an apprehension of foreign invasion, of internal insurrection. But now their lordships were desired to continue it still farther, without any shadow of reason whatever being adduced as an argument for so doing. The present mode of proceeding, by his majesty's ministers, he had began to consider as a prelude to making the suspension perpetual. When was there a likelihood of putting an end to it? If their lordships might believe what had been said in another place, not till jacobinism was extinguished. If, however, there were really *eighty thousand* of those incorrigibles, as had been asserted by a great master of that kind of political arithmetic, [Mr. Burke] and, if what had been also said on another occasion, were also true "that those principles of jacobinism, once imbibed, were never to be eradicated: long indeed he feared it would be before this great bulwark of liberty and security would be restored. His lordship highly condemned the great length of time which had elapsed since the imprisonment of the twenty-nine persons now immured in different jails, some upwards of two years, without being brought to a trial. He allowed that persons so taken up ought, if there were just cause to suspect them, and not sufficient evidence to convict, to be confined a reasonable time, in order to procure the necessary evidence. But he thought eighteen months more than reasonable time, and some time ought to be fixed, in which,

which, if they were not brought to trial, they should be discharged. His lordship said, that he was the more strenuous in opposing the present bill, that the power of the crown had been immensely increased, and the privileges of the people proportionally diminished by the passing of several strong restrictive acts. The whole property of the kingdom also was armed and in array, and at the disposal of the crown, for the defence of the country. Vested, therefore, as ministers were, with such extraordinary power, he thought it improper to increase them at the expense of the liberties of the people.

The earl of Carlisle paid a complement to lord King for the very handsome and moderate manner in which, at his years, he had conducted the whole of his argument; but, he differed from him in opinion, and attributed the tranquillity we now possessed to the passing of this very act, now to be continued. The horrid principles which had occasioned the passing of the suspension of habeas corpus had been weakened, but not wholly eradicated. He saw no danger in intrusting such a power as this in the hands of ministers who had always used it so mildly and leniently. That such was the case was evident, from the opinion of the people, who felt no apprehensions, nor had expressed the smallest discontent at such a power being so intrusted.

Lord Holland said, that of the seven years of the war, the habeas corpus act had been suspended five; and, that of the multitudes who had been imprisoned in virtue of that suspension, few had been brought to trial, and only one convicted. Neither was that person guilty of treason against this coun-

try, or connected with any societies, or any individuals of consequence in this kingdom. None of his machinations could ever have brought about a rebellion or insurrection. What harm would have followed from his going over to the enemy with a paper signed by no body? Should the constitution be suspended for years, because O'Coigley was condemned? It was said, that the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act was used merely as a measure of precaution, to protect the constitution from the evil designs of the many turbulent men who longed for its overthrow.—He confessed it not improbable, that the rational principles on which the French revolution was commenced; the plausible, though pernicious doctrine which had been professed in its later stages; and the splendid success which had attended the arms of the republic; might have dazzled many in every country in Europe, and made some in this country long to see the visionary theories of freedom reduced to practice. But was it not likewise probable, that the dreadful atrocities which had been perpetrated during the revolution, the horrid crimes which had been committed in the name of liberty, and the final subjugation of France to a military government, had made many incline to arbitrary power, and adopt tory and high-church principles, who were formerly animated with a hatred to slavery? It was one of the great evils of the French revolution, that it had brought the cause of rational freedom into discredit; and there could be no doubt that the ancient spirit of Britons had been nearly abandoned, since they had patiently borne the most alarming abridgment of

of their privileges, and the most flagrant infringement of their rights. If one set of causes had operated, why might not another? The prerogative had less to fear at present than at any former periods. As to the mildness of ministers, granting that their conduct had been mild and lenient, yet, to keep up a notion that security is owing not to the protection of the law, but to the mercy of a few individuals, must be attended with the most unhappy consequences. Men, owing no obligations to the constitution, must cease to admire, must lose all affection for it, and see, without regret, a hero erected in its stead. These were his reasons for opposing the bill.

Lord Mulgrave defended the bill. Was it not wise and lenient, by prudent precautions, to preclude the necessity of other and more vigorous measures? The circumstances of the country had not been so changed as to preclude the necessity of the present measure. Positive proofs of conspiracies were actually on their lordships table. The noble lord, who spoke last, might, if he pleased, talk of the French revolution as the effects of rational freedom; but this *rational liberty* had shewn itself in the murder of the sovereign, in the bloody and detestable tyranny of Robespierre! The five directors had trodden the same ground with the bloody Robespierre, with this difference, that their tyranny was more veiled, his more avowed. And were there no proofs, even in this country, of a predilection in favour of this rational liberty? Had not a noble lord (Stanhope) within these walls, in his place, disclaimed his quality, and, in preference, assumed a title, which, as it had been applied in

France, ought to be held in just disgrace? Could that noble earl have arrogated to himself the term *citizen*, unless there were, at the same time, a disposition in the country to flatter such freaks and prejudices? He wished that *citizen Stanhope*, since that was the title in which he gloried, had been present in his place, to hear of his express disapprobation of his conduct.

Lord Eldon said, he could have wished to have given a silent vote, if he had not felt it inconsistent with his duty, as a member of that house, and, in a peculiar degree, as being a member of a profession, which was connected with the laws of the country. He could not avoid, therefore, taking notice of some of the topics which had been touched upon by the noble lords who had opposed the motion, especially as it had fallen to his lot to discharge his duty to his country at a critical period. The noble lord (Holland) had argued, that there was only one solitary conviction, and that, in that person's case, there was no treason produced against this country. But the fact was, that the person convicted was proved to have been planning with disaffected bodies of men in this country, with certain affiliated and corresponding societies in Ireland; and surely the noble lord needed not to be told, that a person attempting to sever the crown of Ireland from that of England is guilty of an overt act of treason against the king of this country? The noble lord had represented that man, Coigley, as an unconvicted traitor; but subsequent events had proved, that, though the law of evidence would not permit persons to be convicted on the record, yet, in point of prudence, they might be



be viewed as so implicated in the guilt, that the legislature would be fully justified in taking such steps as would prevent the machinations of such men, whose measures must endanger the safety of the community. His lordship said, he spoke upon the most conscious persuasion, that, if this suspension act had not passed, their lordships would not have been at this time within that house to deliberate on this or any other act; or, at least, that their existence would have been endangered. The noble lord had argued, that none should be apprehended but such as could be brought to trial; but his lordship should know that cases might occur, as they had already occurred, in which, for want of two witnesses, persons could not be legally convicted, when, at the same time, no doubt could remain of their guilt. Let noble lords recollect what had passed in Ireland: there, where the law in cases of high treason only required one witness, a person, (his name he had forgotten) feeling that he had embarked in a project ruinous to his country, and founded on the breach of every political duty, had the merit (for so he would call it) of being the informer; a circumstance which had led to the detection of the whole conspiracy. But would the noble lord say, because, in this country, a person could not be put upon his trial for high treason without the testimony of two witnesses, that, therefore, no danger existed? With regard to what had passed at Maidstone, would the noble lord argue, that, because no sufficient legal proof could be brought against any but one of the men who were put upon their trial, the legislature should have sat still, and not endeavoured to prevent the

mischiefs, where there were such grounds for suspicion, that the French directory were tampering with disaffected men to destroy the constitution of this country? In a case of that new description so dangerous; and the plot so artfully combined, was he to shut his eyes against the danger arising to the country, or refuse to make a legislative provision, of a nature as temperate as circumstances would admit? He would venture to say, that to the suspension of the habeas corpus act was owing the preservation of the crown to the house of Hanover; and by this very act, late and former conspiracies had been broken to pieces. But he must observe, that the lenity of former reigns and governments was not to be compared with what had taken place in this reign. It was this which gave value to the British constitution, that it was not founded on that theory, which God never intended man should adopt as the rule by which he should act, as if he was a perfect creature. The law of England looked on man as encompassed with faults and vices: it went on this principle, that, in general, the existing provisions should be such as to secure, to the utmost, the liberties of the country; but, in pursuing this object, it considered also that it had to do with men as they are, and that it was the duty of the community to submit to a temporary deprivation of privilege, in order the more effectually to enjoy the liberties of the British constitution.

The question for the third reading of the bill was then carried by 30 against 7; and by the royal assent, on the twenty-eighth of February, passed into a law.

About



About the same time, another bill, of a similar nature, was passed into a law: namely, for continuing the act for the better securing and punishing such persons as should attempt to seduce his majesty's subjects from their allegiance.

It is not possible, in all cases, to secure the tranquillity of a state, by the submission of the people, through the operation of any laws of coercion. There is a point of suffering and distress, when men begin to balance the evils they actually suffer, with the dangers to which they might be exposed, by a violation of the laws, and when they are disposed to seek for present relief, by tumult, riots, and insurrection. It was, probably, under the same train of ideas, which dictated the renewal of the two acts just mentioned, that the legislature turned its attention to the enormous price of bread, and all necessaries, occasioned partly, no doubt, by the waste of war, but chiefly by a wet, late, and scanty harvest.

A committee was appointed, of the house of commons, on the tenth of February, to consider of the most effectual means of remedying any inconveniences that might arise from any deficiency of the last crop of grain, and empowered to report their proceedings, from time to time, to the house. A similar committee was appointed in the house of peers. The committee of the commons reported, on the thirteenth of February, "That, although a considerable importation of wheat, from foreign countries, had already taken place, and more might be expected, yet they felt that they should not discharge their duty, unless they strongly recommended to all indi-

viduals to use every means in their power to reduce the consumption of wheaten flour in their families, and encourage the district in which they live, by their example, influence, and authority, every possible economy in this article.—The committee, impressed with the idea of the importance of such economy at the present moment, earnestly recommended the adoption of a measure, which, from the unanimous opinion of those who had appeared in evidence before them, would lead to a very considerable saving of wheaten-flour. The evidence of the bakers, who had been examined by the committee, could not fail to convince the house, that, in families where bread, which had been baked for some hours is used, the consumption is far less considerable than in those where it is the custom to eat it new. They differed in the proportion of this saving. Some had stated it as amounting to one-third, some as amounting to one-fifth, and others as only to one-eighth. But, when it was considered, that one-half of the bread in London is consumed on the day on which it is baked, there could not be a doubt that a great saving would ensue, if the bakers were prohibited from selling it, until twenty-four hours after it was baked.—The committee were strongly induced to recommend this measure, from the consideration that a very respectable physician had given it as his decided opinion that new bread is far less wholesome than that which has been baked a certain number of hours; and they thought it important to add, that, in the opinion of the bakers in the metropolis, no material detriment or inconvenience

convenience to their trade would arise from the adopting this regulation.

"The committee had heard, with very great concern, that, from the mistaken application of the charity of individuals, in some parts of the country, flour and bread had been delivered to the poor at a reduced price; a practice which might contribute very considerably to increase the inconveniences arising from the deficiency of the last crop. And they recommended that all charity and parochial relief should be given, as far as was practicable, in any other articles except bread, flour, and money; and that the part of it which was necessary for the sustenance of the poor, should be distributed in soups, rice, potatoes, or other substitutes. They were of opinion, that, if this regulation were generally adopted, it would not only, in a very great degree, contribute to economize, at that time, the consumption of flour, but that it might have the effect of gradually introducing into use a more wholesome and nutritious species of food than that to which the poor were at present accustomed. The committee thought it also important to state, before they concluded their report, that government, in conformity to the declaration of the chancellor of the exchequer in last session of parliament, had abstained from all interference in the purchases of corn in the foreign markets; and, as they conceived that the speculations of individuals were more likely to produce an adequate supply of foreign wheat, at the present crisis, than any other measures that could be adopted, the policy of the government, in that respect, met with their decided approbation."

The house went again into a committee, on the subject of the present scarcity, and bread-corn, on the eighteenth of February.

Lord Hawkebury stated, chiefly from the calculations of Mr. Arthur Young, that the crop, in general, in this country, was not sufficient for the supply of the inhabitants; and that, when this and the ordinary importation failed, the best method that could be adopted was, the use of substitutes. The habits and the prejudices of the people would, at first, oppose their introduction. It was difficult to change old habits; but, for such a purpose, as introducing substitutes for bread, the attempt should be persevered in. Were this plan adopted, this country would be found to contain in itself the means of feeding its inhabitants; at present, the mode of feeding it was not the most economical. Great economy might be introduced, and every one would rejoice, that, by the efforts of count Rumford, and other individuals following his methods, this economy was already reduced by many to practice. It appeared by the noble count's calculations and statements, that one-third more sustenance might be derived from many articles of provision, without abridging the luxuries of the rich, than was usually drawn from them. The use of substitutes, as suggested by the committee, was particularly to be recommended in charities, and in parochial relief. This introduction might not be effected at once; yet, it must be recollected, that this was not the first year of scarcity, and that it would not be the last. Within these five years, it was the second time that a scarcity had occurred. Thus, it appeared, that, though in-  
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closures had been going on rapidly, and that, though agriculture, through the exertions of the board and other means, had been improving, the increase of population had outrun them. Lord Hawkesbury concluded his speech with a high encomium on the liberality which the rich had displayed in alleviating the distress, and in supplying the wants of the poor, and also in the poor for their becoming conduct; and moved, "That the chairman be directed to report, that it was the opinion of that committee, that leave be granted to bring in a bill to prohibit bakers from exposing any bread for sale, which had not been baked a certain number of hours."

Mr. Hobhouse did not rise to oppose the motion, but to express his joy that the subject had been taken into consideration. It would have been better for the country, had it received an earlier attention, and employed some of the time wasted in a long adjournment; for it was known long since that the harvest had failed, and that scarcity must ensue. He was ready to admit that the scarcity was to be attributed principally to the deficiency of crops; but he insisted that the war not only increased consumption, but cut off some of the means of supply, by shutting many of the ports of Europe against us, namely, the ports of Holland, Flanders, and France; and rendered every article of import dearer, by the advanced price of freight and insurance. In these respects, as well as many others, the war, stated by some politicians to bring with it so many blessings, because agriculture and commerce had increased in great and al

proportions, was, indeed, most calamitous. It pressed heavily on the lower classes, by raising the price of that first necessary of life, upon which they almost entirely subsisted. With respect to the proposed remedy against the existing evil, Mr. Hobhouse approved it as far as it went, and was glad to hear that some others were in contemplation. He thought, however, that little could be expected from positive laws, and that more was to be done by exhortation, by example, and by charity properly distributed. He had no doubt but that the gentlemen whom he now addressed, and the affluent among all ranks, would exert themselves on the present trying occasion. It was the duty of every one to strive to alleviate the distresses of the poor. He would himself make every effort for that purpose.

Mr. W. Bird thought it little better than a mockery to find the noble lord, Hawkesbury, in the name of the committee, merely recommending the use of stale bread, and that the rich should not distribute their charity to the poor in bread. For his part, it was not the poor whom he wished to see deprived of the use of bread, but would rather recommend a saving in that article to the rich, who abounded in various superfluities. Let the rich but deny themselves this supply for a month or two, and they would serve the poor effectually, and bring down the blessings of thousands upon them.

In the conversation that was continued on this subject, Mr. Sylvester Douglas illustrated the propriety of the conduct of the committee, of the tenth of February, of which he was

a member, in omitting to do some things that had been proposed, as well as in doing what they had done.

Sir W Young, too, also justified the conduct of the committee; and trusted that much regard would not be paid to the declamation of an honourable member (Mr. Bird) when he said that the report of the committee was of but little use, because it did not accomplish more.

Some very useful hints were thrown out by Mr. Addington and Mr. Wilberforce for alleviating the distresses of the present scarcity, and preventing them in future.

Mr. Addington found it stated in a report of a committee, in 1795, on the testimony of a miller, that excellent bread may be made of the whole wheat, without taking away any of the bran, and a gentleman had proved it to be so: for he himself had seen a bread of that kind. He had now to state, on the authority of a person, to whose exemplary life he owed the first of all obligations, that the best bread was made of the entire wheat. On mentioning the different classes into which the ancients divided their bread, he said, that the first was made of the finest flour; the second was a mixture of that flour with the pollard; and the third class was the whole flour with the bran. That, of those three kinds of bread, the first and second seemed to have been little used; but that the third sort was in general use, from its excellent effects. It was found, on experiment, by chymists, that this sort contained a vast quantity of essential oil, and in this consisted the true spirit of the wheat; not that which was fiery and caused fermentation, but that which was mild and nu-

tritious. Had this consideration been earlier attended to, there would not have been now any cause of alarm. He recommended encouragement of the growth of potatoes; the importation of rice; and an increase of swine. He made a handsome panegyric on the liberality of the country, which had so generously come forward for the relief of the poor. The different classes were more nearly linked together; and the poor were now taught to consider those as their friends and benefactors, whom they considered before with an invidious and angry eye. The cottage and the palace were united in the general pressure, and the rich and poor in feeling and respect for one another.

Mr. Wilberforce said, he was not a member of the committee appointed to inquire, and make a report on the subject which was now before the house; but, from the character of those who constituted it, from their means of information, and their earnest desire to promote the welfare of the community, he must be satisfied that they had done every thing that could be expected of them. It appeared to Mr. Wilberforce that if the whole grain were used, if not universally, yet in part, it would serve to lengthen out the supply wanted. There were various sources from which the country might look for supplies and for savings: such as importation of grain; animal food, not roasted or baked, by which mode of cookery, a great part of its strength and substance was lost, but in the shape of soup; the prohibition of fancy rolls and biscuits; the prohibition of the use

use of oats, except for the use of man and horses in the service of government; and encouragement to fishing. It was a public blessing in such times as these to have such men as count Rumford and Arthur Young. He understood from Mr. Young, that early potatoes and beans might be brought into use in the month of June: and a few thousands granted in premiums for them would bring to market a vast quantity.

Lord Hawkesbury's motion was carried unanimously.

A bill was brought into the house to prohibit any person or persons, from selling, or offering to sale, any bread which had not been baked for a certain number of hours. The blank left for specifying that number, was filled up with *twenty-four*. The bill was carried through all its stages, and passed into a law, by the royal assent, on the next day, February 20.

On that day, in the house of peers, the archbishop of Canterbury lamented, in pathetic terms, the inconveniences and distresses which the lower orders of society must suffer from the scarcity of corn. He shewed the great effect which the examples of those in the higher had on those in all the inferior stations; and that, in the present distressful circumstances of the country, it was in their lordships power, by their example, very materially to alleviate the burthens of the poor. His grace did not recommend a direct legislative interference on the present occasion, but greatly approved the good effects of solemn engagements made, and strictly adhered to, by different bodies of men, with a view to diminish the consumption of flour, and promote the use of

approved substitutes for that article in their respective families. So strongly was he impressed with this conviction, that he would then propose a set of resolutions, forming an agreement, to be signed by such of their lordships as approved the idea, to carry certain measures into effect, tending to diminish the use of flour in their respective families. His grace submitted to the house several propositions, under the form of resolutions; which, at the recommendation of the lord chancellor, was changed into that of an agreement. A resolution of the noble lords, as a body, the chancellor observed, seemed as if it were a legislative act: and any legislative act, in his opinion, would tend to do more prejudice than service in a case of this kind. His lordship then took notice of the report of the house of commons, with which he was by no means satisfied, in as far as it was founded on the opinions of two gentlemen only. That was not the best evidence to be obtained. Much more might have been had. Neither had the proceedings of the committee been decided or accurate on the occasion. They had put their questions in such a manner, that they could receive only one answer to them. He agreed with the earl of Darnley, who had just made some comments on the statements of Mr. Arthur Young, that this gentleman must have been much mistaken in his calculations.

The motions of the archbishop of Canterbury, reduced to the form recommended by the chancellor, were as follow, "Resolved, by the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, that, in consequence of the high price, and deficient supply of wheat and other grain,

grain, it is expedient to adopt such measures as might be practicable, for diminishing the consumption thereof during the continuance of the present pressure, and for introducing the use of such articles, as might be conveniently substituted in the place thereof.

"In consequence of the high price of grain, and the evils arising therefrom, we, the undersigned, agree, that, until the tenth day of October next, we will not consume, nor permit to be consumed, in any week, within our respective families, more wheaten bread than in the proportion of one quartern loaf for each of the individuals of whom our said families may be composed; and also that, during the said period, we will discontinue, and cause to be discontinued, within our said families, all pastry." "Resolved, that a message be sent to the house of commons to acquaint them, that this house has come to the said resolution and agreement." A message to this purpose was accordingly, on the next day, sent to the commons, who ordered "That the said resolution and agreement be referred to the consideration of the whole house; to whom it was referred to consider farther of the report which was made by the committee appointed to consider of the most effectual means of remedying any inconveniences that might arise from the deficiency of the last crop of grain."

In the house of lords, on the twenty-seventh of February, the earl of Darnley rose to confirm and illustrate his position, on the twentieth, that the scarcity of grain was greatly exaggerated, and that the alarm, that had been given on that subject, was not only unfounded, but highly

detrimental to the public. His lordship, after producing a variety of authorities, from gentlemen farmers, stewards, and surveyors of estates, and others, said, that having, as he trusted, on the most uncontrovertible evidence, proved that his former statement was neither made lightly, nor without foundation, he now felt it his duty clearly and strongly to express his disapprobation of the exaggerated statements of distress and approaching famine, which had been conveyed to the public by the report of the committee of the house of commons, on their false founded opinion on that report, which, though calculated to do infinite mischief, rested upon no better evidence, if it deserved that name, than that of Mr. Arthur Young, and Mr. Claude Scott; for, however respectable these gentlemen might be, their bare opinion, for it was no more, and not on oath, was a miserable foundation for such an alarm as had been created in the country. Instead of proclaiming to the affrighted people of this country, that the stock of corn, at present on hand, was not sufficient to support them till the next harvest, without, at the same time, being able to point out to them, any effectual means of obviating the evil, it would have been more consistent with humanity, as well as wisdom, to have remained silent, at least, till such a remedy could be found. What their lordships had done, must inevitably increase the evil, inasmuch as it must tempt all persons, who had corn in their possession, to withhold it from market, in hopes of a better price, which, they had been told, they had so much reason to expect. But if the great alarm, which had been raised, was not, as he trusted



trusted he had proved, founded on fact, but if, on the contrary, the deficiencies of the crop of the last year was neither so great, nor the surplus of that of the preceeding year so inconsiderable as had been stated; if, on the contrary, there was reasonable ground to believe that there was wheat enough in hand to supply the country till next harvest, it was difficult to express, in terms sufficiently strong, his opinion of those who lightly, and without sufficient proof, brought forward to public view the hideous spectre of famine, which they fancied to be approaching, and by sounding their boasted trumpet of alarm, proclaim to the people of England, that, as much as they might now suffer by the high price of bread, they must soon expect to suffer much more, and probably have none to eat.

The corn and bread committee of the house of commons, on the sixth of March, stated to the house, that since their last report, they had received additional information respecting the deficiency of the late crops of grain in many parts of the country, particularly in Scotland; the result of which had impressed them with the propriety of suggesting such methods as appeared to them to be most effectual for diminishing the consumption of corn, for encouraging the importation from abroad, and for bringing into extensive use, such substitutes as might supply the place of it. The points to which they called the attention of the house were these: first, the expediency of giving a bounty to encourage the importation of corn from the Mediterranean and America: second, the propriety of individuals reducing the consumption of flour in their families: third,

the propriety of subjecting millers to some new regulations: fourth, the adoption of a new table of assize: fifth, the encouragement of the use of rice and Indian corn: sixth, the encouragement of the growth of potatoes and other useful vegetables: seventh, the expediency of procuring a considerable supply of food from the fisheries: eighth, the expediency of stopping the distilleries. It was resolved, by the house, to grant bounties on the importation of grain, not only from America and the Mediterranean, but, on the suggestion of Mr. Samuel Thornton, from the Baltic; to compel millers to grind the sorts of flour necessary for making brown bread, at a reasonable rate; to grant bounties to our fisheries; and to take off the duty on the importation of Swedish herrings; and to stop, for a limited time, the distilleries. The miller was to take out an annual licence, which was to be obtained for a small sum of money, and inspectors were to be appointed. He was to be bound to grind corn without delay. The price of grinding corn was to be regulated by the justices. By this bill the poor would be protected, and secured from much imposition, which, in a great variety of instances, had taken place, to their great oppression. The resolutions of the house of commons, on these four points, of encouragement to the importation of grain, and fifth, regulating mills and stopping distilleries were quickly passed into laws. As to the resolution for regulating the price and assize of bread, from which little was to be expected towards the relief of the present pressure, it was thought proper, after due consideration, to defer that matter to

a time when the price of flour should be more moderate. A bill for encouraging the cultivation of potatoes on waste lands, after much consideration of the embarrassments it must occasion, and even hardships to many of the lower classes of the people, was thrown out of the house of commons, after it had been brought into a committee, on the twenty-fourth of March.

In the end of February, proclamations were issued in Great Britain and Ireland for the importation of grain, free from any duty or impost, till the end of September next. Though the agreement, proposed by the archbishop of Canterbury, had not been signed by all the lords or commons, the spirit of it was followed by many who did not sign it, and the effect with which it was followed, in reducing the consumption of bread, was not inconsiderable: but a greater effect, we may presume, was produced by that compulsory economy which, by the enormous price of bread, was universally and impressively inculcated. The other economical measure for making our stock of flour hold out till relief should be obtained by importation, or next harvest, viz. the law against selling bread not baked twenty-four hours was quickly found to produce the most beneficial effects. By a declaration of the matter, wardens, and court of assistants of the company of bakers, before the corn and bread committee of the house of commons, it appeared, that the consumption of bread, in the metropolis, was reduced, in consequence of that prohibition, at least one-sixth.

On a review of the whole of this calamitous case of the country, and

the conduct of the legislature respecting it, it appears that the people were patient and submissive to fate, and that the lords and commons were humane, generous, and paternal. So also were all the noble and ancient families or gentry, and also, a great proportion of those who are wont to hug the riches which they themselves have created, as their only title to consequence and notice in the country. Even professed misers opened their hands liberally on this distressful occasion, and the tenderness of their nature prevailing over the inveteracy of sordid habits, indicated and proved, in a very striking manner, the proverbial humanity and compassion of Englishmen.

But there were not a few, and these men of enlightened understandings, as well as feeling dispositions, who, while they acknowledged the philanthropy, and the wisdom of parliament, could not help expressing a degree of wonder, that in an island, abounding with wealth, flourishing in agriculture, commerce, and naval and colonial war, open to the reception of timely aid from all the world, and which could have commanded that aid even by force, if it could not have been invited by gold—there were many who wondered that, in such a country, so great a proportion of the people should be seen, infirm, pallid, and sickly for want of due sustenance, and forced to abandon their usual occupations, wandering to soup-establishments, in quest of subsistence from alms, instead of industry. A late, wet, and unpromising harvest threatened want and famine. The parliament had been convened, and was sitting so late as near the middle of October. Administration

ministration could have assembled it *pro re nata*, if it had not been fitting. And the measures, necessary for the public tranquillity and well-being, might have been adopted, in due time, without the convention of parliament: yet it was not till February, 1800, that any thing was attempted for the relief of the present, or the prevention of a greater pressure.

As it became the business of parliament, early in the present session, to consider of means for preserving the people from famine, so an incident happened that reminded government of the vigilance necessary against the introduction of pestilence. In the end of 1799, three ships arrived in the ports of this country, from Mogadore, on the coast of Africa, with what are called soul bills of health, which left that place when the plague raged there with the greatest violence. The goods of those ships being found, on inquiry, to be particularly susceptible of infection, as well as put on board under the most suspicious circumstances, his majesty thought proper, by the advice of his privy council, to order the ships and cargoes to be destroyed, in conformity to what had been the usage in former instances of the same nature. This incident, with the measures by which it had been followed, was communicated, by a message, to the house of commons, on the eleventh of February; and his majesty recommended it to the house to consider whether any, and what allowance should be made to the parties, for the losses they might have sustained in consequence of the destruction of the ships and cargoes. Mr. Pitt moved that the matter should be referred to the consideration of a select committee:

observing that a minute and critical inquiry should be made into the motives which induced those ships to sail under so suspicious a character: and that, after examining the invoices, such reparation should be made to the owners, if nothing appeared to criminate their conduct or intentions, as the justice of the house should think proper and adequate. The utmost care should, at the same time, be employed to inquire into the motives which prompted such hazardous speculations.

Sir W. Pulteney said, he was credibly informed that no plague raged at Mogadore when the goods were shipped, nor was there any reason to believe that any danger could possibly arise from them. But he would not, on that account, resist the proposed inquiry: on the contrary, he approved of it, as it would lead to a discovery whether there were sufficient reasons for destroying the ships and goods, and that with such precipitation.

Mr. Pitt assured the worthy baronet, that his information was erroneous, both with regard to the haste with which he supposed the ships to have been destroyed, and to the reasons for believing that there was no well-grounded apprehension of a plague having existed at the place alluded to. The matter in question had been the subject of a long and repeated inquiry, and the most eminent of the faculty had given it as their opinion that the precaution should be used that had been resorted to: that the danger of a contagion being spread from the opening and exposing of those goods to the air appeared to be imminent in the extreme; for it was well known that two persons, who had been employed

employed in putting the cargo on board, died before the succeeding day. He was happy, however, to assure the house that no danger of any kind was now to be apprehended from the circumstance. The thanks of the house were then voted to this message, and a select committee was ordered to report the same, with their opinions thereon, to the house. In consequence of a report from that committee, the house of commons, in a committee of supply, on the twenty-third of May, granted, for the satisfaction of parties who had suffered loss, by the destruction of the three ships from Mogadore,\* the sum of 41,400*l*. The subsequent appearance of the plague, at Cadiz, and other parts of Spain, renders it almost certain, that the precaution of ships and cargoes, from Mogadore, performing quarantine, was not unnecessary. There are few instances in which the vigilance, prudence, and justice of government have been more apparent than in the whole of its conduct in that business.

There was another danger which threatened the British nation, not so great, certainly, as famine or pestilence, but which, in the opinion of not a few of the legislators, called loudly for timely prevention. This was the increase of popery, likely to ensue from the continuance, or admission of new members into monastic societies in England. On the motion of sir H. Mildmay, the house of commons, on the twenty-second of May, resolved itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider of an act made in the thirty-first year of the reign of his pre-

sent majesty, intituled "An Act to relieve, upon Conditions, and under Restrictions, the Persons therein described, from certain penalties and Disabilities, to which Papists, or Persons professing the popish Religion, were by Law subject." Sir H. Mildmay, after expressing, in the strongest terms, his extreme satisfaction in the bounty and indulgence that had been shewn by this country to the French emigrants, doing justice to the most regular and peaceable demeanor of that unfortunate class of men, and what he termed, not unhappily, their most *unassuming and most unobtrusive gratitude*; and, also, after disclaiming the contracted and odious spirit of religious intolerance, observed, that, as he conceived, it could never be the intention of government to encourage the re-establishment of monastic institutions in this protestant country. However it might be to our honour to have suffered those individuals, who had previously bound themselves to a monastic life, to discharge, in this country, those vows, from which, in their mind, no human power could release them, such indulgence ought to expire with the life of the present incumbents. We ought not, in his opinion, to suffer the vacancies, which might happen to rise in such communities, to be filled up by subjects of this country, actually since their residence here, but should, on all grounds, carefully guard against the admission of any new members into those societies, whose first obligation, on entering into them, was subversive of those laws and liberties, which the wisdom and policy of our ancestors long since intro-

\* The Aurora, the Mentor, and the Lark.

ered amongst us. It fell within his own observation to know, that in each of the two monastic societies established at Winchester, several persons had been suffered actually to profess themselves, and to take both veils, since their residence there; and, as he was credibly informed, a great variety of similar instances might be produced, from different parts of the country, where these monastic institutions had been permitted to establish themselves. These practices, sir H. Mildmay thought, should be checked in the bud, otherwise we might live to lament that the national humanity had been abused; and that parliament, by voting money for their subsistence, had, in some degree, become made a party to the revival of what seemed to them the most unnatural part of the Romish faith, when it might be too late to extirpate the evils, which the influence of such a system might have introduced into the country. Having admitted upwards of five thousand proficients into this country, of a persuasion inimical to the religion established by law, and continuing to subsist there at the public expense, it was a duty strongly incumbent on them to be particularly careful to give no offence to the regular church, and that the interests of the protestant communion should not suffer by the excess of their humanity and indulgence. Another subject, to which he would call the attention of the house, was the recent foundation of a great variety of catholic schools, many of which were engrafted on, and under the immediate superintendence and influence of, their monastic establishments. This fact had given considerable alarm and uneasiness to those

reverend persons, whose high situations in the regular church had placed the interests of the protestant communion particular only in their hands. The resolution he meant to propose was similar to a regulation which he understood to have taken place in the year 1763, when the catholic province of Canada was ceded to this country, namely, to place within the protection of the law those convents which actually exist, but not to suffer, on any pretence whatever, the admission of any new members into such societies.—Sir H. Mildmay said, that, in submitting this subject to the attention of parliament, he had complied with the general voice of the public, laity as well as clergy. When he added, to the other considerations he had mentioned, the temptation, he might say the bribe, which was held out to the public, by educating children, in those catholic seminaries, free from any expense to their parents, he thought he was not calling on the house for any unreasonable interference, when he suggested the expediency of revising and reconsidering the present laws, and of adding such strength to the arm of the executive power, as might be necessary to meet the emergence of the present moment. The resolutions which he moved, for guarding against the evils to be apprehended from a popish zeal for making convents, were these:

“ That it is the opinion of this committee, that the temporary residence in this kingdom, of certain monastic societies, should be permitted, subject to the provisions of an act passed in the thirty-third year of his present majesty, intituled, “ An Act for establishing Regulations respecting Aliens arriving in this Kingdom,

dom, or resident therein, in certain Cafes;" and that the admission of any new members into such societies should be prohibited, and that the names and numbers of the persons belonging thereto, should be annually returned to the court of quarter-sessions in which they reside.

"That all persons, undertaking the public education of youth in the Romish faith, should also return annually to the court a list, containing the names and number of their pupils, together with the names and places of abode of their respective parents; and that a power be given to magistrates, appointed by the quarter-sessions, to inspect such institutions at pleasure."

These resolutions were supported by Mr. Newbolt, Mr. Johnes, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Bragge; and opposed by Mr. Hobhouse and Dr. Lawrence.

Mr. Newbolt bore witness to the alarm that had taken place among the clergy and others, at the intemperate zeal of some priests, and at the influence of the nuns in those monastic institutions over the minds of their pupils. It was necessary, in his mind, if the house did not wish to see the country again overrun with catholics and catholic orders, either to abolish those monastic institutions altogether, or to prohibit English catholics from entering into them.

Mr. Johnes thought, that, for the security of our religion, even stronger measures than those proposed by the honourable baronet were necessary.

Mr. Pitt praised the liberal manner in which the honourable baronet had opened this business, and admired the liberal principles on which the resolutions which he had moved were framed. He was happy that

he could give them his cordial approbation.

Mr. Hobhouse commended the motives of the honourable mover, but thought the resolutions would be an infringement on the spirit of toleration, which so peculiarly distinguished this country, and would also appear not very consistent with that humanity and generosity with which we had received the exiled clergy of France. The alien-act possessed all the power that was necessary to prevent the abuses which were the subject of complaint.

But, as to this argument, from the alien-bill, Mr. Pitt observed, that it was surely better to advertise, by an act of the legislature, those unfortunate people of what would be allowed them to do, and what they were prohibited from doing. It would be hard to send them again abroad as wanderers from their second home, for conduct which they knew not, and never had been informed that it was unlawful or improper.

Mr. Bragge added, that it ought likewise to be observed, that the provisions of the alien-act were not applicable to the native subjects of this country.

The resolutions were then severally put and carried, and, on the next day, reported. A bill, corresponding to these, was drawn up, and, on the twenty-third of June, when it was read a second time, and proposed to be committed, became the subject of a long and animated debate, in the course of which it was opposed, with great ingeniousness and eloquence, by Mr. Windham and Mr. Sheridan; but supported with great ability by the mover, Sir H. John Mildmay, Mr. T. Jones, Mr. Dudley Ryder, Sir William Scott, Mr. Erskine, and Mr. Percival.

Mr.



Mr. Windham admitted, that, if any necessity existed for a restraining measure of this kind, that he knew of none more unexceptionable than the one proposed; but, instead of the Roman catholic religion springing up again into importance, its friends had to fear a change of quite a different kind. What could be more absurd than to suppose, that, in the present order of things, in this æra of the world, at the latter end of the eighteenth century, in the tenth year of the French revolution, in the general renunciation of every popish tenet throughout Europe, when even the fate of that quarter of the world was trembling on the balance, and the period was arrived, which must either establish or overturn for ever the power of France—how absurd to suppose, that, in such circumstances, any apprehension could be entertained of the propagation and dominion of popery? A few stragglers only had come to us, who had happily survived the destruction of the Gallican church. This general abasement and overthrow had more weakened the catholic faith, than any endeavours of the remaining few who adhered to it could effect towards its restoration. Those who had fled to us were but miserable remains as to their means and power, though not as to the virtues they had uniformly displayed. Mr. Windham defended monastic institutions, in general, against the prejudices, the calumnies, and the narrow and persecuting spirit of their enemies. He insisted, that the law should not interfere to prevent converts to popery, any more than to any other sects and persuasions. If, indeed, conversion to popery were an evil, law, Mr. Wind-

ham observed, was not its proper remedy. The divines of the established church, (at whose instigation chiefly the present resolutions were moved) should feed their flocks with spiritual food, and thus enable them to withstand the first seed of this, they were too fond of raising the cry, “The church is in danger!” If proselytism existed, it was a disgrace only, to that clergyman in whose parish it took place. What, if they did their duty, could ministers of the church of England fear? They met their antagonists on more than equal ground. If any one indeed attempted to preach up the rights of man, and insubordination to lawful authority: to silence such doctrines would be a work of necessity; but popery had nothing in it of that dangerous tendency, and might be met fairly in the field of argument.—A little opposition was no bad thing; it made persons attentive to their duty, and might be as useful in the church as in the senate.—Another objection to the bill, in Mr. Windham’s mind, was, that it raised prejudices in the minds of the illiberal against a number of unoffending persons, who had fled to our shores from the tempest that threatened their destruction. When that should subside, they would be very ready to seek their own country again, and carry all their own customs and sentiments along with them; but why should we send them back lame and crippled? While they remained here, it was not generous to mark them out as objects of public scorn and suspicion.—On the whole, Mr. Windham considered the bill in question as, at least, but useless. “Where no danger exists,” said he, “no precaution is necessary; where no disease, no remedy.”

medy. When I think of the readiness with which persons are apt to call for the interference of the house, I consider it as one of the evils of the times. The courts below keep up their price. There we find no frivolous applications; the experiment is too costly. Parliament only is cheap. The legislature is as accessible as the parish pump; it may be worked by the first man who put his hand to it.—This alone is a sufficient reason why the vote of the house should put a stop to the farther progress of a bill so nugatory and useless.”—The arguments of Mr. Windham were replied to by sir H. Mildmay, who contended still, that if circumstances respecting popery had arisen, which were not sufficiently far, from not having been in the contemplation of the legislature, which had caused alarm, and apprehension in the public mind, it was a very full reason for correcting and amending them, and for giving such additional powers to the arm of the executive government, as would enable it to meet the *emergency of the present danger*.

Mr. T. Jones said, that, as the age of chivalry was gone, so the age of popery had commenced.

Mr. D. Ryder said, that if the bill passed into a law it would not harass the Roman catholics, but operate as a protection to them, and reconcile the minds of the clergy and populace to their residence in Britain. The monastic life, he said, was pretty generally condemned, even in Roman catholic countries, and he had, by no means, expected to hear that defended in the house of commons, which was contrary to our religion, hostile to

our laws, and destructive of our prosperity and opulence.

Mr. Hobhouse, in the course of a very pertinent and able speech, remarked an important distinction between Roman catholics and papists: the former renouncing, the latter asserting the supremacy of the pope in affairs temporal as well as ecclesiastical.

Sir W. Scott observed, that monastic institutions were not necessarily connected with the Roman catholic religion, as it might subsist, in its full force, without them. If then they were not necessarily connected with toleration, they were institutions which, in this protestant country, should be discountenanced, as unfriendly to its religion.

Mr. Erskine supported the bill, because it gave encouragement, in some respects to those who were the objects of it, by securing them against penalties to which, in certain cases, they would otherwise be subject, while it put them under regulations which appeared to him to be necessary.

Mr. Sheridan considered the question to be really this: “Whether there does exist, at this moment, in the conduct of the catholics of this country, any ground to blame them? Whether any body could impute any blame to them whatever?” And he concluded a long speech with the proposition “That the house do appoint a committee to inquire into the state of the monastic religious houses in England, and proceed no farther until it had some evidence on which to deliberate,” for which purpose he would move, “that this examination be adjourned to Monday next.”

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The speaker observed, that this question could not be put before the present question should be disposed of, which was "That he do now leave the chair," should the question be negatived, then it would be competent for Mr. Sheridan to move his proposition, or indeed any other which he should think good to make.

Mr. Percival did not think the bill nugatory, useless, or unimportant. It did not appear to him to be unworthy of being the last solemn act of the British parliament. The question for the speaker's leaving the chair was carried by 52 against 24: the house then went into a committee on the bill, which sat again on the twenty-seventh of June. Certain alterations were made by the mover, which reconciled Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Hobhouse, and others to the bill: Though Mr. Hobhouse much wished that the king had been invested with a discretionary power of licensing the admission of *any* person into a monastic or religious house. Mr. Percival said, that the object of the honourable gentleman would be fully answered, for it was intended to place such a power in the hands of his majesty, during the continuance of the war. Mr. Hobhouse did not like the limitation as to time.

Mr. Windham approved the alterations as far as they went, but did not promise not to oppose the bill in its future stages: through which, however, without any farther opposition it was passed, and carried up to the house of lords, where, on the second reading, on the tenth of July, it was opposed by lord Grenville, supported by the bishop of Winchester, and, in part, by the lord

chancellor, but opposed by the bishop of Rochester, as altogether unnecessary, unconstitutional, and dangerous; and by lord Grenville, as unnecessary and intolerant.—Bishop Horsley, after proving at great length that the existing laws, if necessary to be enforced, were fully adequate to any possible evil to be apprehended from the Roman catholics in this country, came at last to shew that the bill was unconstitutional and dangerous, on account of the alarming power it would put in the hands of the crown. For it made it lawful for his majesty to grant licences to such religious orders or communities as were in this kingdom, to continue to reside therein during the continuance of the present war, and one year after, and to perform and observe, within their respective houses the rights and ordinance of their institutions any law or statute to the contrary, notwithstanding. Now, penance was a rite of the Roman catholics. Would his majesty expose any of his subjects to corporal severities? Would their lordships allow the pope's bulls to come again into England, and give the king a suspending power? There was one clause of the bill to which the bishop owned he should feel no objection, were it not for the other parts with which it was connected. This was the clause obliging Roman catholic school-masters to return yearly a list of such persons as are or had been boarded with them, with the names and places of abode of their respective parents and guardians. Such a regulation, he said, should be extended to all schools, especially those of the protestant dissenters, in whose schools the doctrines of jacobinism, sedition

tion, and infidelity, were but too frequently inculcated, to his certain knowledge. He was a great friend to a toleration of all Christians, of whatever sects. By Christians, he meant those who acted up to the thirty-nine articles, the confession of the Saxon churches, those who conformed to the ancient discipline of the protestant church, as settled at the reformation: not those who wanted to reform; to pull down the hierarchy, and appropriate to the other uses the patrimony of the church; who denied the divinity of our Saviour, and wanted to get rid of the Athanasian creed. In all such questions as the present, the grand consideration should be *ne quid detrimenti ecclesia Anglicana capiat*. There was great danger to be apprehended from what were called charity and Sunday schools, in and about the metropolis. He hoped that in a future session, parliament would take it into consideration. As for the present bill, he moved that it should "stand committed for that day three months."

The bishop of Winchester differed almost entirely from him of Rochester, respecting the bill under consideration. The bill, he observed, was two-fold. It was an enabling bill, and a bill of restraint. He thought the enabling part of it well warranted by the occasion. It was wise, considerate, and candid, to suffer the religious orders or communities, consisting either of British born national subjects, or aliens, that were through unforeseen misfortunes and irresistible adversity, driven to this country, to put in safety as to their religious rites while in this kingdom; and, at the same time, he approved of the restrictive part of the bill, because

he thought it prudent to prevent any addition to their numbers, and to guard against any possible danger, from their zeal to make converts. As to three parts of the bill, he differed so far from the bishop of Rochester, that he thought them severe and needless.

The bishop of Winchester, therefore, as a friend to genuine toleration, and the constitution of this country in church and state, declared, that he would support the bill.

The lord chancellor, Loughborough, left the woolstack to declare that he had no particular liking to the bill, and that he agreed to several of the objections that had been urged against it; but thought, nevertheless, that there were parts of it which contained some good provisions, and might, by amendments, be rendered highly useful. He wished, therefore, that it might not be rejected on the second reading, but go into a committee. His lordship produced a letter, in which the author, whose name he said he would not mention, imputed the origin of the bill to a literary controversy between doctor Sturges, the chancellor of Winchester, and Mr. Milner, a Roman catholic clergyman, who had published a history of the Antiquities of the City of Winchester. The letter-writer represented doctor Sturges's publication as illiberal, violent, intolerant, and even inflammatory. The lord chancellor himself thought that doctor Sturges's publication was candid, liberal, and temperate, while Mr. Milner's was replete with studied aspersions, abuse, and irritation.—But, having read and commented on the comparative characteristics of the controversy, he begged the house to recollect that Mr. Milner

was

was one of the established Roman catholic clergy, long resident in this country: that, in fact, the eminent clergy in France had nothing to do with the controversy.—If the bill, therefore, had been drawn with a view to the controversy in question, it was neither fair nor just to make it bear on those who were unconnected with the controversy.—His lordship repeated his wish, that the bill might go into a committee, because the letter-writer's sentiments shewed that some anxious feelings were entertained.

The bishop of Rochester rose again and said, that he also had read the two works alluded to, and he agreed in part with the criticism of the noble and learned lord upon the woolpack, upon the different merits of the two writers. Mr. Milner had undoubtedly used too many asperities against our established church and the practices of its ministers, but—here the bishop was called to order by lord Hardwicke. The bishop was so eager to speak, and to obtain a hearing of his criticism on the two polemical divines just mentioned, that it was with difficulty he could be reduced to silence by the repeated calls to order by lord Hardwicke, supported by the chancellor and all the house. When, at last, he was obliged to sit down, amidst a general and long continued cry of order, he proclaimed in a voice louder still than the cry of order “that all he meant to have said was, that, in

many cases Mr. Milner had the advantage of the chancellor of Winchester, who had not shewn sufficient zeal for orthodoxy, and the discipline of our protestant establishment.”

That eagerness to speak, and make long speeches, which seems to be, if possible, even increasing in our parliament, though not usually so great in the upper as the lower house, calls to mind, by the association of dissimilitude and contrast, that becoming and dignified modesty that prevailed in the Roman senate; in which the senators did not declare their opinion on questions, till they were called on in their turn to do so, by the home consul, or the prætor, or other magistrate, who convoked and presided in the senate. Had Julius Cæsar, or Cato, been clamorous for a hearing of those justly celebrated orations on the conspiracy of Cataline, much of their effect would probably have been lost, with the diminished gravity, dignity, and apparent impartiality of the speaker.\*

The question for the commitment of the monastic-institution-bill was then agreed to. It was now moved, “That the bill stand committed to this day three months.” The motion was carried, and the bill was of course lost.

It was matter of some surprize to many, both that the poor distressed catholics should be so zealous for the continuance of their orders, and that the protestants should be so easily alarmed at the dying efforts of their adversaries. It is in moments of

\* At Marcus Portius Cato rogatus sententiam—Sed Cæsar, ubi ad eum ventum est rogatus sententiam a consula sujuscemodi verba locutus est. SALLUST. BELL. CATALINAR.—It appears that the opinions of the senators were asked in the order of their dignity.—Tum D. Junius filanus primus sententiam rogatus, quod eo tempore consul designatus erat. Do.

distress that religious zeal is strongest and most successful. It is in like manner, at a time of danger to religious establishment, that somewhat of the spirit that produced them is rekindled. But, in the present case, it seems probable, that the zeal of the protestants was not awakened but by the interference of ecclesiastics.

There was another bill, for the security of religion and morality, brought into parliament in the course of the present session, more successful than that for the regulation of monastic institutions.— This was a bill presented, on the twenty-first of April, by Dr. Beilby Porteous, the bishop of London, for the better observance of Good-Friday; which was passed without any opposition.

The bill for regulating monastic institutions was rejected, chiefly on the ground that it was unnecessary: so also was a bill brought in by sir William Pulteney, on the third of April, for preventing the practice of bull-baiting. The debate on this bill afforded not a little entertainment; and formed a kind of episode in the parliamentary episode of this year, not unlike those comical digressions with which epic poets relieve the serious air of their narration and description. The secretary-at-war, let' himself to prolong the war between bulls and dogs, as well as that of war with the great enemy of this country, France. What, said Mr. Windham, was there so alarming in the practice of bull-baiting? It had existed more than a thousand years, without producing any of the crying evils which were now attributed to it? It was not unfair to attribute to the manly amusements of the people of

England, of which bull-baiting was one, much of that valour which was so conspicuous in their martial achievements by sea and land.— Courage and humanity, too, seemed to grow out of their wholesome exercises. The sport here, he admitted, was at the expense of an animal which was by no means a party to the amusement: but it, at the same time, served to cultivate the qualities of a certain species of dogs, which offered as much pleasure to their owners, as greyhounds did to others. And why should the butcher be deprived of his amusement more than the gentleman? The advocates of this bill proposed to abolish bull-baiting, on the score of its cruelty. It was strange enough that such an argument should be employed by a set of persons who had a most vexatious code of laws for the protection of their own amusements. He did not mean, for the present, to condemn the game-laws: but when gentlemen talked of cruelty, he must remind them, that it belonged as much to shooting as to bull-baiting; nay, more so, as it frequently happened, that when one bird was shot, a great many others went off much wounded. Accidents to the lookers on did sometimes happen at bull-baiting; but, he was sure that he had known more fatal accidents to arise, in the county of Norfolk alone, by quarrels between the game invaders and the game preservers, some being killed on the spot, and others hanged afterwards for the murders, than ever happened from bull-baiting. On the whole, there did not appear to Mr. Windham to be any real evil in the practice of bull-baiting; that it would be trifling to legislate on  
such



such petty concerns; and that it was in the present case absurd, as the practice was already falling so much into disuse; and that it seemed as if the bill had been brought in now, lest it could be quite abolished before it could be passed. Mr. Windham concluded a very ingenious and pretty long speech, by moving, "That the consideration of the report of the committee on the bill should be delayed till that day three months."

Sir William Pulteney spoke much of the cruelty of bull-baiting; a cruelty much greater than that of hunting or shooting: for, in bull-baiting, a poor animal was tied to a stake, with no means of defence or escape, and tormented and tortured for a whole day, or even for several succeeding days. He also spoke of the drunkenness, riot, and dissipation, among the lower classes, which bull-baiting occasioned.—The following was a pretty home-stroke to Mr. Windham: "If bull-baiting is declining and getting so much into disuse, as the honourable gentleman would represent, I wonder that he does not propose to grant a bounty for its encouragement. But it is rather against part of the right honourable gentleman's arguments, that though it is so much neglected now, the warlike spirit of the nation has not at all declined. Has not as great courage been displayed in the course of the present war, by our soldiers and sailors, as at any former period?"

Mr. Canning did not understand whether the honourable baronet meant to say, that the shocking cruelty of bull-baiting was cruel to the dogs, or to the bull. The amusement, he said, was a most excellent one; it inspired courage, and pro-

duced a nobleness of sentiment and elevation of mind. He could see no objection to this manly and generous amusement, which might not be urged against almost any other. The dogs were indeed dangerous, and accidents might happen from the bulls getting loose; but, if the legislature were to interfere, for the purpose of stopping every practice which might possibly be productive of mischief to any individual, the house might sit, unremittingly, making new laws; and many whimsical laws they would make. He himself lately, when walking down Ludgate-Hill, had seen an overgrown ox overturn and gore a little old woman with a red cloak. How would the house have looked, had he that night brought in a bill, with this preamble: "Whereas an overgrown ox did, on Ludgate-Hill, overturn and gore a little old woman in a red cloak, be it enacted, &c." What would the house think of a bill founded on an accident to a little old woman in a red cloak?

Mr. Sheridan said, that when he came into the house, Mr. Windham was prefacing his speech with some observations on the hypocrisy of those who professed themselves very solicitous with regard to the comforts of the poor, and considering the best system of laws to promote their amusement and happiness. He had asked what was before the house, and his astonishment was great, when he was told that it was *bull-baiting*.—It had been said, that this was a noble diversion, and the source of the bravery, gallantry, and generosity of Englishmen. What effects bull-baiting might produce in Spain, he would not determine; but there the men did not employ dogs to attack the

bull. They attacked him themselves; and he supposed, that, if the right honourable secretary-at-war were present at a bull-baiting, he would immediately set the bull at liberty, fight him himself, without any canine allies, and give him a chance for his life. In that case, if not elevation of mind and generosity of sentiment, at least contempt of danger, might be generated by the practice; but, to tie the poor animal to a stake, and to set upon him a large number of ferocious dogs, was inhuman, cruel, disgraceful, and beastly: such a scene could excite nothing but brutality, ferociousness, and cowardice. It must debase the mind, deaden the feelings, and extinguish every spark of courage and benevolence.

Sir Richard Hill said, that the horrid practice of bull-baiting had become dreadfully prevalent in Shropshire, and was rapidly spreading over other parts of England. Men neglected their work and their families, and in great crowds spent whole days in witnessing those barbarous exhibitions. From the baiting-field they retired to the ale-house, and wasted the whole night in debauchery, as they had done the day in idleness. He was astonished at the opposition the bill had experienced from the right honourable gentleman who had opened the debate. Till he had heard his long and learned speech, he did not know that he had any objection to the *brute race* being at peace.

On a division of the house, Mr. Windham's amendment was carried by a majority of 2: consequently the bill was lost for the present.

It was with much satisfaction that we were made acquainted with the declaration of Mr. Sheridan, on that occasion, that a friend of his had it in

contemplation to bring in a bill to punish cruelty to animals, which he would heartily second, as the times loudly called for it. If we are to justify cruelty in one instance, by acts of cruelty in another, what is the vice that may not be defended? The brute creation are taken under the protection of the Mosaic law, and even by the Mahometan law. If the bulls had had a representative in the house of commons, he would certainly, no doubt, have adopted the speech of other tortured animals in the fable:—"Though this be sport to you, it is death to us."

The two bills just noticed were rejected, chiefly on the ground of their being unnecessary. It was not on this ground that the bill, now to be noticed, was rejected.

Lord Auckland, pursuant to the notice he had given, called the attention of the house of peers, the second of April, to cases of parliamentary divorce. As he had announced his intention to propose a regulation that might tend to check the crime of adultery, he felt it incumbent on him to submit it to their lordships consideration. His object was, to bring in a bill to make it unlawful for any person, on account of whose adultery a bill of divorce should be applied for in that house, to intermarry with the person from whom the party might be divorced. He would not trouble the house by going far back into history, to shew that he was supported in his proposition by the general practice of ancient and modern times; it was sufficient for him to direct their lordships attention to the settled practice that had always prevailed, and still did prevail, in Scotland, where the parties, after being divorced, were never permitted to marry at all. And such also was the law of  
this

this country; for, in the ecclesiastical courts, where divorces only could be obtained, no permission could be granted to the parties to marry, after having been separated by the sentence of those courts. The party, therefore, who had not offended, had no other means of being relieved from the disability he laboured under, than that of applying to parliament for a special act to enable him to marry. The very wording of such an act, therefore, proved, that no person could lawfully marry but the individual who applied for it; and there would have been no occasion for such a measure as that which he meant to bring forward, had not permission been latterly given to the offending parties to intermarry. Such a practice had been obtained for some years past; and he really believed it was, in a great measure, the cause of the numerous adulteries that now prevailed in this country. From the period of the reformation, until about the commencement of the eighteenth century, there were, as he could collect, only four cases of parliamentary divorce: [this circumstance was noticed in a speech made, on the occasion of the duke of Norfolk's divorce, about the year 1700.] For the next fifty years they increased in no inconsiderable degree; but, within the last fifty years, divorces were most scandalously multiplied, and the circumstance loudly called for the interference of the legislature. Impressed with this idea, a noble duke (Athol) produced a bill, in 1771, to the effect of that now produced, which passed with the almost unanimous concurrence of their lordships; but, in the other house, it was contested, and thrown out by a small majority. A similar bill, brought in by a most

worthy and respectable prelate then present (Durham), in 1799, met with the like fate, though it had but a small majority against it in the other house. He had, however, every reason to hope, that the bill he was about to offer would not meet the same fate; and his ground for that hope was, the general feeling of every man, that the present times were such as loudly called for the measure, and that nothing could tend so much to save this country from the shocks and calamities that brought other nations to ruin, as the preservation of religion and morality. It was now universally felt and acknowledged, that adulteries were committed with a view, that the adulterer might afterwards obtain the adulteress in marriage; but let them be cut off from this hope, and the adultery might not take place. It had originally been his intention to bring forward this regulation in the manner of a standing order; but he since found that this method, although the house was fully competent to adopt it, would not be so effectual as an act of parliament.—It was his intention, should the bill be received, to move that it should be printed, and that the farther proceedings on it should be postponed till after the Easter recess, in order that the noble lords might have an opportunity of giving it the fullest consideration; and, in order that nobody might be taken by surprise, it was his intention to propose that it should not take effect till the end of the sessions of parliament. His lordship then presented a bill, which was read by the clerk, intituled, “An Act for the more effectual Prevention of the Crime of Adultery,” which was ordered to be printed. Its principal provision

[1. 3]

was,

was, that the adulterer should not marry the adulteress.

This bill was one of the most strongly-contested in this session. The opponents, as well as the supporters of the bill, were friends to religion and morality, and regretted and deplored the prevalence of adultery; a crime which certainly tended to cut up society, as it were, by the roots: but they did not think that crimes, in general, were to be prevented by the excessive severity of punishment.—The punishment intended by this bill, against the adulteress, was too severe; it would drive her to desperation and unrestrained licentiousness: nor would it act as a discouragement to pursue the vice, but furnish new materials to the dexterity of an accomplished seducer. The peer who took the lead in an opposition to this bill was the duke of Clarence, who, on the fourth of April, the day of the second reading, reasoned against it with great perspicuity of judgement and fluency of diction, chiefly from its inhuman tendency to aggravate the horrors of the weaker and seduced party, and from its inefficacy to prevent the crime against which it was levelled. His royal highness concluded with moving that the bill be read again “that day four months.”

The bishop of London, complimented the illustrious duke on the honourable and eloquent manner in which he had stated his reasons for objecting to the bill. This, however, in bishop Porteous's opinion, though it would not put a stop to the career of adultery, would do good to a certain extent. The bishop of London was joined in opinion by the bishops of Durham and Rochester, and the other bishops present: and lord Auckland's

motion was supported, not only by the bishops but by lord Eldon, the earl of Carnarvon, lord Grenville, and the lord chancellor. The duke of Clarence was supported in his opposition to the bill, and with great ability, by the lords Guilford and Mulgrave. The bishop of Rochester expatiated at great length on the former practice of punishing adultery with death. Yet he declared that it was not his wish to restore the punishment of adultery by death. The Scripture, in one part, sanctioned that doctrine; though, in another, it allowed that in some cases a man might put away his wife. The bishop, however, contended that there were strong arguments to be found in Scripture for not allowing in any case the unloosing of the marriage vow. It was no light matter to violate a solemn contract at the altar.

Lord Guildford said, he had read in a certain book of a Magdalen, an adulteress, receiving favour and pardon on due repentance. He did not admire those doctrines that cut off the possibility of all return to virtue and to society. Lord Grenville declared that he considered appeals to the compassion of the legislature, in favour of the adulteress, would be equally applicable in favour of the convicted murderer, highwayman, housebreaker, and all the perpetrators of crimes of the most base and vile description. On a division of the house, the question, for the second reading of the bill, was carried by 30 against 11.

On the sixteenth of May, the order of the day, respecting the commitment of the adultery-bill, being read, lord Auckland said, that the bill, on consideration, was found to be very defective, and therefore,

therefore, it was his intention to abandon it, in order to introduce another bill more effectual. He moved to have this new bill read a first time and printed. It was a bill for *punishing*, and also for more effectually preventing the crime of adultery. It differed from the former bill, by having a new clause, "to make persons, guilty of adultery, liable to be punished by fine and imprisonment, as in cases of misdemeanor." On the motion for the new bill being printed, a very long debate arose on its general merits, in which the duke of Clarence, the earl of Moira, the earl of Guildford, the earl of Carlisle, the earl of Kinnoull, lord Bulkeley, and the earl of Mulgrave were arranged in opposition to the bill; lord Auckland, lord Eldon, the bishop of Rochester, the bishop of Durham, the bishop of London, lord Hobart, and lord Grenville, in its defence. Lord Moira and other lords deprecated all farther proceedings on the bill, which was not calculated to produce any good, but would be heaping coals of fire on the head of the unhappy woman who might become the victim of the seducing arts of her betrayer, and also bring much misery and disgrace on innocent female children.

The only objection the bishop of London had to the bill was, that it was not severe enough. Bishop Porteus deprecated all sentiments of an irrational humanity and tenderness; which, if indulged, might obstruct, on many occasions, the salutary, though severe, execution of justice.

Lord Grenville said, that the only argument of any weight that he had heard urged, of prohibiting the intermarriage of the adulterers with

her seducer, was, that one bar would be removed from men of gallantry pursuing their unlawful designs, as, at present, they were afraid lest they should be obliged to choose, as their companions for life, those women whom they had polluted and disgraced; but, though more disposed to form the citadel of virtue, they would find conquest much more difficult. But the propriety of the bill was argued, not only on the ground of morality and policy, but, more keenly, on that of religion.

The bishop of Rochester asserted, and insisted, that a woman divorced, *a vinculo matrimonii*, committed adultery, let her marry whomsoever she would, whether her seducer, or any other man.

The reverend and learned prelate was vigorously attacked, as it were, in his own camp, by the duke of Clarence and the earl of Mulgrave. They reasoned from particular texts of Scripture, from the tenour and spirit of the Christian religion, and the fathers and doctors of the church. Had lord Mulgrave been bred to the church, he would have been an incomparable casuist. Both the duke and the earl considered the bill as not only contrary to the law of the Christian religion, but as adverse to sound policy and the interests of morality.

The duke of Clarence, *with a degree of waggishness*, teased bishop Horsley, with reading extracts from a sermon of the late bishop of Rochester's, which he preached at the Magdalen about five years ago, and which were in direct opposition to the sentiments and doctrines of the present bishop of Rochester's. One of these extracts, which the duke read with great feeling, was, as follows: "As imperfection attends on

all things human, this practice, however generally conducive to its end, hath its inconveniences, I might say, its mischiefs.

“ It is one great defect, that, by the consent of the world, for the thing stands upon no other ground, the whole infamy is made to light upon one party only in the crime of the two! and the man who is, for the most part, the author, not the mere accomplice, of the woman’s guilt, is left unpunished and uncensured! This mode of partial punishment affords not to the weaker sex the protection which, in justice and sound policy, is their due, against the arts of the seducer. The Jewish law set an example of a better policy, and more equal justice, when, in the case of adultery, it condemned both parties to an equal punishment, which indeed was nothing less than death!

“ A worse evil, a mischief attending the severity, the salutary severity, upon the whole, of our dealing with the lapsed female, is this, that it proves an obstacle, almost insurmountable, to her return into the paths of virtue and sobriety, from which she hath once deviated! The first thing that happens, upon the detection of her shame, is, that she is abandoned by her friends, in resentment of the disgrace she hath brought upon her family. She is driven from the shelter of her father’s (or her husband’s) house! She finds no refuge even in the arms of her seducer! His sated appetite loaths the charms he has enjoyed! She gains admittance to no hospitable door! She is cast a wanderer upon the streets! without money, without lodging, without food! In this hopeless situation, suicide or prostitution is the alternative to which

she is reduced! Thus the very possibility of repentance is cut off, unless it be such repentance as may be exercised by the terrified sinner in her last agonies! Perishing in the open streets! Under the merciless pelting of the elements! Of cold and hunger, and a broken heart! And yet the youth, the inexperience, the gentle manners, once, of many of these miserable victims of man’s seduction, plead hard for mercy, if mercy might be consistent with the safety of the treasure we so sternly guard. We have high authority to say, that these fallen women are not, of all sinners, the most incapable of penitence, nor the most unlikely to be touched with their sense of guilt! nor the most unsusceptible of religious improvement. They are not, of all sinners, the most without hope, if timely opportunity of repentance were afforded them! Sinners, such as these, upon John the Baptist first preaching, found their way into the kingdom of heaven before the Pharisees, with all their outward shew of sanctity and self-denial.”

His royal highness afterwards gave, from the bishop’s sermon, the following very fine portrait of the seducer:

“ Happier far their lot than that of their base seducers! who, not checked like these, in their career of guilty pleasure, by any frowns or censures of the world, have rejoiced themselves in their youth without restraint! have walked without fear and without thought in the ways of their heart, and in the sight of their eyes! and, at last, perhaps solace, the wretched decrepitude of a vicious old age, with a proud recollection of the triumphs of their early manhood over unsuspecting woman’s frailty!



frailty! nor have once paused to recollect, that God, for these things, will bring them into judgement."

The reason his royal highness assigned for quoting the above passages was, to ascertain the opinions of the right reverend prelate on the condition of the seducer and the seduced, and to oppose them to the arguments recently used, and still retained, by that reverend and learned prelate, who had succeeded him in his office. He complimented the style and composition, which, he said, was truly sublime, and which did honour to the writer's head and heart. On those arguments he would repose now for support, and hoped that their due application would be made in behalf of the unhappy female, who might be beguiled by the seductive arts of an insidious and designing villain. On the case of the adulterer, his royal highness expatiated with warmth and indignation: such a character disgraced society. He knew no man, he said, so bad as he, who, entering the house of a man, his friend, as his guest, should requite him by the seduction of his wife; such a man was and would be ever held in disgrace and abhorrence by an enlightened and civilized society: but the case of the unfortunate female, who fell under those arts, was an object of compassion and humane consideration. The laws already punished her delinquency, by judgement of divorce, by depriving her of her dower, and by the disgrace inseparably attached to such a conduct. He admitted, that the laws should be vindicatory on such occasions, but, in their punishments, that they should be just. He gave his negative to the bill.

The bishop of Rochester said,

that, in religion there was, undoubtedly, Christian charity; but that it would be wrong to depart from the rigour of the law in the punishment of so dangerous a crime as adultery. The unfortunate women in the Magdalen were not adulteresses.

Lord Auckland complained much of the number of divorces, which seemed still to be increasing. In the last session, their lordships, he observed, had been summoned forty times, in the order of their proceeding, on twelve bills of divorce. He lamented, also, the general relaxation of mind and morals. On the system of modern societies and manners, his lordship quoted the poet, Cowper, who, in the third book of his *Task*, says—

Virtue and vice had bound'ries in old time  
Not to be passed. And she that had re-  
nounced

Her sex's honour, was renounced herself,  
By all that prized it; not for prudery's  
sake,

But dignity's, resentful of the wrong.  
'Twas hard, perhaps, one here and there  
a waif,

Desirous to return, and not received;  
But was an wholesome rigour in the main,  
And taught th' unblemished to preserve,  
with care,

That purity, whose loss is loss of all.  
Men too were nice in honour in those days,  
And judged offenders well. But now—  
yes, now,

We are become so candid and so fair,  
So liberal in construction, and so rich  
In Christian charity, (good-natured age!)  
That they are safe: sinners of either sex,  
Transgress what laws they may.

Lord Auckland stated the subject before their lordships, in the form of the following question: was it to be tolerated, that whenever a woman should think proper to prefer another man to her husband, their lordships, the hereditary guardians of the well-being of the people, were

were to contaminate the trust reposed in them, and to say to such a woman, "your plea is, or, at least, such is the plea of your officious defenders, that, if you may not be permitted to form a second contract with the man, by whose seduction you have broken your first contract, you must naturally and necessarily abandon yourself to prostitution.—Your plea is most unprincipled; your passions are most depraved; but you shall be gratified. You have broken a sacred and solemn vow; but we will enable you, by a legislative act of ours, to go back unblushingly to the altar, which you ought to approach with agony and horror. Come again to us, as soon as you shall feel disposed to quit this second husband, and to take a third. We shall be ready, *toties quoties*, to authorize you to change the partners of your iniquity."

The bill was, on the motion of lord Auckland, printed, read a second time, and, on the twenty-first of May, committed: when several amendments, proposed by lord Eldon, were agreed to.

On the twenty-third of May, lord Auckland moved, that the bill be now read a third time. He replied to the various arguments that had been adduced against it. He was astonished at the opposition which had been set up, and at a loss to conjecture from what principle it could arise.

The bill was now opposed by the earl of Coventry, the earl of Westmoreland, the earl of Carlisle, the duke of Cumberland, the duke of Clarence, and the earl of Mulgrave: it was supported by lord Eldon, lord Hobart, the bishop of Rochester, and lord Grenville.

The earl of Westmoreland, among

a variety of sensible and shrewd remarks, said, that he would even assert, that the virtue of the country was one cause for the frequency of divorces. The sentiments of men had become more delicate, and they could not endure to continue united by wedlock to a woman, by whom they had been dishonoured.

Lord Carlisle said, that, with the accessions of population, commerce, and consequent luxury, it was not surprising if divorces were more frequent: but they afforded no reason why the laws of the land should be altered in cases of divorce; and why the conniving husband should have his remedy against a seducer, by indictment for a misdemeanor, with fine and imprisonment, and should also have an action by which he might obtain an exorbitant compensation: much less did they furnish a reason, why an unhappy woman should, for an error, perhaps occasioned as much by provocation on one side as persuasion on the other, be turned adrift for ever from society, and, by the conclusion now proposed, driven perhaps to Bethlem. He might have expected from the framer of this bill, that when he introduced so many new penal provisions, he would, at least, have protected the offender from another kind of torment: while he left him at the discretion of the chief justice of the King's Bench, he should have exempted him from prosecution by the ecclesiastical court.—This bill served to confirm lord Carlisle in the opinion which he always entertained, that monkish seclusions, for there were legal as well as ecclesiastical monks, were not adapted to qualify a man for legislation. The studies of a recluse did not lead to a knowledge of the world; but, in order

order to correct morals, it was necessary to mix with society, dive into the minds of men, be acquainted with their actions, and search into the motives of their conduct. For want of this kind of information, a consummate lawyer, or a holy prelate, might be very inadequate to the formation of laws, which could make society better than it was; and of this the present bill afforded a singular example. From legislators better qualified, he should have expected, that, instead of considering the ecclesiastical court as a sanctuary not to be touched, they would have set about cleansing the Augean stable, though that, he confessed, would be a Herculean labour. He lamented the absence of Lord Thurlow, who, in a very able speech, from which he read an extract, once described the vexatious proceedings in the ecclesiastical court, where a plaintiff, after having once failed to prove his libel, might commence his suit again, a second or a third time, upon *ex parte* testimony, and without being sworn; on the other hand, he quoted the case of a Mrs. Middleton, who, after having been detected in adultery, contrived, by the assistance of the learned doctors, and the laws of that court, to baffle, for five years, all the efforts of her husband to obtain a divorce, and thus put him to the expense of 10,000*l.*—The proceedings in that court were founded in frivolity, and their decrees in vanity. He wished, as much as any man, to assist in the promotion of any measure that he really thought would effectually check the immorality of the day, and particularly the crime under consideration. His lordship concluded, with expressing his approbation of making adultery

penal, and deprecating, in all cases, any pecuniary compensation to the husband.

The duke of Bedford considered the bill as equally cruel and impolitic. He particularly reprobated the swelling of the criminal code. "It is not," said his grace, "by a rigid system of legislation, my lords, that you are to correct the morals of the people; it is by precept and example."

The bill was defended by Lord Eldon. He conceded to Lord Carlisle that, as the law now stood, it was competent to any man, who was injured, to bring his action for damages, and at the same time institute a prosecution in the ecclesiastical court. But whenever that happened, the judges in the courts below caused, of their own authority, one of the suits to be stopped. His lordship observed, that there were different kinds of seducers, the one what was called the honourable, the other the dishonourable. As to the honourable seducer, when he should find there was a law to prevent marriage, this, in his opinion, would operate as a preventive, and call him aside from the path he was pursuing. With regard to the other seducer, when he reflected that he was to face a judge and jury, and that he was to be punished, perhaps it would cool his appetite a little; and so far the punishment, not as a punishment, but as a prevention, would have a good effect. It had been stated, that the woman was to be pitied: that she was sunk into the abyss of misery, and driven to a state of desperation. But, should the clause in question teach her to reflect a little, would she not say to herself, "This man cannot be an honourable seducer, for he knows that,

that, by the law of the land, he cannot marry me after I have violated my conjugal vow. What must be the consequence then? Why, my situation must be miserable indeed, with this addition, that none will pity me, because I could not be ignorant of the consequences of committing such a crime."

The bishop of London said, that retirement became women who had yielded to the violence of appetite and passion, or the arts of seduction, more than scenes of gaiety: for in retirement they might be led to penitence, contrition, and remorse; which would be followed by the most beneficial consequences, and among others regain, in some measure, the countenance of the world.

The bishop of Rochester, in a long and learned speech, supported the bill, replying to the principal objections that had been brought against it. In the first place, he replied, with great animation, to what had been advanced by lord Carlisle, respecting the incapacity of monks, ecclesiastical or legal, for legislation, in certain cases, and the vexatious frivolity, vanity, and injustice of the ecclesiastical courts.—The bishop argued, at great length, on the ground of the divine law; and shewed, from the Scriptures, that the cohabitation of a divorced adulteress with her seducer, under colour of a marriage, notwithstanding the connivance of human laws, was gross adultery. It was objected, that the present bill, not taking away the husband's action for damages, while it made the adulterer liable to indictment, in effect imposed a double punishment for the same crime. This he contended, was not any novelty in the law of this country. That, how-

ever, was a point on which he spoke with diffidence, *because it belonged to the learning of monks of another order.* But if he had described the practice of the courts erroneously, he hoped that the superior of that other order, the noble and learned lord on the woolstack would set him right. He had sometimes thought that it had been a happy thing for the public, if no bill of divorce had ever passed. But the notorious prevalence of adultery, in countries where divorce was by no means to be had, seemed to prove the contrary. On the views and sentiments of what had been called the "honourable seducer," he could not but suppose that the bill, if passed into a law, would have a considerable effect. He believed, indeed, that neither this, nor any other bill possible to be framed, would restrain the passions of the *swinish* seducer: but he was confident that the swinish adulterer was a very rare character among his countrymen. Bishop Horsley, in conclusion of his speech, said, "My lords, once more I conjure you to remember, that justice, not compassion for the guilty, is the great principle of legislation. Yet, my lords, your compassion may find worthy objects. I mean, my lords, your merciful regards to the illustrious suppliants prostrate at this moment at your bar.—[Here every lord turned his eyes to the bar, imagining that some French emigrants of high distinction, of both sexes, had come to throw themselves on the compassion and protection of the British senate.] But the bishop continued—"The suppliants this moment at your bar, are, conjugal felicity; domestic happiness; public manners; the virtue of

of the sex. These, my lords, are the suppliants now kneeling before you, and imploring the protection of your wisdom and your justice." Such personifications of abstracted ideas are neither unnatural nor uncommon among nations of extreme sensibility and liveliness of imagination; but in this country, as was proved by this rhetorical peroration, they may serve only to make people stare, and to weaken any impressions that may have been made by a less bold, and more solid kind of eloquence.

Lord Grenville said, that with regard to the legal and religious points of the question, he would certainly refer to the opinions of those who make law and religion their study and their profession. He never knew his noble friend (lord Mulgrave) so much out of his place as when he stood there contending, in legal construction, with a noble and learned judge, and in religious disputes with a right reverend prelate. He reminded him of the pedant who read lectures to Hannibal, on the art of war. It had been urged that ladies, who were guilty of infidelity, had no other means of returning to the paths of virtue than by marrying the very persons who had dishonourably seduced them. What then, lord Grenville asked, would be the situation of the unhappy woman, whom her seducer, after gratifying himself, refused to marry? or what return was there for the woman who had been seduced by a married man? The only way in which such a seducer could make compensation, as it was called, was, to contrive a divorce from his lawful wife, which would lead to multiplied transgressions.

The motion for the third reading

of the bill, was now put and carried; but only by a small majority, the noncontents being 69, and the contents only 77. The bill being passed in the house of peers, was read, on the twenty-sixth of May, a first time, in the house of commons; a second time, on the thirtieth of May; and, on the tenth of June, the order of the day moved for carrying it into a committee. In all these stages it was ably supported, though with much less zeal than in the house of peers, while it was opposed with not less of either ability or spirit. Every one admitted the importance of the subject, and regretted the prevalence of adultery as well as of dissipation and vice of all kinds: but some considered the restriction proposed in the bill as too severe; others that there was nothing that had happened, in the manners of the times, to make it necessary; others that it was inadequate to its object, and would tend to increase the numbers of bad women, by rendering them irreclaimable. Some of the members objected to it as transferring the right of punishing from the jury to the judges, arming them with new and formidable powers. Some objected to certain clauses in the bill, but disapproved of others. Though this was by no means a party question our readers may probably wish to have the opinion of Mr. Pitt, on the bill. He thought it merited discussion, and might be rendered less unpalatable to those who, he doubted not, from laudable motives, opposed it, by various modifications. On the whole, he thought, the benefits would preponderate in favour of society: and that whatever degree of severity was inflicted on the

the few, would operate beneficially for the whole. On the question, that the speaker leave the chair, the house divided when there appeared for the question 104, against it 143: consequently the bill was lost.

This bill, the object of which was brought home to the bosoms of so many individuals, in various ways, made, as might be expected, a greater noise, while it was under consideration, than any other bill that was brought in the course of this session before parliament.

Among the parliamentary acts of this year passed without noise or debate, we cannot omit to notice the interference of the house of commons, on the motion of Mr. Abbot, for the better preservation, arrangement, and more convenient use of the public records of the kingdom. On the eleventh of July, an address to his majesty for that end was unanimously agreed on, and the expenses of the measures adopted for accomplishing it were provided by the commons.

A bill of great importance to the commerce of this country, which had long been in contemplation, was passed in the month of March. This was the act for improving the port of London, by the establishment of wet docks at Wapping and other places.

Before we dismiss the parliamentary proceedings of this session it is necessary to take notice of an accident which forced the attention, and greatly interested the feelings, not only of both houses of parliament, but of the whole nation. As soon as his majesty had entered his box at the theatre of Drury-Lane, on the fifteenth of May, a pistol was fired from the

pit, apparently at his person. The man who had fired it, whose name was Hadfield, was immediately dragged into the orchestra, and carried behind the scenes. Being examined by a magistrate, he exhibited some symptoms of insanity; though some of his answers were rational. The veneration and love that the nation bore to his majesty's person was by this accident awakened into an enthusiastic joy at his escape. Even the spirit of faction was lost in a general stream of loyalty and exultation. Addresses of congratulation on the king's escape were presented by both houses of parliament, the universities, the corporation of London, and, in a word, by all the other corporations, as well as the counties. Hadfield was tried in the court of King's Bench for high treason. It was proved that he had been for some years insane, chiefly in consequence of wounds received in his head, when he acted as a serjeant in the army, in 1794, in Holland. He was therefore acquitted, but not discharged.

In consequence of what had been done by Hadfield, and of repeated instances of the fury of insanity, being directed against a personage, whose safety was so dear and important to the state, two additional clauses, by way of amendments, were added to the insanity-bill.

The lord chancellor, on the twenty-second of July, after adverting generally to the great and various danger to be apprehended from insane persons, when suffered to go at large, and observing, that nothing in the insanity bill appeared to him effectually to remedy this evil, stated, that the object of the first additional clause, was to render indi-



Individuals, apprehended on the suspicion of labouring under the dangerous and dreadful malady in question, amenable to summary justice, and thereby more effectually to provide for the public security. It was proposed by the clause, to prevent such individuals from being bailed, in any circumstances, without the concurrence of one of those magistrates who committed him, except by the judges, or at the quarter sessions of the peace.

The second clause proceeded on a principle similar to the first, namely, security; but more especially with a reference to the personal safety of the sovereign. It was well known that persons labouring under this deplorable calamity had an unaccountable propensity to intrude themselves into the residence of his majesty. No less than four instances of this kind, more or less alarming, had occurred since the affair of Hatfield. As much as was possible to remedy this evil, the clause proposed by the chancellor would authorize the secretary, or some other high officer of state, to apprehend and detain persons of that description, found in such suspicious circumstances, and to cause a committee of inquiry to take place: and, in case the individual should be found really insane, to take the most effectual steps for securing them. Both these clauses, after some opposition by the earl of Stanhope, who complained of the new regulations as oppressive, the clauses were agreed to, and inserted: and the bill, through the usual stages, passed into a law. This was a

striking instance of the origin of laws in particular and accidental circumstances.

On the twenty-ninth, the parliament was prorogued to the seventh day of October. The king, in his speech from the throne on this occasion, expressed "his peculiar satisfaction at the success of the steps which had been taken for effecting an entire union between his kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, a measure which he should ever consider as the happiest event of his reign. He expressed great concern at the severe pressure on his people from the continued scarcity of the season, but trusted that the approaching harvest would afford a speedy and effectual relief. With regard to our foreign war, he said, that the course of the campaign on the continent had, by a sudden reverse, disappointed the sanguine hopes which the situation of affairs, at its commencement, appeared fully to justify, and had unhappily again exposed a considerable part of Europe to those calamities and dangers from which it had recently been rescued, by the brilliant success of his allies. But notwithstanding the vicissitudes of war he trusted, that, through the constancy and firmness of his parliament, he should be enabled, in conjunction with his allies, to promote the general interests, and to provide, under every circumstance, for the honour of his crown, the happiness of his subjects, and the security and welfare of the British empire. The vicissitudes of war alluded to by his majesty, we now proceed to relate.

## C H A P. IX.

*The Cessation of Arms in the discontented Provinces of France not Universal.—Correspondence between Loyalist Chiefs and the English Fleet.—Supplies received by the Chouans from England.—Conciliatory Measures persevered in by Buonaparte.—Determination to Use force where these fail.—Part of the Royalists agree to Terms of Peace.—Part remains in Arms and Hostility to the Republic.—Laws of the Royalists among themselves.—Proclamations of General Brune, Commander-in-Chief of the French Army of England.—Various Skirmishes.—The Chiefs of the Royalists, one after the other, lay down their Arms.—General Pacification between the Republicans and the Inhabitants of the Western Departments.—Caption and Death of the heroic Count Lewis de Frotté.*

**N**OTWITHSTANDING the anxious endeavours of Buonaparte to impress the whole French nation with a conviction of his moderation, humanity, and love of justice and peace,\* and all that had been proclaimed by the new government, in order to restore peace in the west, it was only d'Autichamp,

Fourmont, and de Chatillon, that agreed to a cessation of arms. The other insurgent chiefs persevered in hostile acts and designs, and kept up a correspondence with the English fleet on the coast of Brittany.—Three English frigates had succeeded in landing four field-pieces, a large quantity of ammunition, and

\* Great numbers of the loyalists, on the faith of government, had returned, and were daily returning to France: among which some of these were not only restored to their country, but were again put in possession of their estates, or as much of them as it was at all practicable by any means to restore, without violating the new tenures of landed property. Among this number was the marquis de la Fayette, and the companions of his flight and exile; Alexander la Meth, the marquis de Puzey, the chevalier de Grave, minister at-war, during the first year of 1791. La Fayette, with his family, returned in December to his castle of Fontenoy, near Chaume, in the department of Seine and Marne. The duchess of Arenberg too, and other Flemish emigrants returned to France and the enjoyment of their property there. All those who quitted France in 1792, at the same time that they did, also returned: nor was there any doubt entertained but all the emigrants, known by the name of Constitutionalists, would be permitted to return. A number of those who had been exiled by the directory, without any previous trial, being also recalled, as above observed, returned to France, in which number was Carnot, Barrere, Barthelemy, Boissy d'Anglas, and Dumolard. Pichegrue was not permitted to return. Even the persons just mentioned were restricted to certain limits, on the pain of being held as emigrants. Sir Robert Barclay, an English gentleman, who had been closely confined, in the tower of the Temple, for more than a year, by orders of the directory, was sent for by Buonaparte, who, after a civil conversation, set him at complete liberty, without any condition or restriction.

provisions,

provisions, and some chests of silver; all which supplies were received near Muzillac, by a body of ten thousand Chouans, who were provided with sixty or eighty waggons. The waggons when filled with the stores and provisions were immediately buried in the earth.— The troops, employed afterwards in escorting these stores, were attacked by a body of republican troops, infantry and cavalry, amounting to two thousand. This body set out from Vannes, and came up with the loyalists about a mile and a half from St. Nelt. The engagement which ensued continued from the morning to four o'clock in the afternoon. The loyalists suffered the loss of two hundred men, in dead and wounded, all of whom, however, they carried off, with the convoy, to Plendrem. The close of the day, and the want of provisions, obliged the republicans to fall back to Vannes. In the mean time, while the royalists in their proclamations insisted on two principles, the restoration of their lawful king, and the defence of the country against the soldiers of Buonaparte. The chief consul, persevering in measures of conciliation, abolished the oath of hatred to kings and monarchical government, and substituted in its place a simple declaration of fidelity to the constitution. But the chief consul, perceiving the inefficacy of his conciliatory measures, in which he had persevered for two months, for the restoration of tranquillity and order in the west, began to change that tone of moderation, which had hitherto characterized his government. On the eleventh of January, 1800, the consuls addressed the inhabitants of the de-

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partments of the west as follows:—  
 "Every thing that reason could suggest, the government has done to restore peace and tranquillity to your dwellings. After long forbearance, still farther time has been granted for repentance. A great number of citizens have been brought to a sense of their errors, and have rallied round the government, which, without hatred or revenge, without fear or suspicion, protects all citizens alike, and punishes those who despise their duty. There no longer remain any in arms against France, except some men without faith, as without country, some perfidious instruments of a foreign foe, or brigands, black with guilt, whom indulgence itself knows not how to pardon. The safety of the state, and the security of citizens require that such men should perish by the sword, and fall under the axe of national justice. A longer forbearance would be a triumph to the enemies of the republic.— A valiant force only waits the signal to disperse and destroy these brigands, if that signal must be given. National guards join the force of your arms to that of the troops of the line. If you know among you any partizans of the brigands arrest them. Let them nowhere find an asylum against the soldier who pursues them. And if there be any traitors who should dare to receive and defend them, let them perish along with them! Inhabitants of the departments of the west, on this last effort depends the tranquillity of your country, the safety of your families, the security of your properties. By the same blow you will destroy those wretches who strip you, and the enemy who purchase and pay for their crimes."

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On the same day the consuls decreed,

1st. That no general, or public functionary should correspond, in any shape or under any pretext whatever with the leaders of the rebels.

2d. That the national guards of all the communes should take up arms and expel the brigands from their territories.

3d. That the communes, whose population exceeded five thousand inhabitants should furnish moveable columns, in order to assist other communes of a less numerous population.

4th. That whatever commune should afford an asylum, or protection to the brigands, should be treated as rebels; and that such inhabitants as should be taken with arms in their hands, should be instantly put to the sword.

5th. That every individual, who instigated rebellion and armed resistance, should instantly be shot.

6th. That the general who commanded the army of the west should put in force all the necessary regulations for organizing the national guards, as well as for prescribing the districts which these communes were to watch over and protect: and, that he should issue orders for all the troops, the free companies, and the moveable columns in the pay of the republic, to be exclusively employed in clearing the country, and in pursuing the rebels. Buonaparte, on the day after that in which he sent the proclamation to the inhabitants, sent one also to the army of the west; in which he told them that the mass of the well-disposed inhabitants had laid down their arms, and that there now remained only robbers, emigrants,

and hirelings of Britain, "Frenchmen hired by Britain! This could not be done but by men without foresight, without heart, and without honour. March against them; you will not be called on to shew any great exertion of valour. The army is composed of more than sixty thousand brave men. Let me learn shortly that the chiefs of the rebels have lived. Let the generals shew the example of their activity. Glory is to be required only by fatigues. If it could be acquired by a residence in great towns, or in good quarters, every man would be in possession of it. You must brave the intemperance of the seasons, the frost, the snow, the excessive cold of the nights: you must surprize your enemy at the break of day, and exterminate these wretches who are a dishonour to the French name. Make a brief but brilliant campaign. Be inexorable to brigands, but observe a severe discipline."

The expiration of the armistice, between the Chouans and general Hedoville, was fixed at the seventh of January, 1800, but it was afterwards prolonged. A short time before the period just mentioned, the division of the royalists, under Chatillon, accepted and signed the conditions of peace. And as other divisions were confidently expected in like manner to do the same, it was decreed by general Brune, who had been appointed to the chief command of the army in the discontented provinces, that it should no longer be called by the name of the army of the west, but by that of the army of England; an insinuation that all Frenchmen were soon to be united, and to fall on England. When  
general

general Brune was appointed to the chief command of the western army, in the council of state, being a member of that body, he rose up and said, "In the two-fold character of a general officer and a counsellor of state, I am flattered with the choice which, on the present occasions, has been made of me, by the first consul. The task imposed on me is a painful one, but I will undertake to unite the French whatever may be their opinions.— Those who are not to be influenced by reason, I will reduce by force of arms. Those who have been led into error, I will pardon. These shall be the principles of my conduct; but, I will never forget that weakness is not less an enemy to moderation than to firmness. It is that which is the ruin of the republics: may the deluded inhabitants of the west return into the bosom of their country; but, may they return as penitent children."

The conciliatory measures pursued by the French government, and particularly the second proclamation of Buonaparte, on the eleventh of January, produced the desired effect on part of the loyalists, while others continued still in the resolution to maintain their cause. General Antichamp, who had accepted the armistice at the same time with Chatillon, employed his influence among the Chouans, in the department of Deux Leves, in favour of peace, with success. The armistice he told them was prolonged, and he conjured them to do nothing in violation of its conditions. They listened to his advice, and remained peaceably at their respective homes. The example of d'Antichamp was successfully imitated by Courmont and

other chiefs. Few parties of Chouans were to be seen in departments where they had lately appeared in great force. The courier between Nantz and l'Orient reported, as something extraordinary, on the fifteenth of January, that he had not seen a single Chouan all the way between these cities.

General Brune, on arriving at his head-quarters, at Angers, in a letter to the minister-at-war, dated the twenty-first of January, said, "I enter this day on my command of the army. General Hedoville has been pleased to act as my lieutenant; he commands the left wing of my army. The inestimable general Hedoville has united the inhabitants of La Vendée in peace; I shall henceforth find the Chouans tractable." Thus every thing, in some quarters, wore a peaceful aspect. This was by no means the case in every district and department. A body of six hundred Chouans was cantoned at Soublans, with the design of rousing the inhabitants to arms: this party was dispersed by general Nevot, with the loss of one hundred muskets, and some prisoners. Considerable parties of Chouans, in the department of the Eure and Loire, were dispersed, by the arrival of a moveable column at Noyent le Ration; but, in other parts, the war on the part of the royalists assumed a more serious aspect. In the principal towns and villages of the department of Dinan, in Brittany, the following injunctions were published, in placards or hand-bills, stuck up on the high walls, and in all the places of general resort:

1st. All public officers, not being priests, who shall receive any act of marriage, at the hands of men,  
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under forty years of age, shall be shot.

2d. Those who shall marry after such acts, shall have their heads shaven, and their relations shall be condemned to pay a fine.

3d. Young men refusing to join and march along with the loyalists, when called on, shall be shot.

4th. All deserters from provisory assemblies shall be shot.

5th. Every man who does not separate himself from the moveable column of the republicans, to which he belongs, shall be shot; and his next relation shall pay a fine, or be shot also.

6th. Lewis XVIII. and religion, are the principal objects of all Frenchmen's desires.

7th. Whoever shall destroy, or tear, or take down these bills and orders shall be shot.

Such was the state of affairs in the department of Dinan, in Brittany; but the departments in which the resistance of the royalists, or, as it was called, the rebellion, had become the most general, inveterate, and obstinate, were the coasts of the North, Lisle and Vilaine, Morbihan, and the Nether Loire. These departments, accordingly, by two decrees, passed the sixteenth of January, were declared to be out of the protection of the law, and under military government; and extraordinary tribunals were established for the execution of justice in criminal cases. General Brune, who was invested with the most complete and absolute power, set out immediately from Angers, at the head of the main army, on his way to Morbihan, in the department of the Nether Loire. From his head-quarters, at Vannes, he addressed to the inhabitants of Mor-

bihan, a proclamation, dated the thirteenth of February. In this piece, after recapitulating his various efforts, for the prevention of bloodshed, and exhorted the deluded people to forsake their perfidious leaders, he says, "The day of pardon is nearly past, and I take God and man to witness, that the blood that must be shed is on the heads of the chiefs of the Chouans, of the stipendiaries of England, and of the traitors of their country.

"Within twenty-four hours after the publication of the present proclamation in all the communes of Morbihan, every unmarried man, from fourteen to fifty years of age, shall appear before the civil or military authority of the place where he shall be, and declare that he is not a Chouan, or that he abjures the party.

"The chiefs of the Chouans shall make a similar declaration, and must likewise procure the arms and stores, under their direction, to be given up.

"Corps are opened for the reception of deserters, according to their line of service, their rank, and qualifications.

"All authorities, which shall receive the declarations and acknowledgements of submission to the law, shall keep a register of them, and give a copy to each declarant, which, sanctioned by the generals, shall be a sufficient protection.

"The general staff will receive petitions and memorials, respecting the means of securing the tranquillity of individuals.

"Such are the last conditions which I offer to the rebels.

"Such is the fatal limit, which, once passed, arms and councils of war must be the only means employed



ployed to avenge the insulted nation.

"Pardon to the Frenchmen who have been misled: the traitors deserve death."

In consequence of the near approach of general Brune, with the sword in the one hand, and the olive-branch in the other, some others of the chiefs, besides those already mentioned, and even whole bodies of men, laid down their arms; but others, who had not yet come to the same resolution, were encouraged to stand out still against all the offers and the threats of the republicans, by hopes of assistance from England and from Russia. An active force, consisting of three battalions of the first, second, and third regiments of British guards, besides cavalry, under the command of sir Ralph Abercromby, was expected, besides the Russian troops quartered in the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, and other Russian troops which were to join them. Towards the end of January, several columns of loyalists having formed a junction with the troops under general Dornfont, attacked the republicans, but were vigorously repulsed, with the loss of five hundred men killed, and fifty prisoners. The different parties of the loyalists that still retained their arms and kept together, were every where attacked with vigour, put to flight, or dispersed. In these encounters, some of the chiefs were killed, and others, among whom was George, were wounded. Early in February no less a number than fifteen thousand royalists, or, as they were called by the French, Chouans, laid down their arms, and were united to the republicans.

It seems remarkable, that it was not always the leaders of the roy-

alists, but the common men, that were the most obstinately determined to persevere in resistance and opposition to the republic. The chiefs that were most convinced of the inefficacy, of longer resistance, experienced great obstacles to pacification, on the part of the men whom they commanded. When general George gave orders to his people to disband and disperse, they plundered his house. Chatillon, in disbanding his followers, experienced like difficulties: so also did several of the other chiefs. A band, of about three hundred Chouans, destroyed the telegraph of Bourbriac, in the Cotes-du-Nord. The same band put to death one of their conscripts, a young man who had been forced into their ranks, and had thrice deserted. Predatory parties continued also still to levy contributions in different parts of the country; but the spirit of resistance, though not, we may presume altogether of loyalty, was now broken. The great mass of the people sighed for peace, and began to consider the scattered parties that scourged the country only as enemies to returning tranquillity. On the fifteenth of February, a general pacification with the royalists was concluded. All the individuals, known by the name of chiefs of Chouans, with the exception of one, presently to be noticed, laid down their arms at Rosperdin, and returned, unattended by any of their men, to Quimper. A general disarming of all the loyalists took place in all the departments, and an immense quantity of arms, stores, and provisions, fell into the hands of the prevailing party.

The leader of the loyalists that yet remained unsubdued in mind,

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and

and the unconquerable will, though forced to retreat and conceal himself from a hostile and irresistible force, was count Lewis de Frotté, the hero most distinguished by valour, magnanimity, and firmness, among all the loyalists, since the celebrated Charette, of La Vendée. The count had written a letter to the republican general Guidat, proposing a general pacification of all the Chouans, to which letter he had received an insignificant and evasive answer. This negotiation was protracted beyond the last of the days fixed for the armistice, and the acceptance of the terms of peace offered to the royalists; and count Lewis de Frotté, retiring with his staff and some other officers, lay concealed in an ancient castle in the department of Orne. A letter of one of his aides-de-camp, intercepted by a republican, discovered his retreat. He was taken, together with six of his staff-officers, the faithful companions of his concealment. These were Messieurs de Caumarque, Hugon, and De Verdun, commandants of legions; Monsieur de Cassineux, aide-de-camp to general Frotté; and Messieurs Seguirat and St. Florent, his aides-majors. The count, with his six companions, was sent, by general Chamberthac, to Vermeuil, where they were all of them judged by a military tribunal, and condemned to be shot, within twenty-four hours, by the orders of general Lefevre, once a serjeant in the French guards. The ground on which M. de Frotté was condemned was, one of his letters which was found in the possession of one of his unfortunate companions; in which letter he devoted himself to the cause of royalty with the most heroic enthusiasm. The count, and

all his unfortunate companions, met death with the most undaunted courage. They would not permit bandages to be put on their eyes.—Monsieur de Cassineux, his aide-de-camp, being only wounded by the first fire, and still able to stand, said calmly, to the soldiers on duty, fire again; which they did, and dispatched him.

The unhappy aid-de-camp, whose note was the occasion of this mournful catastrophe, driven to the extremity of grief and despair, by his involuntary indiscretion, blew out his own brains with a pistol.

When news of the final termination of the rebellion, by the capture and death of count Lewis de Frotté, was received by Buonaparte, he communicated it, without delay, to the legislative assembly; in which Roederer rose up, and said, "You will learn, with pleasure, that that part of the French territory, which was put out of the law, is restored to the republic, by the destruction of the rebels that held possession of it. The first consul has given it in charge to me to acquaint you that Frotté, with his staff-officers, has been taken in a castle, in the department of Orne. There were found upon him a Cross of St. Lewis, a seal, with the arms of France, and some poinards, of the manufacture of England."—All the members of the legislative body, on this, rose up, and cried, "*Vive la republique.*"

Thus, by a wise union of moderation with firmness, and of a spirit of conciliation with a mighty armed force, the royalist party, in France, was totally annihilated; and thus, also, there was an end of the royal and illustrious family of the French Bourbons; the pillars of whose power were

were overthrown with the arms of the loyalists.

When the unfortunate and fugitive prince of that family, his royal highness the count d'Artois, or *Mon-sieur*, as the poor royalists, after the ideal accession of Lewis XVIII. affected to call him, was made acquainted with the death of M. de Frotté, he immediately paid a visit to the unhappy father of that young hero in London, and mingled his tears of condolence with those of the old count, with the most affecting sensibility. It was a younger brother of general de Frotté, that aided the escape of sir Sidney Smith from the tower of the Temple, and afterwards served un-

der him, in the rank of major, at the siege of Acre. He has lately come to London, where, at the time of writing this,\* he resides with his father.

At the same time that Buonaparte was using all modes of conciliation, for reclaiming the armed loyalists, the constitutional bishops assembled at Paris, invited the nonjurant bishops to evangelical communion, and RELIGIOUS PEACE. If such a pacification could indeed have been effected, it would have been far more wonderful than that which was gained by Buonaparte, partly by conciliatory, partly by compulsive measures, with the warlike chiefs of the royalists.

\* September, 1802.

## C H A P. X.

*Both the allied Powers of Austria and Great Britain determined to prosecute the War against France.—Circular Letters of the Archduke Charles to the anterior Circles of Germany.—Military Preparations in Germany and France.—Proclamation by Buonaparte to the French, requiring the Means of carrying on the War.—Situation of the French and Austrian Arms at and after the close of the Campaign of 1799.—French Army of Reserve at Dijon.—The French Army of the Rhine.—Its Position and Movements at the beginning of the Campaign, 1800.—The Archduke Charles retires, and is succeeded in the Command of the Army by General Kray.*

THE determination of the British ministry, on the subject of peace or war with France, we have already seen in the course of the debates in parliament. They had no objection to treat with any form of government in France, that should appear, from experience or the evidence of facts, to be able and willing to negotiate, on the principles established among European nations, and to preserve and support the usual relations of peace and amity; but a peace, concluded with an unstable government, must itself be unstable. The peace, that did not promise to be permanent, was good for nothing. It was, farther, pregnant with disadvantage and danger. But no secure and lasting peace could co-exist, with a system of aggression, aggrandizement, and universal destruction; a system that had been adopted and pursued in France from the commencement of the revolution; and from which it did not by any means appear, that the new chief, the first consul, Buonaparte, had at all departed. In

such circumstances, the only means of obtaining an honourable, secure, and lasting peace, was, to prosecute the war with vigour.—Such also were the sentiments of the great ally of Britain, the emperor of Germany.

Of the political situation of Austria, and the Germanic empire, in relation to France, we may form a tolerably just idea from the circular letter of the archduke Charles, dated at Donaueschingen, the fourth of December, 1799, to the anterior circles of the empire, of which a translation here follows: “It is from the impulse of the most invincible necessity, that I am induced to speak to you of an object, and of dispositions, from whence there may arise the greatest detriments to the common cause of Germany. I perceive, with regret, that the late events in France, through which the supreme power has passed into new hands, have revived the hope, already so often deceived, of an approaching pacification; and that, on the strength of this premature supposition, an idea prevails that it

is not, for the present, necessary to call on the princes and states of the empire for their contingents, and the discharge of the other duties they owe to the constitution. A true German and patriotic heart, and an understanding enlightened by so much sad experience, can never be led into so great an error: an error, which would deprive us of the only means of concluding a speedy peace, on fair and proper terms, and such as might be solid and lasting. It would be wrong, for a moment, to lose sight of the maxim, that the most vigorous preparation for war is the surest way to obtain peace. This we shall acquire both the sooner, and on the better terms, if the enemy shall see that we are in a state for continuing the war, in case of his persisting in an imperious tone, and pretending yet once more to prescribe a peace, accompanied with disgrace and slavery, or that should put it into his power to involve us in disgrace and slavery hereafter. We have been too often deceived by a precipitate hope of peace, on the part of France, to be lulled, by the late events, into a sleep of fallacious security. It has been invariably found, that every new faction in France has talked a great deal about peace. The word peace has been always in their mouths, never in their hearts. By the plausible assurances of peace they only aimed at drawing over public opinion to their side, and acquiring popularity. They have uniformly commenced new wars. They have never shewn a disposition to make peace on equal terms. By peace, they mean nothing more than the extermination of their enemies.

" The revolution of the ninth of

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November, when closely contemplated, cannot, all at once, inspire full concordance in the new government. A part of the persons, into whose hands the supreme power has fallen, are the members of former councils, who, both by their professed principles, and the whole of their public conduct, have sworn eternal enmity and mortal hatred to all states not constituted like their own; several of which they have overthrown, and others of which, in the midst of perfect peace, they have perfidiously brought under their subjection. Nor is the spirit that reigns in the publications of France of the most pacific nature. In these, it is often said, that the late revolution has no other end in view, than to raise the republic to the rank which she ought to hold in the scale of European nations. The old directory, in those writings, is censured, not for having made war on their neighbours, but for having made war unsuccessfully; for not having made new conquests, and for having lost provinces that had been before conquered. The French proclamations set out always with a discourse about victory, and speak of peace only in the last place: which shews that they do not yet consider circumstances as sufficiently favourable for pacification; and that they have a mind, before the conclusion of peace, to try the chances of war. The minister of war announces openly, that he is busily employed in recruiting the army, and providing all things necessary for its equipment and support. He adds, that he will join it himself, and share its dangers, as soon as the season will admit the opening of the campaign; and that he is preparing new [pretended] triumphs.

" In

" In the warlike preparations of France, there has been no remission, that can induce the Germans to admit of any relaxation in theirs; on the contrary, a new military corps is to be formed in the four departments not united to the republic. But, even on the supposition, that there is no reason for mistrusting the views and the projects of the new rulers of France, the late revolution is not yet sufficiently confirmed and consolidated to afford any reasonable assurance that it will not be overthrown as the others have been. On the whole, the present question is not concerning such a peace, as a convention for a short time, or an armistice. The point in hand is, conditions of perfect security; conditions demanded by honour, dignity, liberty, the integrity of the German empire, and the inviolability of the most sacred treaties. The object contended for, is a fit, just, and permanent peace, according to the sense of the decisions of the diet; such as shall secure religion, property, civil order, and the constitution of the German empire."

" I invite you to take all these objections into your most serious consideration, according to the sentiments of patriotism with which you are inspired; and, having done so, you will undoubtedly agree with me, that prudence imperiously demands that you do not suffer yourselves to be thrown into a state of inaction, by rumours of approaching peace, and more moderate principles; but to keep your arms in your hands, and to preserve a military attitude until peace be actually signed. You will perceive, as I do, how fatally imprudent it would be to let any languor creep into

measures of defence, and how necessary it is to redouble our efforts for a due augmentation of the troops, and to accomplish, with the greatest activity, and, in the most serious manner, the renewed decision of the diet, and the resolutions it entered into and confirmed, for the common defence: in order that we may have it in our power to oppose an energetic mass of efforts, to the views of the enemy, whatever they may be. It is only by an imposing military force that it is possible to hinder the enemy from new attacks and devastations; to shorten or to terminate the evils of war; to improve the terms of pacification; and, in a word, to accelerate a peace worthy of the name, and to compensate the multiplied sacrifices by which, for so long a time, we have endeavoured to procure it."

The court of Vienna fortified, as we have seen, by pecuniary supplies from England, and the accession of Bavarians, Wirtembergers, and other German troops in British pay, and mindful of both the past and recent glory and conquests of the Austrian arms, was not to be shaken or diverted from its resolution of persevering in war, by the offer of a negotiation for peace, by Buonaparte, on the general ground of the treaty of Campo Formio. The imperial ministers replied to the overtures of the first consul, that the emperor would not negotiate for peace, but in conjunction with his ally the king of Great Britain. Though the circles of the empire were not to be roused from that lethargic indifference to the common prosperity and safety, into which, from the prevailing luxury and selfishness of the age, and the hope of security and advantages



tages of secret understandings with France and with Prussia, they had fallen; the Austrians, seconded by the English, prepared for military operations with great alacrity and vigour; notwithstanding the defection of the Russians, under marshal prince Suwarrow,\* and the opposition of a powerful party at court in favour of peace on any tolerable terms; in which number was the archduke Charles, though he knew, as he declared, that it was only by presenting an imposing military force, ready for action, that any tolerable terms of peace were to be expected. Nor were the military preparations of the French slackened, as is truly stated in the archduke's letter, but more and more quickened, during the short period of the attempt at a negotiation for peace with the Austrians and English. The insurrections in the western departments, while they justified military conscriptions and movements, to the greatest lovers of peace, were only a kind of a great military review and rendezvous for assembling and exercising a vast body of troops to be employed, as occasion might require, in any direction.

After the installation of the consuls, a ceremony which was performed with vast pomp, at the Tuilleries, on the nineteenth of February, and the final reduction of the rebellion in the west, announced to the French nation at the same period, the first consul gave official notice of the rejection of those overtures for peace, which he had tendered to different powers,

and particularly of their rejection by England. He addressed a proclamation, complaining of the obstinate determination of the English to continue the war, and inviting the French to furnish the subsidies and men, that were necessary for acquiring peace by force of arms, if it could not be regained by conciliatory measures, of which, however, he said, that he was not yet without some hopes. It was also, at the same time, decreed by the consuls, that an army of reserve should be raised, to consist of sixty thousand men, composed of conscripts, and to be assembled at Dijon, where the first consul himself was to take the command of it in person. The proclamation and decree of the first consul were approved of by the legislative body and tribunate. A part of the new consular guard, amounting to thirty-six thousand men, of the finest youth of France, received orders to hold themselves in readiness to march, on the twenty-fifth of March, to Dijon, to join the army of reserve, where different bodies of troops had already assembled. Bertier, minister-at-war, was to accompany the general-in-chief, and the ex-director, Carnot, was to take charge of his department in his absence. Bernadotte was also appointed to be one of his lieutenant-generals.

While the French army of reserve is drawing from different parts of France to Dijon, the great centre of military design and operation, on the part of France, it will be proper to look back to the situa-

\* As stated in our last volume. Prince Suwarrow, with the remains of his army, returned to Russian Poland, through Bavaria and Bohemia. The chagrin he experienced from this reverse of fortune, at the end of his brilliant career, occasioned, or at least precipitated, his death.

tion of military affairs at the end of the preceding campaign, so singularly complicated and extensive, of 1799.

The principal operations of that campaign were closed with the surrender of Coni by the French, on the third of December. The affairs of Austria, in Italy, at this epoch, wore a very favourable aspect. The road to victory, as formerly observed, had been opened by general Kray, at Legnano and Magnan, and the field-marshal Suwarrow had improved those advantages with all the decision, energy, and genius of his character: in so much, that, at the end of 1799, the French possessed nothing in Italy but the city and small republic of Venice. All the passes of the mountains that divide France from Italy were in the hands of the Austrians.

On the other hand, the French were in possession of the whole left bank of the Rhine, from its source to where it falls, by divided streams, into the ocean: that is to say, from Switzerland to Holland, both inclusive.

General Melas having demolished the works constructed for the siege of Coni, and left a garrison there, proceeded to established cantonments of his advanced posts in the openings and passes of the Piedmontese and maritime Alps. He then distributed the rest of his army in winter quarters, throughout Piedmont and Lombardy, fixing his head-quarters at Turin. Cham-

pionet, retreating to his defensive posts in the maritime Alps, stationed the principal part of his troops between Savona and Genoa, the ordinary asylum of the republicans, after their defeat. In the beginning of December he quitted the command which he had neither held with much reputation, nor with much success.\* It would not, however, be just to appreciate his talents by the result of the three last months of the campaign which he conducted: for his army was left in such total want of money, of provision, of clothing, and of all camp and military equipage, that he was, in fact, of necessity, less taken up with fighting, than with providing for the existence of his troops, with preventing and appeasing the discontents of his soldiers, with repressing the excesses to which soldiers, almost dying of hunger, and accustomed to pillage, gave themselves up, and with protecting them from the just vengeance of the inhabitants of the country.

The situation of the French army, quartered in the territories of Genoa, was still more disastrous. The vessels of the allies constantly cruising on the coasts of Genoa, prevented or intercepted all supplies of foreign grain, which is at all times necessary for the maintenance of that country; and which was become much more so from the additional number of mouths. The scarcity of grain was at different times so excessive,

\* This general, in his way back to France, fell sick, at Nice, and died, on the ninth of January, at Antibes, of an epidemic fever, which broke out about the end of the campaign, and made great ravages in the left divisions of his army, and also carried off a great number of the inhabitants of the frontier towns in Provence, Dauphine, and Franche Comté. Championet was the son of an innkeeper at Grénoble. The principal service which he did the republic was in the war at Naples: the success of which has been attributed to general Macdonald, who served under him.

that a real famine was to be dreaded, and the price of bread was always exorbitant. The wants of the French, as may easily be supposed, were always the first supplied, and the people were left to the horrors of their fate. Several insurrections broke out, not only in the country, but even in Genoa; and the French, incapable of remedying the evils which occasioned them, under the pretext of defending the town against the Imperialists, declared it to be in a state of siege, that is to say, they suspended the authority of government, and subjected it to their own. The Liguian republic, thus reduced under subjection to their ally, consoled themselves by imitating, both in June and November, the changes of government which took place, at those periods, in France. It was in this state of things, not unlike that in which he had left Switzerland, that general Massena took the command of the army of Italy, in place of Championet; and, according to the custom of the French commanders, announced himself before hand, by a proclamation, in which he promised plenty and victory.

These engagements he found it the more difficult to fulfill, not while his army was held in a state of blockade by an English fleet, under lord Keith at sea, the victorious Austrians were in possession of all the territories that environ those of the Genoese republic.

Though no armistice had been agreed on between the French and Austrians, the grand operations of the war, in other quarters, were suspended by the rigour of the seasons. Yet there were some parts, such as the banks of the Levante

and the Scrivia, where there was still some fighting. In a course of actions between a part of the French army, on the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth of December, and the Austrian division, under the generals Klenau and Hohenzollern, in which several hundreds of men were killed on each side.

These skirmishes finally closed the campaign, and the corps of the generals Klenau and Hohenzollern on the one side as well as those of the French generals St. Cyr and Vatin on the other, took up their winter quarters.

The positions of the opposite armies, in the beginning of January, 1800, were these:—The Austrian army of Switzerland ended at the upper valley of the Tesino, and was there met by the army of Italy, which had absorbed that of the Tyrol. General Davidovich occupied Bellinzona, and his advanced posts extended as far as Ariosto, thus observing the openings of the St. Gothard. That of the Simplon was guarded by a part of the corps which prince Victor de Rohan had commanded in the valley of Ossola, on the frontier of the Upper Valais. The troops left in the valley of Aosta by general Haddick, when at the end of October, he went to reinforce general Kray, were stationed along the frontier of the Lower Valais, and occupied the foot of the great and little St. Bernard. The passages of the Maurienne, the foot of Mount Cenis, the valley of Suza, till beyond Exiles, and that of Cluzon till beyond Fencstrelles, which was held in blockade, were guarded by different detachments, all under the orders of general Kaim, who commanded at Turin, where the right of the army ended. The

centre,

centre, under the orders of the generals Sommariva, Ott, Gottesheim, and Bellegarde, extended in a waving line by the roots of the maritime Alps to Oneglia, Albinga, and Finale, and held several posts on the very borders of France. The left wing of the Austrian army, under the command of general Kray, occupied the vallies of the Bormida, Erno, the Orba, and the Scrivia. It was in possession of Sasello, Ovada, Novi, and Serravalle, and masked Gavi. A small body of troops, placed in the imperial fiefs, held the roads leading from Genoa to Pavia and Plaentia. Another was posted in the upper valley of the Taro, where it communicated with another, under general Klenau, whose principal force was concentrated on the Magra; his advanced posts reaching as far as Lestria and Varese. Such was the semicircular line occupied by the imperial troops opposite to the enemy. Some others were dispersed in Tuscany, the march of Ancona, the territories of Bologna and Ferrara, the Mantuan, and the Milanese. The reinforcements, which had arrived during the last three months of the campaign, raised the number of Austrians, spread over the face of Italy, to at least sixty thousand: and they had about ten thousand Piedmontese auxiliaries. About twenty thousand Tuscans and Neapolitans, too, embraced their cause: but they had no enemies to contend with, or rather to punish, but the disarmed soldiers of the Cisalpine, Roman, and Partheropian republics.

The positions which at the end of the campaign remained in possession of the French, on the side of Italy, were as follows: the right

wing of the army of Switzerland occupied the valley of the Rhone, and had its advanced posts in the different small passages of the Valais and the Great St. Bernard. The left of the united armies of the Alps and of Italy, possessed the Little St. Bernard, Mount Cenis, and the extremities of the other passages of the Tarentaise and of the Maurienne. It supported, with some detachments of infantry, the Vandois, who were armed in favour of the republic, and opposed the imperial posts placed near to Chenale and to Argentiere, in the vallies of the Vraita, and of the Stura.— There the left of the united army of the Alps and Italy, under the command of Massena, ended. The centre guarded the two roads from Coni to Nice, and in spite of the rigour of the season, had posts on the Col de Fenestre, and the Col de Tenda. It lined the Riviera di Ponente as far as Savona, and kept strong detachments in the middle of the Ligurian Alps, and on all the passages which lead to the valley of the Tanaro. The right of the French army garrisoned Savona and Genoa, as also the towns between them, and had cantonments on the four roads which lead to the vallies of the Bormida, the Erno, the Orba, and the Scrivia. On the first, their piquets went beyond Cairo; on the second, beyond Sassolo; on the third, beyond Campo-Freddo; and, on the fourth, beyond Voltaggio, having also, on the latter, a garrison in the fort of Gavi. They faced the imperialists in the two roads which go from Genoa to Voghera and Bobbio across the imperial fiefs, possessed a part of that chain of mountains which separates the valley of the Trebbia from the Riviera di

di Levante, and covered on that side, the approaches to Genoa.— Upon this long and irregular line from Genoa to the Great St. Bernard, there were not more than forty thousand men. From the Var to Genoa there were scarcely twenty-five thousand, almost all infantry. A reinforcement of fifteen thousand men, from Switzerland, or from the interior, were on the march to join the army of Italy. Others were likewise promised; but those which arrived, were few in number, and so great was the void in the ranks of the French army, produced by an epidemic fever, and by the desertion, that Massena, in the month of April following, had not more than thirty-five thousand men in the whole of the extent of the county of Nice, and of the state of Genoa. The privations, distresses, and miseries, in which the soldiers were left, during the rigours of winter, were felt more sensibly, and suffered with more impatience, during the idleness of winter-quarters, than they would have been amidst the toils of marches, and the tumults of action. Several insurrections broke out among the troops that occupied the territories of Genoa. Companies of infantry, and even whole battalions returned into France with arms and baggage. Buonaparte and Massena exhausted their oratorical exhortations in vain. Nothing but severe examples, and some hundreds of thousands of livres extorted from the wretched Genoa, could stop this contagious

malady of insubordination and desertion, which, no less than the fever before mentioned, threatened to leave the mountains of Liguria, and the frontiers of France, without defenders.

On the Upper Rhine, general Moreau had, by the end of February, made the necessary dispositions for the immediate commencement of the campaign. The force under his command was estimated at one hundred and thirty thousand men: without taking into the account the army of reserve at Dijon, under the immediate orders of Buonaparte, which, it was universally believed, was destined to support and co-operate with that of Moreau. Neither the Austrians nor any of the politicians of Europe, penetrated the first councils design of marching his army, by the almost impracticable route, which he actually took, into Italy.\* The cavalry of general Moreau amounted to twenty thousand; and he had eight regiments of light artillery, with thirty-two field-pieces, and sixteen arquebuziers to each regiment.— His head-quarters were at Strasburg. The right wing of his army extended to the Helvetic Rhine, and he had a considerable body of troops assembled in the environs of Rheineck. To this quarter he sent a numerous park of artillery, with a corps of pontonniers, so that there was every appearance that this wing of his army was to pass the Rhine at this point. The force and the position of this army an-

\* This however was, if not certainly foreseen, shrewdly conjectured by two French generals, royalists, in London, who, when the writer of this, about the middle of March, put the question, how it could be possible for all the invention of Buonaparte to contrive means of sending relief in time to Genoa? replied, that this was not necessary; that it was possible, by a wider cordon, to blockade and besiege the besiegers.

nounced it to be the *primum mobile*, of the campaign. His left wing, and his rear, were protected by the forts of the Rhine, Holland, and the neutrality of Prussia; and the direction of the whole army towards Vienna rendered it formidable to the emperor. An official note from Buonaparte, communicated to the Helvetic government, the rejection of peace by the enemies of France, and at the same time expressed a hope of his being able to force them to accept it.

Buonaparte, in his personal demeanor, began now to assume a military air, which indeed he had sustained pretty much ever since his elevation to the supreme authority. He reviewed, in the Champ-de-Mars, all the troops that were in Paris and its vicinity. The French, as well as the imperialists, every where moved out of their cantonments. Skirmishes between parties of hussars, advanced-posts on both sides surprized, cannonading from one side of the Rhine to the other, and the proclamations of the opposite generals, announced an approaching and terrible campaign.

The communication between the Austrian army of Italy and that of the archduke was still maintained by the corps commanded by general Davidovich, which occupied Chiavenna and Bellinzona, and stretched towards the country of the Grisons. Unfortunately we have it not in our power to embellish our narra-

tive of the present campaign with the active services of that brave, wise, and virtuous prince, who was obliged to quit the army from ill health, and perhaps some other circumstances. But a better choice of a commander, to supply, as far possible, his place, could not have been made, than that of general Kray, who took the chief command of the army, on the eighteenth of March. But it was remarked, even at this early stage, as a bad omen, that there was not a good understanding between the general and the minister at war, count Lherbach; who were both of them quick in their tempers, and of dispositions equally obstinate and imperious.

General Kray received a reinforcement of one thousand Wirtemburghers, and as many Palatines, who were destined to support the Austrians posted between Rastadt and Kehl. The different corps of the Wirtemburgh, Palatine, and Mayence, militia were stationed behind the Austrian army of the Rhine, at the entrance of the defiles of Suabia, between the river Enz, the Neckar, and the Mayne, between Widbad and Pfoutzheim, as far as Heideberg, and from thence by the Odenwald towards Eschafsenburg on the Mayne, and between Frankfort and Mayence, along the Nidda.

The Bavarian troops\* assembled at Donewert. The first column,

\* Neither the Bavarian troops in the pay of England, nor the Wirtemburghers, nor the militia of Suabia, the Electorate, and Mayence, all of them also in the pay of England, are to be confounded with the Palatines, Wirtemburghers, and Mayencers, who were furnished as contingents of the empire; and of whom the first were stationed between Philipsburg and Rastadt, and the last on the Nidda, between Frankfort and Mayence.



under the orders of general baron de Deux-Ponts, formerly in the service of France, was composed of

Six battalions of infantry, consisting each of 400 men	2400
Three squadron of light cavalry, of 100 men each	300
Two companies of arquebuziers, of 40 men each	80
Three companies of artillery, of 40 men each	120
Total	2900

This first division was to be raised to three thousand five hundred men, by a levy of recruits. This corps was reviewed on the fourth of April, and, on the fifth, began their march to the camp of Ridlingen, on the Danube.

The second division of the Bavarian troops passed a review at Donawert, on the twenty-seventh of April, and had the same destination. The corps of the one thousand Wirtemburghers assembled at Ridlingen, and, together with three regiments of emigrant Swiss, were joined to the Bavarians. The particular destination of the corps of Condé was not at that time known. They had been in the service of Russia, and had passed into that of England. They received orders to march to the coast of the Mediterranean. General Melas, who commanded the Austrian army in Italy, set out from Turin on the twenty-seventh of March, and, on the evening of the same day, arrived in Alexandria, where he established his head quarters, and immediately issued a proclamation to the army, announcing the opening of the campaign, and exhorting the troops to remember their former bravery, and to ac-

quire fresh renown, by new achievements. The greater part of the Austrian troops that had passed the dead of winter, in Alexandria, were now sent to the frontier of the state of Genoa.

General Bertier, on the twentieth of April, joined the army of reserve at Dijon, of which he took the chief command, until the arrival of Buonaparte. This army was at least fifty thousand strong, well appointed, and in all respects in most excellent order. By this time, a detachment of eight hundred Austrians had taken possession of Mount Cenis. General Bertier, informed of this circumstance, on his arrival at Dijon, reviewed the army, and went directly to Basle, where he had a conference with general Moreau. It was determined that military operations should be begun on the Rhine, on the week thereafter. Intelligence being received that the Austrians had taken possession of Mount Cenis, general Thureau, set out from Briançon, proceeded to Exiles, from thence towards Suza, and coming up with the rear of the detachment, which the Austrians had pushed forward to Mount Cenis, he obliged them to retreat, and took a part of this small garrison prisoners of war.

Mallena, commander-in-chief of the French, in Italy, considering the miserable state of his troops, came to a determination to concentrate the whole of his forces on the river of Genoa.

The general system of war, adopted by the consul, was, to keep the whole of the troops together in a mass on some favourable points, whether for offence or defence.—The reader already perceives his secret design, in establishing what, for

[ N ] a blind

a blind to the enemy, he called the army of reserve, though it was destined to be the most active, at Dijon. From this central point he menaced at once Germany, Switzerland, and Italy; but those countries the most where his attack was not intended. The war in Germany he confided to the strong army under Moreau, while he, with the army under his command, should go to reconquer Italy, the theatre of his most splendid victories. But the first object, in his present career, was to arrive in time to save Genoa, and the unfortunate army of Massena, which defended that place; the most important in all Italy, to be preserved or to be conquered.

The principal object and aim of the Austrians, who, in the course of the last campaign, had recovered

all that they had lost in Italy, was to keep the French armies, in Switzerland and on the Rhine, in play, while they should push with all possible vigour the siege of Genoa: the possession of which was alone wanting to render them complete masters of all Italy. This object, which they considered as now within their grasp, and soon to be accomplished, would have enabled them to bear with their whole united force on Switzerland, by the possession of which, it would be in their power to force the French to keep on the defensive, on the side of the south as well as of the east. Such then, being the opposite views of the two contending armies, it will be proper to begin our narrative of the campaign with the memorable siege of Genoa.

## C H A P. XI.

*Siege of Genoa.—Arrival of Massena there.—Situation of the French Troops, and of the Inhabitants of Genoa.—Changes in the Army, and in the civil Administration of the Genoese Republic.—The English Fleet blockades Genoa, while the Austrian Army, under General Melas, besieges it by Land.—State of the Austrian Army; and Military Skill and Address of Melas in opening the Campaign.—Composition and Position of the Army of Genoa, or the right wing of the French Army of Italy.—Successes of the Austrians.—Resolution of Vado.—Vicissitudes and Progress of the Siege of Genoa.—Conference opened for the Evacuation of Genoa.—A Treaty concluded.—Genoa evacuated*

**A**FTER the brilliant campaign of Massena, in Switzerland, he was judged by the first consul to be the fittest man for taking the command of the discomfited army of Championet. From Switzerland he came straight to Paris, to receive instructions respecting the difficult and painful task he had undertaken. He then proceeded through Lyons to Toulon and Marseilles, in order to take measures for re-equipping the army, and the city of Genoa. At Lyons, and in the south of France, he found the cavalry, with the heavy artillery, which had been sent back about the beginning of autumn, both because forage was scarce, and as being of no great utility in the defence of a place environed by mountains. He was not a little surprized at the wretched condition of those remains of the campaign of 1799, and still more when he came acquainted, at Toulon, with the negligence, and the roguery of the army contractors. There he made

such regulations as might remedy part of the evil. He made purchases of grain and of shoes, which he sent off, by sea, to his army. But when he was informed that general Champoniet had died, at Antibes, of the same epidemic distemper that raged in the army, he went immediately to Genoa, where he arrived on the ninth of February, and where he issued proclamations for re-establishing confidence among the troops and the inhabitants of the city and territory of Genoa, all in a state of insurrection. He made some examples of military justice among the former, and set himself to calm the latter, first by modes of conciliation, but finally by force, which he was obliged to employ against the revolted Ligurian peasants. The army, which had been stated by the French minister at sixty thousand men, was reduced to twenty-five thousand, according to the account given of it by Massena; and of these, according to the report of one of the

generals who served under him, not above a half was fit for active duty. The horror, excited by the hospitals, was such, that not a few of the sick soldiers remained at their own quarters, and chose rather to die there, than suffer themselves to be carried into such a doleful and dreadful mansion. There were others who, no longer able to support themselves under multiplied and long continued privations, threw themselves into the streets from their windows. The losses were not less that arose from desertion. Numbers of officers were to be seen, in small bodies, remaining at their posts alone, and abandoned by their men. Whole bodies of the soldiery went off without their commanders, and without orders; and there were general officers too who left the army, without taking leave or obtaining permission. And thus, on the whole, according to the account of the general officer we have alluded to, and whose evidence is worthy of all report, the French army of Italy in the intermediate winter, between the campaigns of 1799 and 1800, lost, by sickness and desertion, near thirty thousand men.

In this situation of affairs Massena perceived the necessity of new modelling his army. He sent back to France some officers, and among these even some general officers, on the pretext of recruiting. While he was under the necessity of getting rid of some of his generals, he called to Genoa others in their room, from the army of Italy, in whom he could confide, in which number was generals Soult, Audinot, Gazau, Thureau, and others.— In the midst of that want and inaction in which the people and the

army vegetated in Liguria, what gave general Massena particular pain, was his inability to throw provisions either into Gavi or Savona. But some ships laden with grain being arrived at Genoa, in the course of trade, on the twenty-first of March, he lost no time to take advantage of this circumstance. He reinvigilated Gavi for three months, and repaired the works.

He next turned his attention to the state of the marine. He armed and fitted out some privateers, for escorting the convoys of provisions that were coming along the coast, and for bringing grain from Corsica. He also made several changes in the civil administration of the Ligurian republic.

In the midst of general Massena's efforts to palliate so many irreparable evils, all of a sudden, and at once, the English fleet, under lord Keith, appeared, on the fifth of April, in the gulf, off Genoa, for the blockade of which it was drawn up in all the regular forms; while on the other hand the army of general Melas, approached close to the city by land, and extended its front along the whole line of the French army. The French generals themselves admit that the opening of the campaign, by general Melas, was entitled to the highest praise, on account of the address with which he concealed the immense force which he had in Italy. Being well acquainted with the weak state of the republican army, he contented himself, during the winter, with watching its movements, by means of a simple and slight cordon; while he disposed his own throughout Piedmont, Lombardy, the Venetian state, the Bolognese, the march of Ancona and Tuscany.

Thus

Thus divided, the Austrian army had the appearance of weakness; but it possessed all the means of being easily recruited, and provided with all things necessary for action. The reinforcements which it received, from time to time, during its long repose, were in like manner dispersed over an immense extent of country, and were scarcely to be perceived. On the whole, the French were persuaded that it would be late in the season before the Austrians could take the field. They even flattered themselves that they should be beforehand with the enemy, at the very time when the different corps, that were to compose the Austrian armies, were on their march to the general rendezvous. Cities, towns, and villages, all at once, as by a spontaneous movement, sent forth companies, regiments, and battalions, for the formation of an active army. In a few days, general Melas was enabled to assemble ten thousand men before Bobbio, ten thousand in front of Tortona, thirty thousand at Acqui and Alexandria, to advance with this great force against Massena, and, at the same time, to leave behind him, in the plains of Piedmont, the whole of his cavalry, a fine park of artillery, and twenty thousand infantry. The astonishment, excited by all these circumstances, was great and universal. Massena adopted the only measure that was prudent and practicable in his situation. He contracted his lines; he formed masses, which, though altogether disproportioned to the numerous bodies to which they were opposed, might yet make an impression, and divide the enemy, by darting upon them at points favourable to an attack, and obtaining different advantages,

according to local circumstances, and the genius and combinations of the chief commander. But the divisions of his army being extended on a line of sixty miles, to draw them close together was a very difficult matter.

The business of covering the city of Genoa was undertaken by Massena himself, at the head of one of his divisions; but the right wing of general Melas's army, which bore principally on Vado and Savona, took Vado on the second day of the siege, and, by this movement, isolated the right wing of the army under the orders of Massena.

It will here be proper, before entering more particularly into the siege of Genoa, to give some account of the manner in which the army of Genoa, being the right wing of the French army of Italy, was composed, and also of the different points or posts in which the different divisions were stationed.—The commander-in-chief of this army was *Massena*. His headquarters were at *Genoa*. The officers of his staff were as follows: Audinot, general of division, was the first general of the staff; major-general Ardneux, adjutant-general.

Thiebault, Reille, Gautier, and Campana, adjutants-general, employed by the commander-in-chief.

Degiovani, Ottoi, and Neroi, adjutants-general, employed by the staff.

Auberon, inspector-general.

La Martilliere, commander-in-chief of the artillery.

Sibille, commander of the naval force.

More, commander of the corps of engineers.

The *first* division of the army, consisting of four thousand two hun-

dred men, was under the orders of general Miolis, whose head-quarters were at Albano. This division occupied St. Alberto, Reco, Torriglia, Scolera, Mount Coruna, Albano, and Nervi.

The *second* division, consisting of nine hundred and twenty men, was under the orders of general Gazan, whose head-quarters were at St. Quirico. This division occupied Cazella, Buzella, Savigone, Teggia, Voltaggio, Canasio, Campo Marone, Rivorolo, Rones, La Bochetta, Campo Freddo, Masera, and St. Quirico.

The *third* division, consisting of four thousand seven hundred men, was under the orders of general Marbot, whose head-quarters were at Savona. This division occupied Stella, Madonna, La Vognolla, St. Bernardonne, La Madonna di Savona, Savonne, Vado, and Cadibona.

The *reserve*, consisting of two thousand two hundred men, occupied St. Pietro di Arrena, Sestri-du-Ponent, and Conegliano.

The *garrisons* of Genoa, Gavi, and Novi, amounted to twenty-three thousand men.

A *division*, under the orders of general Suchet, and which nearly touched on the left of that commanded by general Marbot, near Savona and Vado was cut off from the army, on the second day of the siege, by the reduction of Vado.—From that moment the French were cut off from all communication by sea, as they also were, by land, with France; whither the division, under general Suchet, was not able to return, but through a long series of engagements.

On the fifth of April, the attack of the Austrians on the French army became general. On the morning

of that day the French were driven as far back as Ruha, which they entered in the evening. At Bergo-di-Sorroni, the Austrians made an attempt to break the French line, but were repulsed by general Panisot of the second division; as they also were on the heights of Cordibona, where the French firmly maintained their ground.

The second day of the siege, the sixth of April, was more terrible. A general attack on the right of the French line was made by general Otto, who fell on the first division, with ten thousand men, in front of Bobbio. His object was to cut his way through the French line, and press on directly to Genoa. The principal attack was made at Monte Coruna. The first division was forced to give way, and to fall back towards Novi and Monte Jaccio, as far as Quinto, where he rallied, and made a successful stand for the defence of the city. The second division, which was that of the centre, was also attacked, though with somewhat less fury. General Gazan, who commanded; thought it prudent; however, to retire behind the Scrivia, towards some mills on that river. While these events were passing in the first and second divisions, the third commanded on that day by general Gardanne, sustained a terrible conflict. Of the thirty thousand men whom general Melas had assembled in the province of Acqui, twenty thousand marched under his command to Savona: where the third division, though but weak, withstood the shock, till the arrival of general Soult, who displayed astonishing valour. He succeeded in throwing six hundred men and provisions into Savona; but could not save Vado, as has been



been already related, nor prevent the division under Suchet from being cut off, as also already noticed, and entirely separated from the army of Genoa. On the same day, a frigate, from lord Keith's fleet, came within cannon-shot of Genoa, and, after firing forty rounds on the quarter of Conignor, again withdrew. The object of this cannonade was, no doubt, to effect a rising among the numerous inhabitants of that quarter: however, they remained quiet.

The third day of the siege, the seventh of April, was more auspicious to the French. The Austrians having come within the sight of Genoa, by the occupancy of Monte Jaccio, of which they had gained possession the preceding evening, lighted up fires in the night, and sounded the tocsins in all the adjacent country, in order to alarm the inhabitants of Genoa. and, on their first appearance, to damp their spirits, by an impression of terror on their imagination. Massena perceived how necessary it was for him, in these circumstances, to gain some victories over the Austrians, in sight of the Genoese, in order to do away the impressions that had been made on their minds, by the first advantages obtained by the Austrians. He therefore formed a plan, and gave orders for an attack on that part of the Austrian army: and his measures were so well concerted with the generals Darnaud; Miolis, Pelitot, Hector, and others, that they overthrew the Austrians at Monte Jaccio, at Panesi, at St. Alberto, and at Scofera; and general Miolis again took possession of Monte Coruna. The Austrians on this day lost fifteen hundred prisoners, among whom was the baron d'Aspres; and the return of the

commander-in-chief to Genoa was triumphant. On the same day, the second division retook Rongo di Fornari, Cazella, and Savigone, which the Austrians had taken on the day before; and the third division, being that on the left, set to rights and restored the line from Voraggio to Campani.

April 8. The whole of this day was taken up, on both sides, in general and particular dispositions of the forces. General Melas made dispositions for new attacks. Massena, in the general dispositions which he made, divided his right wing into two bodies: the first of which, under the orders of Miolis and d'Arnaud, was charged with the defence of Genoa; the second, under the orders of Gazau, Gardanne, and Soult, were to keep the country.

The particular dispositions that respected the first division, under general Miolis were all the instructions that were necessary for defending the approaches to the city of Genoa; and the orders given to the commandant of marine, were to follow with the flotilla, as far, at least, as was possible, the movement projected by the commander-in-chief, in order to defend the transports against the small craft of the English.

This was not the blockade of a single place abandoned to itself. It was the right wing of the French army of Italy completely cut off, which, while it maintained its ground, and defended and supported itself, gave time to the left wing and the centre to set themselves in motion, and to undertake, with the whole energy of which they were susceptible, some decisive enterprize. The enemy himself, numerous and strong as he was, was not in a condi-

tion of himself to carry on a siege in form. He had not the artillery necessary for this purpose, unless, indeed, he should borrow it from the English fleet: but it could not be any other than a matter both tedious and difficult to convert the English guns, mounted for the marine service, into battering cannon.

The nature of the ground divided the whole of the defence, as well as the attack, into two distinct and separate parts, by the course of the Bisagno. The forts l'Eperon and Diamant, covered the line of defence on the left; and, on the right, it was aided by the position of Genoa, on the heights of Del Bati, and defended by the fort of Riche-lieu, to which are attached five counter-forts, situated on the prolongation of the eminence. Massena, after making these dispositions, which seemed to secure, at least for a time, the safety of Genoa, projected a grand movement, which had for its object nothing less than to blockade Savona, retake Vado, and, by recovering his first lines, re-establish his communications with general Suchet.

On the night between the eighth and ninth, all the corps that were to compose the column of general Soult, were directed to proceed to Voltri.

The Austrians employed the whole of the eighth of April, (the taking of the Bochetta excepted) in watching the motions of the French, and in drawing over different corps from their left to their right, towards the centre of their posts, which was at Safello.

April 9. At three o'clock, on the morning of that day, notice was

given that the Austrians were falling down from all quarters on Genoa. Notwithstanding the agitation that followed this intelligence, Massena made not the least alteration in his disposition, but continued to labour for the execution of his plan; in pursuance of which, he set out for Cogoleto,\* where he established his head-quarters.

By the plan agreed on, general Soult was to be at Safello in the evening; but, a movement made by the enemy, retarded the movement of general Soult, by the necessity which it laid him under of securing, with great care, his rear, and keeping up his communication with Genoa. Towards two o'clock in the morning, at the moment he was preparing to depart from Voltri, to proceed to Safello, he learnt that the enemy, having reduced the post of Cabannes de Macarello, had advanced as far as Acqua-Santa, within three miles of Voltri. On this, he immediately formed the resolution to attack the enemy in this new position. This operation was committed to general Gazau, and he performed it with success. But even this success prevented general Soult from taking the share, that had been allotted to him, in the operations of the next day, resolved on by general Massena.

April 10. At four o'clock in the morning, general Soult directed his march by Aqua Bianca, Martino, and St. Pietro del Alba, to Safello. About a mile from Pello, he was informed that four Austrian regiments, making, in all, eight thousand men, were on their way from Monte Notte to La Verreria, and that, on the morrow, that column

\* The birth-place of Christopher Columbus.

was to attack the detachment at Campani, and proceed, thereafter, to Voltri, in order to cut off the retreat of the French column that marched on the coast, along side of the Marine, and which was headed by general Massena in person.

General Melas leaving, under the orders of general Elnitz, a sufficient force for keeping general Suchet in check, marched against general Massena with three bodies of his army. The division on the right, consisted of the brigades of Bussy, Latterman, and Sticher, commanded by the count de Palfy. The centre was composed of the brigades of Bellegarde and Beautano, commanded by general Bellegarde. The left division was under the orders of general St. Julian; and of which, the eight thousand men above mentioned formed a part.

To disconcert and overthrow this project, general Gazau took a position, on the road which leads from Verneria to Pouzonne; and general Poinot received orders to attack, on the heights of Sasello, the enemy's rear-guard, which was bearing on Verneria.

General Poinot executed this movement with so much impetuosity, that he cut off a part of the regiment of Deutchmeister, took three pieces of cannon, and carried the town of Sasello; where he also took two hundred thousand cartridges, and six hundred prisoners. The success of this attack was aided by that of another made by general Godinat, chief of brigade, on *Costa-la-Longa*. The great difficulty of making war in a mountainous country, consists in that of concerting movements, and forming any harmonious system of action.

Massena, who could not be in-

formed of the obstacles which unavoidably retarded the march of general Soult, on Monte Notte, nevertheless completed his own, with the division under general Gardanne. This column, setting out from Varraggio, about eight o'clock in the morning, directed its march to La Stella. About midway, between these two places, this column, composed of no more than twelve hundred men, fell in with that of the Austrians near ten thousand strong, who were marching on the same point. The firing commenced on the part of the Austrians. The French took a position in which they were enabled to repel reiterated attacks. Their certainty of being seconded and supported by general Soult, whom they expected every moment to turn the Austrian rear, supported their carnage under so great an odds of numbers. General Gardanne in this conflict was wounded; and the small French column, in danger of being surrounded by the Austrians, made a speedy retreat in the night, directing their flight to the corps under general Soult: but the junction between these two French corps was not so easy a matter as general Massena had imagined. The Austrians followed them close, and annoyed them severely in all their movements.

In the mean time general Soult had gained some successive advantages, and the small body, which followed Massena on the coast, commanded by general Frellinet, effected a junction with general Soult on the mountain of St. Hermitte, not without considerable loss on the side of both the Austrians and the French. The Austrians lost several officers of rank, and, it was said, above one thousand

thousand men made prisoners. Of the French, the chief of brigade, Villaret, was killed; and several other officers of rank were wounded, among whom was general Fressinet, who, on the fifteenth, received two musket shots. A considerable number of the French were also made prisoners by the Austrians. The result of all these different actions was, that the French, exhausted of men, money, and provisions, were obliged to reconcile their minds, at last, to the idea of retreating, by little and little, towards Genoa, and the forts with which it was environed: a plan which was, at last, carried into complete execution, after daily fighting, on the twentieth of April.

The kind of war that is carried on by any army, necessarily depends on the force which it possesses, and the situation in which it is placed. It was naturally, therefore, to be expected, that the generals Melas and Massena should pursue opposite systems of operation. The object of Massena, continually in action with an enemy, superior in numbers, as well as fresh and hearty, was to divide the enemy, by marching his own troops in two columns. It was contrived that these columns should not be equal in strength. The one was weaker than the other, and made it its chief business to manœuvre, as much as possible, so as to occupy the enemy, and keep him in play, without either attacking him, or waiting to receive an attack, except when it was unavoidable, as was the case at Albissola. The other, and the stronger column, endeavoured to keep up the tone of offensive operations, by bearing, in favourable circumstances, with its whole and undivided

force on the different divisions of the enemy, and to beat their different corps in succession, as was the case at Macarolo, Saffello, and La Veneria.

The Austrians, on the contrary, being able to divide, without too much weakening themselves, studied always to surround the French, and never met them without attacking them, except when detached columns were turning them on every side. Even the different advantages resulting to the French from this mode of warfare, in a mountainous country, precipitated their destruction, and forced them to fall back on Genoa, which was not done without difficulty, the Austrians being several times on the point of cutting off their retreat.

During the series of events now related, on the left of the army of Genoa, the right, under the orders of general Miolis, had tried the same kind of warfare, and received orders, at last, to fall back to Genoa.

In the course of the fifteen days that the defence was maintained, if we may say so, by offensive operations, Massena, having lost a third of his men, although the Austrians had lost a good deal more of theirs, could not dissemble that he had nothing more to expect from the force of his arms. He therefore set himself to fortify himself in his positions, to discover some means of subsistence, and to exercise the severest economy in the use of such as yet remained. By means of some small ships, which yet remained to the French army, notwithstanding the vigilance of the English fleet, he sent letters to Corsica, to general Suchet, and to Marseilles. Several officers, whom he had sent to

to general Suchet, and to the first consul, with an account of his situation, were taken by the enemy. In the mean time, Massena became acquainted with the march of the army of reserve, under Buonaparte. He was not less encouraged by the courage of his troops. There was not a day that passed without skirmishing between advanced posts, in forced reconnoitings, and efforts to penetrate within the positions of the besieging army.

On the thirtieth of April, the Austrians, who by this time had carried the post of *Deux-Freres*, and fort Quezzi, blockaded Fort Diamant, and commanded the works of Fort Eperon. In this posture of affairs, Massena, perceiving that they had in view to take the post of la Madona del Monte, from whence they might drive the French from Alboro, the only point from which they would be able to bombard Genoa, he formed a resolution to make a last effort with his corps of reserve, which had not yet been brought into serious action, and to force the enemy to abandon their most advanced positions. In this he succeeded, but it was at the expense of a series of bloody actions, desperate and obstinate, and loss on both sides; insomuch, that the combatants being too near each other to make use of musketry, had recourse to their bayonets, the butt ends of their muskets, and even to stones. The loss in killed, on both sides, was great. The French made a great number of prisoners, even to the amount of several thousands, and took all the scaling-ladders destined for the escalade of Genoa, and the forts adjacent. The scaling-ladders were so

formed as to admit of three men abreast. They were burned by the French in the night. General Soult carried the post of *Deux-Freres*, and the route of the Austrians was complete. The situation of the Austrian prisoners in Genoa was dreadful. The French suffered extreme privations themselves: their prisoners, after attempting to prolong life by eating their shoes and knapsacks, died of hunger.

This day, the most memorable in the siege, the victory, which was so decidedly on the side of the French, only served to hasten its conclusion. Such combats, so destructive to both parties, added to the miseries of the French and Genoese, by the increase of prisoners without an increase of provisions. The army of Buonaparte was yet at too great a distance to come to the relief of Massena before the last of his soldiers should have perished with hunger. In the forties, which he made in the course of the month of May, he lost a great many of his officers, and among these some of the generals of his staff, in killed and severely wounded.

The city of Savona had surrendered to the Austrians on the fifteenth of May. The English fleet began now to bombard Genoa every night. The populace, particularly the women, running about the streets, set up frightful cries for peace. And a general insurrection of the people of Genoa against the French, would have ensued, if the efforts of the French soldiers to restrain it, had not been seconded by a number of individuals among the inhabitants. The illusions of hope at last vanished. There was no longer the smallest expectation that the succours so long looked for would come in

in time. The provisions were entirely exhausted; even the last horses and dogs were nearly consumed, when general Massena received a letter from general Melas, inviting him to an interview with lord Keith, and the generals Otto and St. Julian, who offered him a capitulation on the most honourable terms. To this first overture, he replied, that he would consider of it; though he had, in truth, nothing farther to consider. The day after, he received another message with the same terms. He then sent the adjutant-general Andreaux, under pretence of some business relating to the prisoners, to Rivolo, to receive the proposals of the enemy, and to enter, without any farther delay, into a negotiation for peace.

The first article of capitulation proposed by the allies, was, that the army should return to France, but that the general should remain prisoner of war—"You, sir," said lord Keith to Massena, "are worth twenty thousand men." But, Massena said, "that no negotiation would be gone into, if the word capitulation was to be made use of." On the fourth of June the allied generals, having departed from their first proposal, resumed the negotiations. In the mean time, while this was going on, the city of Genoa\* containing a population of one hundred and sixty thousand souls, though a prey to all the horrors of famine, remained quiet. A great number of old people, women and children, reduced to the necessity of attempting to sustain nature by herbs, roots, and impure animals, died of disease or inen-

tion. This melancholy picture, was often exhibited to view, by the rising sun. Mothers were often found dead with hunger, and children, at the breast also dead, or dying.

On that day, the fourth of June, the principal articles for the evacuation of Genoa were agreed on between the French adjutant-general Andreaux on the one part, and major-general Rest, a staff officer in the imperial service, with the English captain Rivera, on the other. And it was settled that the chiefs of the opposite armies should meet, on the day after, being the fifth of June, for signing a definitive treaty. At nine o'clock in the morning of that day a conference was held by the opposite parties, in a small chapel, which is situated in the middle of the bridge of Cornigliano, and between the posts of the Austrians and the French. Here lord Keith, commander of the combined naval forces in the Mediterranean, general Otto, commander of the blockade of Genoa, with general St. Julian, who was charged with the political part of the negotiation, were met by general Massena, commander-in-chief of the French army in Italy. Each of these parties was accompanied by only two or three gentlemen.

In this conference Massena displayed much finesse, under the cloak of an apparent gaiety, which formed a complete contrast with the gravity of the other contracting party, and was attended with this advantage, that it did not look as if he were greatly alarmed for the situation of his army. And it is,

\* Including d'Albaro, St. Martin, Bisagno, and St. d'Arena, containing forty thousand. Genoa, proper, contains about one hundred and twenty thousand.

perhaps,



perhaps, owing to that ease and gaiety of manner that he obtained, in the end, all that he had demanded. A degree of misunderstanding had taken place for some time between the English, as individuals, and the Austrians. The former reproached the latter with the great length to which the siege had been protracted. Massena endeavoured to widen and to take advantage of this want of harmony, by flattering the pride of one party at the expense of the self-love of the other. He said to lord Keith, "Do you, my lord, only permit a little grain to be carried into Genoa, and I give you my word that these gentlemen (looking at the Austrian generals) shall never set foot there." Toward the end of the conference he again addressed lord Keith, personally: "My lord, if France and England could only understand one another, they would govern the world."\* In the whole of this conference, lord Keith treated Massena, as the general often acknowledged, in a very civil and handsome manner. His lordship disclaimed all hard conditions. He always said, "General, the defence you have made has been so heroic, that it is impossible to re-

fuse you any thing that you ask." At length, at seven o'clock at night, Massena signed the treaty for the evacuation of Genoa, and the contracting parties mutually gave hostages. The substance of the treaty was, that the right wing of the French army, charged with the defence of Genoa, and the commander-in-chief with his staff, should go out of Genoa with their arms and baggage, in order to rejoin the centre of the said army by land.—The same liberty was granted to eight thousand one hundred men, who had permission to enter France by Nice. The rest were transported by sea to Antibes, and were duly provided with provisions.—Due attention was also paid to the hospitals and the prisoners. Passports were granted to the Genoese patriots. The Austrians took possession of the gates of the city, and the English of the entrance into the harbour. French commissioners remained at Genoa to see the articles, that had been agreed on respecting the sick, and the hospitals, duly executed. Massena was allowed to send a courier, with a passport, to Buonaparte, to announce the evacuation of Genoa.

\* This is a compliment very common in the mouths of all Frenchmen to the English nation. But if ever the English should join France, for subduing and governing the world, they must lay their account with either subduing the French, or being themselves, as well as the rest of the world, subdued by them. It would be better for both the French and English nations, if they would let the world alone.

## C H A P. XII.

*Army of Reserve.—Plan of Buonaparte for retrieving the French Affairs in Italy.—He Marches his Army across the Alps.—Takes Possession of Milan.—Decisive Battle of Maringo.*

**H**AD any disaster happened to the army of Moreau, on opening the campaign, Buonaparte might have been induced to balance the necessity of sending relief to the army of Italy, with that of sending succours to Germany. The splendid successes of Moreau, left him at liberty to do that to which he was most inclined: to send the army of reserve into Italy. This army was ordered to Geneva, through the Pais de Vaud, and the lower Valais to Martigny, a village six leagues from the Great St. Bernard, where the first consul, leaving Paris on the sixth of May, joined it, and made a stay of three days, during which preparations were made for the ascent of the mountain.

The first consul had determined upon the measure of marching an army to Italy with the utmost expedition, on account of the situation in which Massena was then placed; who was shut up in Genoa, and reduced to great straits, by general Melas. In this extremity, Buonaparte had resolved to surmount every difficulty in the passage of the Alps, in order to attack the rear of the Austrian army.

Fortunately, about this time, general Dessaix had arrived at Paris from Egypt; and, as the first con-

sul was well acquainted with the skill and abilities of that officer, he was glad of his assistance in this enterprise.

The principal part of the army was intended to pass by Mount St. Bernard; other divisions were intended to cross by Mount Cenis, the Simplon, and Mount St. Gothard.

On the fifteenth of May, Buonaparte passed St. Bernard, and at Remi, distant six leagues from the monastery, first saw the Austrians, who, though inferior in numbers, disputed the ground step by step with the republicans, until they saw another part of the army descending, as if with intent to attack them in the rear.

No part of the artillery of this army had at that time crossed the mountains. It had been collected at the village of St. Pierre, and it may be supposed it was a work of no small difficulty to transport it across the Alps. It was, however, essentially necessary that such a transport should be made, and the following means was used to effect it:

Every piece of cannon was dismounted, and placed in troughs hollowed out of trees cut down for the purpose. These were drawn by five or six hundred men, according to the size and weight of the

the piece. The wheels fixed to poles, were borne on mens' shoulders; the tumbrils were emptied, and placed on sledges, together with the axle-trees. The ammunition, packed up in boxes, was carried on the backs of mules. To encourage the men, from four to five hundred franks were allowed for every piece of artillery thus transported. One half of a regiment was employed in drawing cannon, whilst the other half bore the necessary baggage belonging to their corps. The men proceeded in single files, it being impossible for two to draw abreast, or to pass each other without danger of falling down the precipices on the side. The man who led, stopped, from time to time, when every one took the refreshment of builcuit, moistened in snow water. It was the labour of five hours to reach the monastery of St. Bernard, when each man was refreshed with a glass of wine. They had then eighteen miles of descent, by far the most difficult and hazardous, which they did not accomplish till nine the next night, being ten hours in performing it. Buonaparte, and his staff, marched on foot, and were in several places obliged to slide down seated on the snow.

On the sixteenth of May, the vanguard reached Aosta, garrisoned by a Hungarian battalion, which, after some loss, evacuated the place, when a deputation from the town waited upon the consul to surrender it.

The van-guard now proceeded to the attack of Chatillon, near which place general Lannes was informed the Austrians were preparing to oppose his passage over a bridge thrown across a precipice; but the Austrians were so vigorously at-

tacked by a body of hussars, that they were soon driven off the bridge with a considerable loss, and shut themselves up in Fort De Barre, built on an inaccessible rock.

This fort, from its situation in a narrow neck, appeared to stop the progress of the whole army; and, if it could not be reduced in four days, every soldier must have perished through hunger, as the provisions were nearly exhausted, and no means left of procuring an additional supply. Had general Melas foreseen this obstacle, he might, by a timely opposition, have frustrated the success of Buonaparte's expedition.

The rock on which the fort is built, is in the shape of a sugar-loaf; the pass at its foot is skirted by a deep and rapid river, called the Doria; on the opposite side of which is a steep inaccessible rock. There was no alternative; the fort must either be taken or another passage sought. Each had its difficulties, but Buonaparte's genius surmounted them.

The suburb was taken possession of by three companies of granadiers previous to an attack on the fort, which was defended by five hundred men, and twenty-two pieces of cannon. The attack was made at night, when the republicans climbed up the rocks and over the palisade amidst a shower of balls, and drove the Austrians from the works, but were at last obliged to retreat themselves.

This check made the consul resolve to find out another passage, when a way was discovered up the rock Albaredo; which ascent gained, might with a like difficulty, be descended. But the artillery could not possibly be transported this way; it was therefore resolved, at every

every hazard, to pass the carriages through the suburb. Every means was used, by letting out in the dark, and by spreading litter along the way to deaden the sound, and prevent suspicion in the garrison; yet, these precautions did not prevent the Austrians from discovering their design, and the men were fired upon and killed by every discharge. At length, Buonaparte ordered a cannon to be raised, and placed upon the top of the church, which so effectually battered the tower over the gate, that the garrison, fearing a second assault, surrendered at discretion.

A passage was now opened to the republican army, which experienced no farther obstruction until it reached Ivrea, a town betwixt Aosta and Turin, from both which places it is distant about eight leagues; and whither the army proceeded as soon as the soldiers had refreshed themselves with the provisions found in Fort De Barre.— This place was escaladed and taken, with fourteen pieces of cannon, on the twenty-third of May, by a division, under general Boudet, before the main army reached it.

Buonaparte, instead of continuing his course southwards, to Turin, turned off to Romagno, eastwards, having received intelligence of a force collected there of six thousand men, partly composed of Austrian troops, which he had driven before him, and a number drawn from Turin. This body had taken a position at Romagno, and was intrenched behind the Sesia, a deep and rapid river. They appeared to be ignorant as well of the strength of the French army, as that it had Buonaparte with it, and treated its designs with contempt, but were

the next day convinced of their mistake, when general Lannes forced their entrenchments, and cut them to pieces, notwithstanding their cavalry made some shew of resistance.

On the twenty-sixth of May, Buonaparte gave orders for two divisions to march towards Turin, whilst his van-guard bore upon Chiufella and the Po. This was done in order to deceive the Austrians, who thereupon crossed that river, and took a position on the right bank. Whilst the attention of the Austrians was taken up with this manœuvre, general Murat, at the head of a division of cavalry, entered Vercelli the next day, on the road to Milan. Other divisions, about the same time, took possession of Suza and Brunette, and Ariolo.

The Austrians, finding themselves not in sufficient force to defend Milan, against the republican army, evacuated that city on the second of June, after a slight opposition; and it appears that the French were well received by the inhabitants, who were already revolutionized.

After some short stay at Milan, the van-guard of the army marched and took possession of Pavia, on the fifth of June, on which day Genoa surrendered to the allies; and on which very day orders were sent to general Ott to raise the siege. At Pavia, the republican army found considerable magazines, and five hundred pieces of cannon, with a large quantity of ammunition.

During this time, general Melas was at Turin, and the greatest part of his army in the Genoese territory, a position which he preserved too long; perhaps, partly owing to orders he had received from Vienna, and partly to his ignorance of Buonaparte's real strength. To this

this security the miscarriages and misfortunes of the Austrian army, which followed, may be attributed.

To make a powerful diversion; Melas detached general O'Reilly to Placentia, and general Otto, upon the Tessino. A detachment of six thousand men was likewise sent to Chiavasso, upon the Po, which, turning off to Vercelli, retook three hundred Austrian prisoners.

The manœuvre of advancing as far as Chiavasso, which is within fifteen miles of Turin, was a ploy for misleading the Austrians, by seeming to threaten that city.

The concentration of the Austrian forces seemed to discover an intention of offering battle. General Murat defeated O'Reilly; and made himself master of Placentia, from whence O'Reilly fell back upon Otto, at Stradello and Montebello.

The French army had now taken a position on the Po, where it is joined to the Tessino, and becomes then of equal depth with the Rhine. The republicans had no longer to do with small detachments, but were met by the Austrian advanced-guard of eighteen thousand men. The French army was now increasing, and was joined by a division of the army of the Rhine, which had separated at Ulm, and had passed the Alps, by Mount St. Gothard.

The French van-guard crossed the Po, and made a vigorous attack upon the Austrian army, which they drove before them into the marshes, until night put a stop to the pursuit, which was followed the next day by the battle of Montebello.

The battle of Montebello was very bloody; that place was taken and retaken by the contending ar-

mies. The van-guard, under general Lannes, had suffered considerably, when it was reinforced by general Watrin's division, which decided the battle in favour of the republicans; and, the Austrians having lost six thousand prisoners, and twelve pieces of cannon, with several officers of distinction, killed or wounded, were forced to retreat to Voguera.

The day following, the French army marched through Voguera, and took some positions before Tortona, which city the van-guard surrounded without opposition. The Austrian army had now arrived from Genoa, and had fixed its headquarters at Alexandria. As a general engagement appeared to be unavoidable, every preparation was made for it.

The French army quitted its position near Tortona, and advanced into the plain betwixt that city and Alexandria, forming in order of battle, as the several divisions arrived. Meanwhile Buonaparte carefully examined the plain and village of Maringo; but, the day proving wet, nothing was done until the following (the sixteenth of June), which was ushered in by several discharges of cannon; and the preparatives on the side of the Austrians appeared to be decisive for battle before noon.

Buonaparte and Berthier had entered the plain, and the fire of cannon and musketry began to be brisk. The Austrian line extended six miles in length, and readily preserved its positions, particularly at the bridge over the Bormida; but, the principal point of action, and whereto they directed their chief attention, was at Sans-Stefano, from which point the Austrians could

could gain Voguéra before the French.

The Austrians being in great force gained upon the French; when Buonaparte ordered the body of reserve to come up; but, Dessaix, with his corps, was not yet arrived. The left wing of the French, commanded by Victor, now began to give way, and some cavalry and infantry retreated in disorder. About the same time the centre and right wing did the same.

Buonaparte, in front, rallied the troops, and led them on again to the battle. Notwithstanding this, the French army still continued to retreat, and the Austrians followed up their advantage. At this juncture of time, the garrison of Tortona seeing the disorder of the French army, made a sally, and had nearly surrounded them.

Buonaparte, still in front, encouraged the corps, which defended a defile flanked, by the village of Maringo, on which thirty pieces of Austrian artillery continually played, making terrible slaughter. And, now at four o'clock in the afternoon, the French army was so pushed on all sides, that one-third of it was in confusion, and knew not where to rally.

The Austrians, seeing the impossibility of forcing the defile, drew up more artillery, under the protection of which they sent forward a body of infantry to dislodge the French from a wood and vineyards, whilst their cavalry watched the opportunity of cutting them down as they quitted that position. Had this manœuvre succeeded, the French army had been totally destroyed.

At this instant the fortune of the battle began to take a new turn,

and that success, which had heretofore attended Buonaparte, seemed now unwillingly to forsake him.—The divisions of Monnier and Desaix coming up, insured victory to the republican army, by inspiring it with renewed courage. To this, an unfortunate mistake, which Melas committed, about the same time, did not a little contribute.—That general, finding he could neither force the defile, nor make any impression on the centre of the French army, perhaps, presuming too far on his success, and being moreover ignorant of the reinforcements which the republican army had received, weakened his line, by extension, in order to surround it.

Buonaparte saw the error Melas had been guilty of, and instantly availed himself of it, by the orders he gave. The troops of the republic quitted the defile, and, as they left it, formed in order of battle, and presented a fresh and formidable front to the Austrians, now nearly exhausted and fatigued with success.

The Austrians were now vigorously charged, and fell back in their turn: their numerous cavalry was thrown into disorder, and the French hussars hitherto inferior, now charged and dispersed the fugitives. On the right, Dessaix bore down all before him, while Victor, on the left, carried Maringo, and bore down rapidly on the Bormida; where, getting possession of the bridge, he cut off the retreat of the Austrians on that side. At the moment that Desaix gaining Sans-Stefano, cut off the Austrian left wing, the younger Kellerman made prisoners of six thousand Hungarian grenadiers. The Austrian general, Zach, was made a prisoner, and Dessaix, in the very instant of victory,



lory, received a wound, of which he died. Night by this time approached, and found the Austrians every where retreating before the victorious republicans.

The next morning presented a field of battle covered with the wounded and the slain, and gave both armies an armistice, and an opportunity to bury the dead, to attend the wounded, and to recover the wearied and harassed soldier from his late fatigue.

It was computed by the French that the campaign of Buonaparte, from the time of his descending from Mount St. Bernard, till the close of the day of Maringo, cost the Austrians above sixty thousand men. In the morning of that day, the French force amounted to about fifty thousand men, of whom three thousand were cavalry, and two companies of light artillery, with thirty pieces of cannon: the Austrian force to about sixty thousand, of which fifteen thousand were cavalry. In artillery, the Austrians were still more superior to the French. Buonaparte, in the battle of Maringo, had his clothes pierced with balls in different places. General Melas had two horses killed under him, and received a contusion in his arm.

The reader of military history may recollect that it was, in like manner, that the English, by breaking their line, suffered victory to elude their grasp at Fontenoy.

On the morning after the battle, the generals in chief of the French and imperial armies entered into a convention, by which an armistice was established between the contending armies until an answer should be received from the court of Vienna. The imperialists were

to occupy all the country comprised between the Mincio and Fossa-Maestra, and the Po; that is to say, Peschiera, Mantua, Borgoforte, and thence the whole left bank of the Po. And on the right bank, the city and the citadel of Ferrara. The imperialists were also to occupy Tuscany and Ancona.

The French army was to occupy the country comprised between the Chiesà, the Oglio, and the Po.—The country between the Chiesà and the Mincio was not to be occupied by either of the two armies. The imperial army to draw subsistence from those parts of that country which made part of the dutchy of Mantua. The French army to draw subsistence from those parts of that country which made part of the province of Brescia. The castles of Tortona, of Alexandria, of Milan, of Turin, of Pizzigbetone, of Arona, and Placentia, were to be put into the hands of the French army, between the sixteenth and twentieth of June. The place of Coni, the castles of Ceva, Savona, and the city of Genoa to be put into the hands of the French army between the twenty-sixth and twenty-fourth of June; and the fort of Urbino on the twenty-sixth. The artillery and the provisions of the places evacuated to be divided.—The garrisons to march out with military honours; and repair with arms and baggage, by the shortest route, to Mantua. No individual to be ill-treated on account of any service rendered the Austrian army, or for any political opinions. The Austrian general, on his part, also engaged to release all persons in the strong places under his command, who might have been taken

up in the Cisalpine republic for political opinions. Whatever might be the answer from Vienna, neither of the two armies were to attack the other without ten days previous notice.

The last article of this treaty was of very great military importance. It provided that, during the suspension of arms, neither of the armies should send detachments into Germany. The proposal for the armistice was first made, as will be readily supposed, by general Melas. Buonaparte's answer to the Austrian general's message, respecting terms, was remarkably laconic as well as dignified: dignified not by pride and loftiness, but moderation: "The Austrian army shall immediately retire within the line which it should occupy, according to the treaty of Campo-Formio." He immediately dispatched a messenger with an offer of a general peace to the emperor, on the same basis.

While the treaty for an armistice was drawn up, Buonaparte prepared to return to Milan, in order to re-organize the Cisalpine republic. Before he set off, he sent general Melas a present of a Turkish sabre, brought from Egypt. General Melas said, to the aid-de-camp who delivered it to him—"I am sorry peace is so long delayed: I shall contribute my efforts to obtain it, that I may go and see Buonaparte at Paris. I would even go to see him in Egypt."

The prisoners made by the Austrians were restored on the sixteenth of June. And immediately thereafter the chief consul, escorted by a body of chasseurs, hastened to Milan, where he recognized and declared the Cisalpine republic to be a free and independent nation. He

established a provisional administration, and a consulto for preparing for the republic a constitution and legislature. He gave orders for respecting religion, and the property of all citizens without distinction.—Citizens, who had fled from their country, were invited to return; with the exception of such as had taken arms against the Cisalpine republic, after the treaty of Campo-Formio. All sequestrations were taken off, whether placed upon property possessed either under the title of ancient property, or in virtue of legal acquisition, under whatever pretext; and, on whatever occasion the said sequestrations might have been ordered. The citadel of Milan having agreed to surrender, the garrison, to the number of four thousand, marched out with the honours of war. The full half of these being French and Piedmontese, came over to the French with arms and baggage, and colours flying. A magnificent *te deum* was celebrated in the cathedral of Milan, in gratitude for the success of the French arms, and particularly the triumphs of Buonaparte, the great patron and protector of religion. At this solemnity, amidst an immense number of people, the chief consul, general Berthier, and all his chief staff, were present.

Buonaparte, in a conference he had with the clergy at Milan, advised them to preach and practise the morality of Jesus Christ.

When the victory of Marengo had put the fate of Italy in the hands of Buonaparte, the first idea that occurred to his mind was, how it was to be settled. Though naturally and habitually reserved and taciturn, he discovered on this occasion,

occasion, that among the objects nearest his heart was that of establishing a very powerful republic in Lombardy: such a state as might be a check on the enemies of France, and even stronger, perhaps, than might be agreeable to that spirit of domination and tyranny which prevailed among so great a portion of the French nation. In a solemn speech, pronounced at Milan, he said, that Lombardy, and Liguria, should form only one republic. Time has not yet unfolded his sentiments and views on that great subject. That a republic should be formed in Italy, fitted to rest, immoveable, on its own basis, and to counterpoise and check the unprincipled designs, and capricious sallies of other powers, is an event greatly to be desired by every government, and by none that would be of long duration, more than by the rulers of France itself.

After Italy was re-conquered, by the quick passage of the Alps, the battle of Maringo, and the surrender of all the strong places in Lombardy, Piedmont, and Genoa, to the French general, Berthier, as well as the first consul, returned to Paris, and Massena was succeeded in the command of the army by general Brune.

The French, in the arrangements made with the Austrians, for a suspension of arms, had acquiesced in the neutrality of Tuscany. And, perhaps, if that suspension had been followed by a pacification, as proposed by the chief consul, in the moment of victory, it would not have been violated. But when negotiation for peace was found not to be successful, the French government became desirous

of repossessing the duchy; and, on pretence of frequent outrages and depredations committed, as was alleged in the adjoining districts by Tuscan *brigands*, or robbers. It was thus that they thought proper, on the present occasion, to style an armed corps, which the inhabitants had formed for maintaining the internal order and tranquillity of the country. General Sommeriva, in the end of September, was sent with only a small escort to disarm and disperse the national guard of the Tuscans. This requisition not being readily complied with, general Brune sent a detachment, under general Dupont, to take possession of the Tuscan territory. Dupont, on the fifteenth of October, entered Florence without opposition. Soon after this, brigadier general Clement persuaded the Austrian troops, at Leghorn, to surrender that town to him, on his assenting to a convention for the continuance of the Tuscan government, and the security of privileges and of property. This agreement was not scrupulously observed, though the British merchants were fortunate in preserving the greater part of their effects, by means of the ships in the harbour. Strong parties were now sent out against the armed Tuscans at Arezzo, and other places; and, as some resistance was made by the latter, they were not subdued and dispersed without bloodshed. About the same time, a heavy contribution was imposed on the small helpless state of Lucca.

The French authority and power, throughout Italy, was at this time so great, that the municipality of Celenatico, a sea-port on the Adriatic coast, presumed to arrest

an English officer, who carried dispatches to them from the British admiral in the Mediterranean. The municipality do not appear to have had any other motive for this deed, than the usual propensity of paltry and overawed states to pay court to the prevailing power, by marks of zealous servility. Lord Keith determined to take severe vengeance for this breach of the law of nations; and captain Ricket carried his orders into prompt execution. A proclamation was issued, lamenting that the innocent should suffer with, and for, the guilty, but stating at the same time the necessity of sanctioning and supporting a law so indispensably necessary in all the intercourses of peace or war, and which the magistrates of Cesenatico had so unnecessarily and wantonly violated. And, a short time after the publication of this, all the vessels within the Mole were sunk or burned. The two piers were consumed, and the harbour was rendered useless.

It is not easy, amidst so many complicated views and shifting scenes, to account for the restoration of Rome, with the greater part of the Roman territories to the pope. The conclave for the election of a successor to Pius VI. was held under the auspices of the emperor at Venice. It was generally supposed, that, in this step, the court of Vienna had it in contemplation, to stipulate for some cessions on the part of the Romish see

to the house of Austria, in Italy.—The ecclesiastic, honoured with the pontificate, was cardinal di-Chiaramonte, a man of good sense, and mild and unassuming manners. As it was customary for the new pontiff to assume the name of the pope who had promoted him to the dignity of cardinal, Chiaramonte took that of Pius VII. The emperor, on his election, presented him with a sum of money, as an earnest of his regard and protection; but, did not at first restore any part of the papal dominions. It is not impossible, that after the battle of Marignano, when he became apprehensive of the loss of his power and influence in Italy, he resolved to have the credit of delivering up to the pope the greater part of the ecclesiastical estate, rather than that it should fall into either the possession or disposal of other hands. The court of Vienna, it was said, had been for some time suspicious of an understanding between the king of Naples and the Russians. The king, it was suspected, was to accommodate the court of St. Petersburg with the long object of its ambition, some sea-port in the Mediterranean, and to be indemnified by a portion of the ecclesiastical territories. Be all this as it may, the Austrians having delivered up to his holiness the greater part of the ecclesiastical state, Pius VII. took possession of the see of Rome in July, and began to exercise the functions of sovereignty, with great dignity and moderation.

## C H A P. XIII.

*Combined Campaign of Italy and Germany.—The French Army, under Moreau, crosses the Rhine at different Points.—The different Divisions assemble at Schaffhausen.—General Kray deceived by the skilful Manœuvres of Moreau.—Actions at Stockach and Mofskirk; and Biberach and Memmingen.—The Austrian Army retire to Ulm, whither they are followed by the French.—Plan of Moreau, for favouring the Operations of the Army in Italy, gradually unfolded; which is, to retire from Ulm and the left Banks of the Danube to the Lake of Constance.—The Change in Italy induces him to change the Plan of his Operations in Germany.—He resolves to act on the Offensive.—Crosses the Danube.—A Series of Actions.—General Kray leaves Ulm, which is blockaded by a Division of the French Army, under the Orders of General Richenpanse.—Contributions in Bavaria.—Munich taken.—Armistice.—Negociation for Peace.—Broken off.—The Emperor joins the Austrian Army.—A Prolongation of the Armistice.—Expiration of the Truce, and Renewal of the War.—Armistice concluded at Steyer on the Twenty-fifth of December.*

**T**HE combined campaign of Italy and Germany agreed on, in the interview already mentioned between Buonaparte and Moreau, shews how finely military operations may be managed in concert, at a distance, and on a great scale, and with as much precision as the evolutions of the two wings of the same army. To this extraordinary campaign, there is nothing superior, if at all commensurable, in history.

The great outline of the concerted plan, as far as it concerned the conduct of Moreau, was, by a series of feints, not less than attacks, to occupy the attention of general Kray, to strike terror into the heart of Germany, to alarm the Austrians for the safety of the capital, and, at the same time, to maintain a communication, and send seasonable re-

inforcements to the French army in Italy.

The French army, on the twenty-fifth of April, crossed the Rhine in four great divisions, under the respective commands of general St. Susanne, general St. Cyr, general Moreau, and general Lecourbe.—The division, under general St. Susanne, advanced to Offenburgh, while general St. Cyr, who had crossed the Rhine at Old Britac, advanced to Fribourg. The manœuvres of St. Cyr seemed to indicate an intention to form a junction with St. Susanne; and, of course, that the plan of Moreau was, to penetrate through the Black Mountains, by the valley of Kintzing, towards Donawelchingen. The movement of general St. Susanne, however, was only a feint, for he

received orders, on the twenty-seventh, to return from Offenburgh to Kehl, and, marching up from thence along the banks of the Rhine by forced marches, he arrived at Fribourg on the thirtieth of April. General St. Cyr, who had reached Fribourg without losing a man, pursued, meanwhile, that course of march, which was necessary to form the junction of the whole army, between Shwetlingen and Schaffhausen, near the Lake of Constance. The division, under the immediate command of Moreau, crossed the Rhine, at Basle, and proceeded, without any considerable opposition, to the point where the various divisions were to meet. General Lecourbe, with the division under his command, crossed the Rhine between Schaffhausen and Stein, and, after some fighting and making a good number of prisoners, the whole army, with the exception of the corps under general St. Susanne, was assembled at, and in the environs of, Schaffhausen. In the course of these various marches, the French took fifteen hundred prisoners, and six pieces of cannon. The division, under Lecourbe, likewise took, by capitulation, the castle of Hohenweil, in which there were eighty pieces of cannon. The great magazines of the Austrians were at Kampten, a town in Upper Suabia. The French general directing his march towards this point, with a view to cut off general Kray from his principal depot, or, at least, in the mean time, to effect the main object of occupying the whole of his force and attention in Germany, drove all the Austrian advanced posts before him, and advanced to attack the imperialists at Stockach.

The masterly manœuvres of Mo-

reau had completely deceived general Kray, respecting the plan of attack meditated by the French. In an official account, published in the Vienna Court Gazette, of the third of May, we find the general announcing the passage of the Rhine, on the twenty-fifth, and that, in consequence of having foreseen this manœuvre, he had sent a great body of troops to prevent the French from following up their plan of extending themselves in the neighbourhood of Rastadt. He considered the feint made, by general Susanne's division, as the main attack, and concentrated all his forces at Donaweeschingen, at the moment when, under cover of that feint, Moreau was enabled, as just observed; to cross the Rhine at a point, which enabled him completely to turn the position of the Austrian army.

The consequences of Moreau's plan were immediate. General Kray was compelled to decamp precipitately from Donaweeschingen, in order to oppose the progress of the French army, leaving in their hands, in abandoning his position at Donaweeschingen, a great part of what is called the angle of Suabia. The Austrian magazines and stores were either conveyed away in haste, left behind, or destroyed. The left wing of the French, under general Susanne, on the third of May, entered Donaweeschingen, which had been evacuated by the Austrians, and pressed upon their rear, stretching out his flanks, at the same time, to the main body of Moreau's army, endeavoured to establish themselves in the lines of Stockach, in order to oppose the lines of the enemy. On the third of May, a part of the French army  
 attacked



attacked the post at Storkach. The force that defended it, under the orders of prince Joseph of Lorraine, being too weak, was soon overpowered, and obliged to retreat, with considerable loss. The post, at Engen, was commanded by general Kray in person. He was attacked, on the fourth, by Moreau, who, in repeated charges, lost a great number of men. In the course of these conflicts, a body of the Austrian army, under the archduke Ferdinand, in their retreat from Donaweeschingen, were attacked, in their rear, by general Susanne's division, and nearly cut off. The archduke, on this occasion, displayed that personal bravery, which distinguishes the princes of his house. By great exertions of judgement, and presence of mind, as well as valour, he was enabled to join the main army. General Kray maintained his post, and prevented the enemy from making any great impression, and kept the field during the night. But, at day-break, he thought it prudent to commence a retreat; which he had continued to the length of about fifteen miles, when he was again attacked, on the fifth, by the indefatigable Moreau; one of whose leading maxims it appears to have been, to hang on and harass the enemy, at every turn, and in every fortune, and to give him no respite either for the execution, or even the formation, of new designs. Being ably assisted by Lecourbe, he made some impression on the Austrian battalions, notwithstanding their intrepid exertions: but, though superior in numbers, he did not think it proper to renew the combat on the following day. His loss was supposed to have been greater than that of general

Kray. The loss on both sides must, by all accounts, have been great. Mr. Wickham, the British narrator of these engagements, affirmed, in his dispatches to our court, "that few prisoners were made on either side;" while Moreau asserted, that, in the two engagements, the French made no less than about ten thousand prisoners. The exaggeration in both these accounts is obvious. We have not been able, from any statements we have yet received, to ascertain the truth, or any thing near it, on this subject.

In this last action, denominated the battle of Mofskirk, the Bavarian subsidiaries fought with such spirit, as excited the praise of their fellow combatants. The Swiss regiment of Roverea also particularly distinguished itself.

Mr. Wickham reported, that, in the battle of Mofskirk, the French were repulsed. The Austrians, however, on the day thereafter, sixth of May, retreated across the Danube, here a small stream, to the ground between Sigmaringen and Reitlingen, a distance of at least fifteen miles farther.

The Austrians, in their retreat from Mofskirk, were pursued by a division of the French, under general Ney, who took fifteen hundred prisoners. A very serious engagement was the consequence of an opportunity afforded to the French of attacking the Austrian advanced posts, on the ninth of May, at Biberach. The result of this battle was, that the Austrians were forced to retreat with the loss of above one thousand killed on the spot, and above two thousand prisoners. Another bloody engagement took place, on the eleventh, near Memmingen. On the termination of this battle, general



general Moreau wrote, by the telegraph, to the French minister of war, as follows: "The right wing of the army, commanded by general Lecourbe, attacked the enemy on the twenty-first of Floreal (eleventh of May), in their position at Memmingen. They were completely beaten. Memmingen has been taken, more than two thousand prisoners have been made, and a great number of dead were left on the field of battle." The accounts of the Austrians state, that the advantage in this action was on their side. However this may be, general Kray, leaving a considerable body of troops, under general Merevoldt, to keep up the communication with general Reufs in the Vorarlberg, retreated to Ulm, for the protection of his magazines there. At Ulm he was joined by general Sztarray, with the troops under his command, and six thousand Bavarian and Wirtemberg auxiliaries, under the orders of the baron de Deux-Ponts. The main body of the imperial army was posted at Phuel, half a league from Ulm.— This city had a garrison of ten thousand men, commanded by general Petrarsch and major Davidovich. General Sztarray, with additional troops, raised the number of the garrison, which came under his command, to the number of eighteen thousand. The gates were guarded by the auxiliaries.

The French were also concentrated on the territory of the imperial city of Ulm, near Rheineck, little more than a league from Ulm. In this situation of the two armies, it seemed that the French were desirous of giving battle to general Kray, who, on the other hand, was desirous to avoid it, until the rein-

forcements promised, and part of which were on their way, should arrive from Austria. Six battalions of infantry, of the garrison of Vienna, were on their march, and to be followed by six more, and five squadrons of cuirassiers. The garrisons of the cities in Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia, were repairing partly to the Danube, and partly to the Adige, on each of which rivers there was to be formed a body of reserve. As no inviting circumstances for an attack were presented to either party, both generals contented themselves with mutual observation, while terror and consternation prevailed throughout the circle of Suabia.

But this state of inaction and repose, if it comforted the Austrians with the hope of succours, was still more advantageous to the cause of the invaders, who laid the whole of Franconia and Suabia under severe contribution, intercepted the supplies, and took or destroyed not a few of the Austrian magazines, supported themselves at the expense of the Germans, kept the grand Austrian army in check, and on a constant alert, and prevented general Kray from sending any considerable detachment to Italy.

In the mean time, the plan of co-operation, concerted between Buonaparte and Moreau, began to be pretty clearly developed. While Moreau still made a show of directing the main force of his army to the countries on the left bank of the Rhine, he began to detach part of his troops towards the Lake of Constance: whither he afterwards withdrew with the main body, with an intention to remain on the defensive, and favour, as much as possible, the operation of the campaign in Italy.

General—

General St. Sufanne, with the division of the French army under his command, had always remained on the left bank of the Danube, in the neighbourhood of Geisligen, which was his head-quarters. While the attention of the Austrians was occupied by a great deal of manœuvring and skirmishing in that quarter, and other demonstrations of a design to penetrate into the heart of Germany, and to the capital, stretched off, by degrees, along the course of the Iller, by Memmingen and Kampten, to the Lake of Constance. By cutting off prince Reuss from general Kray, and keeping the commander-in-chief so long in check, he had already enabled divisions or detachments, from his army, to get possession of Ausburgh, Lindau, Bregentz, Fieldkirk, and other posts, which might be considered as the keys of the Grisons and the Tyrol, through which countries it would now be in his power to communicate with Buonaparte, by this time descending from the summit of the Alps into the plains of Piedmont and Lombardy.

For nearly two months Moreau had sought nothing farther than to amuse general Kray by marches and countermarches, by threatened sieges, and sham irruptions, to alarm the Austrians for the safety of the hereditary states, and prevent them from paying any attention to the affairs of Italy. After the battle of Maringo, he was at liberty to act with more enterprize and vigour. The armistice in Italy did not extend to Germany; and the last, and one of the most important articles in the convention, as above observed, prevented either party from sending detachments to that quarter. This condition was evidently in favour

of the Austrians; but there were other circumstances equally encouraging to the French commander. A small body of men remained, organized, at Dijon, after the departure of Buonaparte, and its numbers had been since very considerably increased. This body had already made a movement from Dijon towards a point from whence it could go to the assistance of either army, and now it received orders to repair to the banks of the Iller; and the very success and splendour of Buonaparte's enterprize, raised the spirits of Frenchmen to an enthusiasm, which nothing could withstand, that was not in its nature impossible. The victories, the conquests, and the positions of the French at this time, were indeed such as might have inspired a less sanguine and volatile nation with confidence in government, political and military, and the genius of France under proper direction.—Switzerland was in their hands, and formed a most important point of communication between the armies in Italy and Suabia. They were in possession of both sides of the Lake of Constance. All Suabia was in their hands. A corps of troops, in Switzerland, was ready to attack the Grisons. A detachment of twenty-five thousand men, from the Milanese, was marching through the Valtelline for the same purpose.—The right wing of Moreau's army, threatened the Austrian positions in the Tyrol, upon the north-west: in a word, the French armies, from the shores of the Mediterranean to the Danube, and even the Lower Rhine, formed but one compact force, without any points to interrupt their correspondence, and without any obstacle to their entire co-operation.

operation. On the whole, general Moreau being now without any alarm for the army of reserve, or any restraint imposed upon his operations, by a concern for its preservation, but, on the contrary, strengthened by its co-operation on the side of the Grisons and the Tyrolese, was now at liberty to unfold the enterprize of his character, after a display of the most consummate prudence. He prepared to cross the Danube, and, if possible, to bring general Kray to a decisive action. For this last purpose, on the eighteenth of June, he sent the right wing of his army, under Lecourbe, over the river below Ulm, between Dillingen and the celebrated village of Blenheim: by this movement, threatening to cut off general Kray from his magazines at Donauwert and Ratibon, as well as from his expected reinforcements. The main body crossed at a point nearer to Ulm.

The motives or views of general Moreau, in this step, he explains in a letter addressed to the chief consul, bearing date the twenty-second of June: "He had observed," he says, "that the Austrian army kept close to its camp at Ulm, which gave it the advantage of easy openings on both sides of the Danube, while it consequently prevented the French from making any considerable progress in Germany. General Moreau had made a movement, in order to induce the enemy to give battle near Blaubeuren, which he declined. Fearing that general Kray might avail himself of that movement, in order to advance upon Memmingen, connect himself with the Tyrol, and send down a corps of troops into Italy, that might have very much embarrassed the

chief consul, he determined to make general Lecourbe execute several manœuvres on the Leck, in the hopes that he should thereby force general Kray to march to protect Bavaria; but he continued to manœuvre in the French rear. Imagining that an opportunity was presented of gaining a considerable advantage, he made an attack on Moreau's left wing, on the fifth of June, but was so bravely opposed by general Richenpanse and other officers, that he was obliged to retreat with precipitation, and repass the Danube. General Moreau then formed the project of compelling him to withdraw, or come to a battle."

In the execution of this design, a series of actions took place for four successive days, on the famous plains of Blenheim or Hockstat; in which the Austrians lost, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, not less than five or six thousand men; and the French, at least, as was computed, half that number. The Austrian divisions, under the generals Sztarray and Nauendorf; being cut off from the main army, general Kray was reduced to the necessity of leaving Ulm to the protection of a garrison. The blockade of Ulm was now carried on by general Richenpanse. General Kray, after several very severe actions on the left side of the Danube, retreated, with his reduced army, to Ingolstadt.

To give a detailed account of all the manœuvres and actions, through which the French crossed the Rhine, established themselves on the left bank, and drove the main Austrian army from their entrenched camp, near Ulm, would carry us far beyond our bounds, and would indeed be

be the subject of no small volume. One circumstance we shall notice, as curious and interesting in itself, and characteristic of that courage and genius which was displayed by the French in this campaign, and throughout the whole of the war.

The passage of the Rhine was both difficult and dangerous, as the French had neither bridges nor boats, the Austrians having destroyed the former, and sunk the latter. After several actions, on the eighteenth of June, in which the Austrians were compelled to fall back upon Ulm, general Lecourbe made several demonstrations, on that day, on the bridge of Bilingen: but, in consequence of the reports made by his reconnoitring parties, he determined, seriously, to attempt the bridges of Grensheim, Blenheim, and Hockstadt. Eighty naked swimmers to be armed with muskets and knapsacks, which were sent after them, in two small boats, took possession of the villages of Grensheim and Blenheim, and made themselves masters of some pieces of cannon, which were manned by artillerymen, who had passed over on ladders placed on the wrecks of the bridge. All of them maintained their positions with extraordinary courage, while a number of miners and bridge-builders were employed, under the enemy's fire, in repairing the bridges, over which a force was passed to oppose the reinforcements which the enemy were marching towards the points, where the object of the attack could be no longer doubtful. The 94th demi-brigade passed over after the swimmers, and boldly supported themselves until other parties came to assist them.—After the retreat of the Austrian main army, from Ulm, general Mo-

reau took possession of Munich, and laid the Bavarian territories under heavy contributions. The elector was compelled to pay to Moreau a great part of the subsidy of 500,000*l.* which he had received from Great Britain. After the retreat of the Austrian army from Suabia, the French also took possession of the principal places in the duchy of Wurtemberg, which, as well as Bavaria, was laid under severe contribution, and treated altogether as an enemy's country. The duke and duchess of Wurtemberg, with their family and suite, retired to Anspach. The French, at the same time, by the occupation of Ell-Wangen, became masters of the whole electorate of Treves.

In the mean time, the division, under the active and indefatigable Lecourbe, drove the Austrians from Coire, and the whole of the country of the Grisons. Thus general Moreau, by transferring the seat of the war to Bavaria and the frontiers of Austria, and by pressing closer and closer on the flank and rear of the Austrians in the Tyrol, prepared the way for driving the imperialists out of that country, lest they should be altogether surrounded by the army under Moreau, and detachments from that of Buonaparte, through the Valtelline. Still farther to aggravate the evil plight of the Austrians, an army of thirty thousand strong, French and Bavarians, was on its march from the Lower to the Upper Rhine, and ready to pass by Mentz and Dusseldorf, into Franconia.

In these circumstances, the Austrians solicited an armistice, which, at the desire or advice of Buonaparte, to Moreau, was, on the fifteenth of July, granted. This truce

led

led to a negotiation, which was conducted, on the part of the emperor, by count St. Julian, who, on the twenty-eight of July, signed, at Paris, the preliminaries of peace, on the basis of the treaty of Campo Formio. On the part of the French, they were signed by the minister for foreign affairs, the ex-bishop Talleyrand.

We have already seen the overbearing weight of those circumstances which induced the Austrian government to request a suspension of arms. The same circumstances urged the necessity of carrying the preliminaries into a definitive treaty of peace. But if the emperor had grounds for apprehension, there were some also that tended to keep up his spirits, and revive the pride and ambition inherent in his family. A strong disposition to repel the aggressive and the intolerable oppression of the French, whose exactions were greater in this than they had been in any former campaign, began to manifest itself in all the hereditary states, particularly in Hungary. And the emperor, being pressed by the British court to accept fresh pecuniary supplies, had concluded a treaty, on the twentieth of June, by which he became indebted to Great Britain, in the sum of two millions sterling, not liable to interest before the expiration of six months from the adjustment of a peace between him and the French. It was also stipulated that the war should be carried on with all possible vigour: and, that neither party should conclude a peace that did not also comprehend the other. His imperial majesty, faithful to this engagement, endeavoured for some weeks to include the British nation in a treaty of general peace; and

a temporary correspondence was opened between the French government and the British court: but it was not productive of a formal negotiation. The emperor, therefore, refused to ratify the preliminaries that had been signed by the count St. Julian, alleging withal, that the count, in that act, had exceeded his powers.

The French government, towards the end of August, informed the generals of its armies, that the emperor, having refused to subscribe to the conditions of the preliminaries of peace, which had been signed by his plenipotentiary at Paris, the government was under the necessity of continuing the war. The armistice was of course broken off, and would cease to have effect, on the seventh of September, at one in the afternoon. The general officers, and chiefs of corps, were instructed to profit by this interval, to pass the troops in review, and to dispose every thing in such a manner, that they might be able to march and fight as soon as they should receive orders.

The emperor also issued a proclamation, on the sixth of September, announcing the rupture of the armistice; which, he said, had been discontinued by the French, unexpectedly, and without cause. In order to give an incontrovertible proof to his own subjects, and to all Europe, how much he had their welfare and protection at heart, he had resolved to repair in person, with his royal brother, the archduke John, to his army in Germany. His imperial majesty declared, at the same time, that he was unalterably disposed to accept with pleasure any reasonable propositions, and conditions of peace. The resolution



Resolution of the emperor, to put himself at the head of his army, was taken, no doubt, with a view to rouse the ancient courage of the Germans; and to give efficacy to proclamations, which he issued at the same time, for calling forth the force of the country in volunteer associations. But the emperor had no sooner joined the army, which was under the immediate and sole command of the archduke John, than he made application to the French government for a prolongation of the armistice. The first consul, on conditions presently to be mentioned, agreed to this, declaring at the same time that the renewal of hostilities, or the improvement of a suspension of arms into a permanent peace, would wholly depend on the rejection, or the ratification of the preliminaries concluded with Mr. de St. Julian. The consul, at the same time, declared that he thought it his duty, not to waste the remainder of the autumn in idle conferences, or to expose himself to endless diplomatic discussions, without securities for the sincerity of the enemy's intentions. The securities he demanded were Philipsburg, Ulm, and Jagollstadt, with their dependent forts. This condition, though it exposed the hereditary dominions of Austria, in a great measure, at the mercy of the enemy, being agreed to at Hohenlinden, a suspension of arms was concluded for forty-five days, commencing from the twenty-first of September.

There was not, during this interval, any remission of military preparation on either side. Recruits were sent from the camp at Dijon to the French armies; and the Austrians were reinforced by battalions raised in all parts of the hereditary states. The

French army of the Rhine, seconded on its left by the army of Augereau, and on its right by that of the Grisons, formed, on the Mayne, as far as the entry into the Tyrol, a line ready to advance on the first signal. It was composed of twelve divisions, comprizing at least a hundred thousand men, and was divided into four corps; of which, that under general Lecombe, consisting of three divisions, occupied Upper Suabia, Upper Bavaria, and the entry to the Tyrol. That under the immediate orders of the commander-in-chief in person, consisting of three other divisions, occupied the two banks of the Iller, as far as Landshut. That of general Grenier consisting of three more divisions, held all the left banks of the Danube, nearly to Passau, and the right bank of that river as far as the mouth of it at Altmuck: and, lastly, that of general St. Susanne, composed of three other divisions, occupied the country between the Mayne and the Danube, from Bamberg as far as Aix-la-Chapelle. — While the French were thus formidable in front, there was nothing to be apprehended on either of their flanks. Italy was re-conquered. Switzerland was in their possession, and moulding its government just as the French pleased: and a Prussian army maintained the neutrality of the north of Germany.

The Austrian armies advanced to the frontiers, and occupied a chain of posts in front of the hostile army, bending their main force to strengthen their line, from the frontier of Austria to the gulph of Venice. An army of thirty thousand men was stationed in Bohemia, under the command of the archduke Charles. The right banks of the Mayne

Mayne were occupied by the Austrians in great force. And an army, under the command of general Kleinau, in the Upper Palatinate, was opposed to the French division under general St. Susanne, whose headquarters were at Mayence.

The positions and first movements of the invading army seemed to indicate an intention of carrying the great weight of the war into Bohemia. But the grand plan of Moreau's operations was not fully or certainly developed; this winter campaign being speedily cut short, by decisive advantages obtained over the Austrians. The French troops, under Augereau, drove those of Mayence from Aschaffenberg, on the twenty-fourth of November, and marched through Franconia towards Bohemia, to communicate with the left of the division, under general Moreau.

On the twenty-ninth, general Moreau recommenced hostilities, near the Inn, and carried the Austrian works at Wassenberg. He was less successful in a battle, on the first of December, near Haag, where he was vigorously attacked by the archduke John, at the head of three columns. The Austrians were repeatedly driven back, but at last prevailed. The French were forced to retreat, with great slaughter. On the same day, an attack was made by the French on an Austrian post at Rosenheim, but were repulsed, after a hot engagement. In this action, the prince of Condé's corps acquired great reputation, by their firmness and cool courage. On this occasion, the prince of Condé's son, and the duke of Angoulême, were particularly distinguished.

The archduke John, encouraged by these successes, on the third of

December, assaulted the French post at Hohenlinden, memorable for the last convention, and rendered still more memorable by the battle of this day. The archduke had no sooner begun his march than there fell a heavy shower of snow and sleet, by which his march was so much retarded, that only the central column had arrived at the place of destination, at a time when all the divisions ought to have been ready for action. A division of the French, conducted by Richenpanse, pierced between the left wing of the Austrians and the centre, reached the great road behind the centre, and assaulted the left flank and rear of that column, at a moment when it had formed in front, and commenced an attack. The Austrians, with their usual courage and bravery, sustained the conflict for several hours: but their centre being repelled by the impetuosity of the French, great disorder ensued. Their left wing was also defeated: and the battle seemed to be completely decided in favour of the French, when a vigorous attempt was made, by the right wing, to turn the tide of victory.

General Grenier sustained this unexpected charge with firmness; and, being well supported, threw his adversaries into the utmost confusion. The Austrians were forced to retire to the heights of Ramsau, with very great loss: and general Kinwayer, being attacked on his march, by a corps from Arding, likewise suffered severely in that retreat, to which he was driven by intelligence of the disaster that had befallen the main army.

According to the account of the battle of Hohenlinden, given by general Moreau, the French took eighty pieces of cannon, two

hundred

hundred caissons, ten thousand prisoners, and a great number of officers, among whom were three generals. The general does not state the loss of the French to be more than one thousand in killed, wounded, and missing. But, according to the Austrian accounts, and on which all the world placed more dependence, the report of Moreau exceeded the truth by at least one half. The victorious republicans, after a long and unremitted pursuit of the flying Austrians, took possession of the city of Saltzburgh.

In the mean time, the three other French armies, the Gallo-Batavian, and that of Italy, were not idle. On the day distinguished by the battle of Hohenlinden, general Augereau gained an important advantage near Banberg. General Macdonald, defying the obstacles of an Alpine winter, passed from the country of the Grisons into the Valtelline, drove the enemy before him, and opened a communication with the army of Italy.—A division of his army, after a series of actions with the Austrians, crossed the Minicio, on the twenty-sixth of December.—Vienna was struck with terror. The archduke repaired to the camp, to animate the troops to fresh exertions. But this prince, on a comparative view of his own with the enemy's strength, proposed an armistice, which was readily agreed to, and concluded, at Steyer, on the twenty-fifth of December, though the French, breaking their faith, had dismantled the three towns which had been delivered to them merely as pledges. The emperor now consented to the surrender of many other posts, relying on the promise of restitution. He was now constrained, by a succession of

heavy losses, to declare his readiness to detach himself from his allies, and recede from his former determination to agree to no other than a general peace. And the British court, duly sensible of the alarming situation in which they themselves had so much contributed to involve him, released him from his engagements.

On a general retrospect of this combined campaign, in Italy and Germany, it is impossible not to perceive and acknowledge that the courage, the genius, and the magnanimity too, of the leaders of the French armies, particularly the renowned Buonaparte, shone forth with most resplendent lustre. It was, on the whole, a war, as it were, of wit on the minds of the brave and simple Germans. The French were not inferior to the Austrians in bravery, but it was art, contrivance, and stratagem, that decided the contest in their favour. The happy choice of a position for the army of reserve, at Dijon, from whence troops might be sent, as occasion should demand, either to Germany or Italy, the secrecy and celerity with which Buonaparte darted cross the Alps into Lombardy, and assembled so great an army from so many points, the feints by which he amused general Melas, the concert formed with Moreau, the feints too by which Moreau deceived and overcame his opponents on the Danube;—all these circumstances form indeed a very striking contrast with that supineness and want of intelligence which disgraced the conduct of general Melas: who was yet an excellent officer, and might have been successful, if he had been opposed to a less inventive and towering genius than Buonaparte.

It is not certain, however, whether the discomfiture of general Melas is not in some measure to be ascribed to a design, which appears to have been entertained by the English ministry, of raising the white flag in the south of France under the sons of the count d'Artois and of the late duke of Orleans.—His movements on the side of Nice have been supposed by some to have had a reference to that intended expedition. We have not, however, received any certain information on this subject.

In estimating the merits of the opposite commanders, it is proper, in justice to general Melas, to take notice of the singular advantage which the French generals possessed in the concert of their operations. The Austrian generals were to be guided, in all their principal movements, by a council of war at Vienna: while Buonaparte could take his measures on the spot, and accommodate the tactics of both Moreau and Berthier to rising events.

It would be unpardonable in an annalist to pass over, without due notice and applause, the wise and magnanimous conduct of the chief consul, in being ever ready, and even desirous, in the hour of the greatest victories, to suspend the career of war, and come to terms of peace.

While his imperial majesty was in danger of losing his territories, his tremendous adversary, Buonaparte, was in danger of losing his life. On the twenty-fourth of December, when he was on his way to the theatre, a sudden explosion broke the windows of his carriage, killed several persons, and wounded others. This mischief was occasioned by a barrel, in which were combustibles and a kind of rifle-gun, placed on a small carriage, so disposed as to obstruct the passage through the streets. This infernal conspiracy was clearly traced to the jacobins. Some of the conspirators were convicted, and suffered the punishment due to their crimes.

## C H A P. XIV.

*Return from the Affairs of the Continent to those of Great Britain.—Disturbances in the Prison of Cold-Bath-Fields.—Mobs and Riots on Account of the exorbitant Price of Bread.—Naval Exploits.—And Expeditions to the Coast of France, Spain, and Africa.—Negociation for Peace with France renewed.—Reduction of the Island of Malta, under the Power of Great Britain.—And of the Dutch Island of Curaçao.—An English Fleet, with Troops on board, menaces Cadiz.—Affairs of Egypt.—West Indies.—East Indies.—A Storm brewing in the North of Europe.—Summary Review of the Eighteenth Century.*

**H**AVING taking a summary review of affairs on the theatre of war, on the continent, we return to those of Great Britain.

Soon after the parliament had been prorogued, apprehensions of tumult and riot alarmed the affluent and easy inhabitants of London. On the fourteenth of August, the prisoners in the house of correction, in Cold-Bath-Fields, rendered impatient, perhaps,\* by the friendly visits of certain members of parliament, whose philanthropy, it was observed, was directed chiefly to men obnoxious to government, and to objects, from which there was the greatest reason to hope for the reputation of benevolence, exhibited specimens of turbulence, and a desire of escaping from their confinement. They refused to submit, in the evening, to the usual shutting in of their cells; and when they were compelled to

give way, on this point, they uttered loud complaints of the miseries to which they were subjected. A multitude of people was drawn to the walls of the prison; and it was apprehended that the mob would attempt to release the prisoners. At this crisis, the keeper, Aris, a rigorous and hard-hearted man, sallied out, and procured the aid of some peace-officers, for the defence of his post. The volunteers of Clerkenwell, St. Sepulchre, and other adjoining districts, repaired, from their shops, to assist in quelling the disturbance; and peace and order were at length restored. The contagion of this example was the more to be dreaded, that the price of bread, from a bad season, from the war, but, probably, above all, from an overflow of money, such as it was, had risen to an exorbitant height.† This evil was perhaps occasioned also, in some

\* *Spes addita fuscias iras.* Virg.

† The experiment, whether the high price of provisions is not, in part, to be attributed to the influx of wealth and artificial currency, is, from the abundance of the harvest of 1801, now on foot. September 21, 1801.

small degree, by the avarice and arts of regraters and forestallers.—Mr. Rusby and others were punished for such offences; but, by such prosecutions, the discontents of the people were not sufficiently allayed. In various parts of the country, many of the inhabitants endeavoured to procure, by intimidation and force, a reduction of the price of corn, and other articles of consumption. Some depredations and outrages were committed, but the progress of riot was prevented by the appearance of military parties. At Birmingham, the shops of the bakers were, on the eighth of September, attacked by the populace, and those who refused to sell bread, at the rate which they prescribed, were insulted and robbed. The chief object of their rage, the next day, was a steam-mill. The defenders of this, having wounded some of the assailants or spectators, the mill would have probably been destroyed, but for the opportune arrival of a party of dragoons. In the evening of the tenth, the soldiers, who paraded the streets, were annoyed by the mob with stones; but these marks of discontent gradually declined.

On the fifteenth of December, disturbances commenced in London. Inflammatory bills, posted on the Monument, in the night preceding, urged the people to rescue themselves from famine by their own exertions, and to take vengeance on monopolists and forestallers. In the morning, a mob appeared in Mark-Lane, insulted the dealers in corn, and clamorously demanded an abatement in the price of that necessary article. The chief magistrate, Mr. alderman Combe, addressing the most forward of the po-

pulace, shewed that their turbulence would only aggravate the evil of which they complained. Finding his persuasions fruitless, he ordered the act against riots to be read; and, without military aid, tranquillity was restored. The riot being renewed in the evening, the deputy-marshal and some of the constables received severe blows; but the volunteers who attended were not ordered to fire, as the lord-mayor thought that such violence, on such an occasion, as a tumult excited by so severe a pressure, might be deemed rash and inhuman. On several succeeding days, riotous assemblies disturbed different parts of the city; but the ready attendance of the volunteers, and the firmness of their countenance, alarmed the populace, and, without the actual use of fire-arms, repressed the commotions.

From these scenes of internal commotion, we proceed to the effects of the national energy, directed against the common enemy. A squadron, under the command of sir Edward Pellew, on the 4th of June, attacked the south-west of the peninsula of Quiberon, on the coast of Bretagne, silenced the forts, and cleared the shore of the enemy. A party of soldiers then landed and destroyed the forts. An attack was afterwards made on various posts, and six brigs, sloops, and gun-vessels, were taken, a corvette burned, and a fort dismantled.—This success was soon followed by an interception of supplies destined for the use of the French fleet, at Brest. Eight boats were employed in this service, under lieutenant Burke and other officers, who, amidst a severe fire of cannon and musketry, took three armed vessels, with eight laden with provisions, and drove others  
near



near the rocks of St. Croix. Some French ships having escaped to Quimper River, boats were sent, on the twenty-third of June, to attack them; but they removed to an inaccessible distance up the river. However, two parties of marines disembarked, and blew up a battery and other fortifications.—Lieutenant Burke was afterwards sent to Bour-neuf-bay, to attack some vessels of war that were moored in a strong position. Five were captured, besides some trading ships; but the impracticability of bringing them out, induced the captors to burn them. It unfortunately happened, that our gun-boats, in returning, struck upon sand-banks, and above ninety men were made prisoners.

About this time, sir Charles Hamilton, making his appearance, with a small squadron, near Gorce, an isle on the coast of Africa, the governor thought proper to surrender; and a British garrison took immediate possession of the forts, and of Joul, a dependent factory.

On the eighth of July, an attempt was made to take or destroy four frigates, in the road of Dunkirk. Captain Campbell, of the Dart, took the *La Desirée*; but the other ships, in number, three, escaped, though not without considerable damage. In August, a fleet, under the command of sir John Borlase Warren, with a military force, under the orders of sir James Murray Pulteney, set sail on a secret expedition. One object of this was the conquest of Belle-Isle, but the strong works that had been provided for the defence of that island discouraged the attempt. The armament therefore proceeded to the coast of Spain, and, on the twenty-fifth of August,

arrived before the harbour of Ferrol. The troops landed without opposition, and advanced towards the heights which overlook the port. A skirmish with a body of Spaniards ensued, which terminated in favour of the invaders. Lieutenant-colonel Stewart, who commanded the British, was wounded. The next morning another engagement ensued, in which also the Spaniards were defeated. About one hundred of the Spaniards were killed or wounded. The loss of the English, who were now in possession of the commanding eminences, did not exceed half that number. The opportunity of survey, afforded by the heights, did not give the British commander any hope of success, particularly when he learned, from the report of the prisoners, that the place was furnished with the means of defence. He therefore ordered the troops to re-embark, and they were not molested in their retreat. It was confidently affirmed, by a noble lord, in the British house of peers, that, at the very time when the British army received orders to re-embark, the proper officer was coming with the keys of the town to surrender; but, of the evidence on which this was affirmed, we are altogether ignorant. After this, sir Ralph Abercromby moved towards Leghorn, but, at the earnest entreaty of the Tuscan government, who dreaded a visit, in case of his coming on shore, from the French, he moved off, to reconnoitre Malta: whither we shall presently follow him.

In consequence of a notification from baron Thugut, on the ninth of August, that lord Minto, the British ambassador at the court of Vienna, had signified the desire of his Britannic majesty, to be included

In a negociation for peace between the emperor and the French republic, Mr. Otto, the French commissary, or agent for the exchange of prisoners in England, was authorized to demand an explanation of the proposals of the court of London, and to request that a truce should immediately be concluded between the French and British forces, by sea and land. The British government declared its readiness to send a plenipotentiary to any place that might be appointed for a congress; but, intimated at the same time, that an armistice with regard to naval operations had at no time been adjusted between Britain and France, during a negociation for peace, or before preliminaries had been signed. That it could not, therefore, be considered as a step necessary to negociation; and, that from the disputes to which it might give rise, it might even obstruct rather than promote a pacification. Mr. Otto answered, that France would insist on a truce with Great Britain, and that, indeed, the continuance of the German armistice would depend on the conclusion of a similar agreement with the English, as the advantages, that might be derived from the latter, would form an equivalent to the French for the obvious disadvantages of the truce with Austria. He afterwards presented a sketch for an armistice, importing, that the ships of Great Britain and France should enjoy a freedom of navigation as before the war: that Belleisle, Malta, and Alexandria, should be in a similar predicament with Ulm, Philipsburg, and Ingolstadt, and, that, accordingly, all French and neutral vessels should be permitted to supply each garrison with provisions and stores; and, that the squadrons which formed the blockade of Flushing, Brest, Cadiz, and Toulon, should return into their own harbours, or at least retire from the respective coasts. This, in French, *projet*, was objected to by the British government, as repugnant to the obvious and established principle of an armistice, by which neither party ought to acquire fresh advantages, or new means of annoying the enemy. Lord Grenville, the British secretary for foreign affairs, then offered a counter-sketch, more nearly corresponding with that principle of equality, on which alone his sovereign would consent to treat. It prohibited all means of defence from being conveyed into the island of Malta, or any of the parts of Egypt, but allowed the necessaries of life to be introduced from time to time: it provided for the discontinuance of the blockade at Brest, Toulon, and other French ports, but tended to prevent all naval or military stores from being conveyed thither by sea; and the ships of war, in those ports, from being removed to any other station. The French government, not satisfied with these propositions, offered this alternative: If Great Britain would agree to a separate negociation, her scheme would be adopted. But, if she should insist on a general negociation, the French *projet* must be accepted. Lord Grenville insisted on the terms that had been already offered by Great Britain. Mr. Otto now delivered a second *projet*: by which, among other alterations, small ships of war were to be allowed to go out of the French



consternation of the inhabitants. I have too exalted an opinion of the humanity of the English people, and of yours in particular, to think that you would wish to render our condition more deplorable. However, if, in consequence of the orders your excellency has received, you are inclined to draw down upon yourself the execration of all nations, to cover yourself with disgrace in the eyes of the whole universe, by oppressing the unfortunate, and attacking those who are supposed to be incapable of defence, I declare to you, that the garrison under my orders, accustomed to behold death with a serene countenance, and to brave dangers much greater than all the perils of war, know how to make resistance, which shall not terminate but with their entire destruction. I hope that the answer of your excellency will inform me, whether I am to speak the language of consolation to the unfortunate inhabitants, or whether I am to rouse them to indignation and revenge.

"May God preserve your excellency.

Oct. 5, 1800. "Thomas de Morla."

To this letter the British admiral and general replied, that as the ships in the port were to be employed in joining and increasing the naval force of the French republic, and prolonging the calamities of Europe, an attack was to be averted only by a surrender of those vessels. This proposal being rejected by the governor, with indignation, the British general began to make arrangements for a descent; but, when it was found that the precautions of the enemy, and the strength of the works were adequate to the

defence of the place, the danger of infection being also taken into consideration, the British armament withdrew from Cadiz.

The importance of these *alertes*, on the French and Spanish coasts, it ought to be observed in justice to those who planned, and those who conducted them, is not to be measured by the damage done to the enemy only, but by the division and diversion, thereby occasioned, of his forces.

We return to the Mediterranean and the principal theatre of the contest there, Egypt: but, in our way, we may take notice of as great a political singularity, as any to be found among all the revolutions and changes that marked the conclusion of the eighteenth century. A new commonwealth was established, consisting of Corfu, Cephalonia, Zante, and the other Ex-venetian islands near the coast of Greece. It was styled the Ionian republic. It was, like Ragusa, to pay a moderate tribute to the Porte; and its independence was guaranteed both by the Turks and Russians.

The victory of Buonaparte, at Aboukir, where nine thousand Turks were slain,\* did not retard, for an instant, either the preparations or the march of the grand vizier from Damascus. The Turkish army, at Aboukir, was only a detachment from a much larger force, which drew nearer and nearer the Delta, and alarmed the French for the security of Brullos and Damietta. On the twenty-fourth of September, eighteen Turkish ships anchored before this last place, and they were successively augmented, by the end of October to fifty-three. This fleet was commanded by sir Sidney Smith, on board the Tygre. The

\* See Volume XL. 1798.

coast was founded; the pass to Damietta was marked by buoys and gun-boats, and gun-boats were planted across the line of entrance. The Turkish army took possession of a tower at the mouth of the Nile, and formed it into a post, defended with a piece of artillery. Thus protected, the army amounting to four thousand men, made good its landing, the first of November, and began to entrench themselves on the point, situated between the right side of the Nile, the sea, and the lake Menzala.

Buonaparte, perceiving from the movements of the grand vizier's army, as well as those of Mourad Bey, had, about the middle of August, 1799, immediately before his departure from Egypt, dispatched a force, not less than fifty thousand strong, under general Dessaix; of which six thousand seven hundred were French infantry and cavalry, towards the Syrian coast, to observe and oppose them.

The Turks had no sooner established themselves in the post just mentioned, than general Verdier, who was encamped between Lefke, and the coast, marched against them with the detachment, under his command, of one thousand French, without waiting for any reinforcement from the main army, attacked, and destroyed three thousand, and made eight hundred prisoners, among whom was Ismael Bey, the second in command; and took thirty-two stand of colours, and five pieces of artillery. This division made part of an army of eight thousand Janissaries, which had sailed from Constantinople. The vessels remained sometime longer on the coast, which they were at last obliged to quit, on account of bad weather. The French continued

their preparations against a more numerous and formidable army, which was about to pour on them across the deserts of Syria.

While the Turks were engaged in attempts to expel the French from Egypt, the grand signior concluded a treaty with the British monarch: the principal article of which was, that the Turks should continue the war against the French republic, even after the recovery of Egypt. Towards the end of November, an attack was made on the French post, at the mouth of the Damietta branch of the Nile, by Seyd Ali, at the head of a Turkish detachment, and by Sir Sidney Smith, with the fleet. The Turks who landed, soon routed, by their impetuosity, the first line of the French; but the remaining force of the enemy changed the scene, and repelled the Mahomedans, of whom two thousand were killed, or made prisoners. — Near the close of 1799, the grand vizier, whose army had rested for some time at Gaza, having crossed the desert, formed the siege of El Arith. It was conducted by major Douglas, and other British officers: and the fort was taken by storm, on the twenty-ninth of December. Three hundred of the defenders were put to the sword, by the brutal fury of the assailants, after the French had laid down their arms. Buonaparte, sensible that such a loss as that which had been sustained at Aboukir, was but trifling to a great nation, and whose pride and interest were equally wounded by the invasion of the finest province in their empire, dispatched a letter to the grand vizier, fraught with sentiments of conciliation, and expressive of a strong desire of peace. This letter, written at the moment of victory, the

the most proper, undoubtedly, for making peace, was sent by the hands of an effendi, made prisoner at Aboukir: "Alas, said Buonaparte, why do the sublime Porte, and the French republic, after having been friends for so many years, now find themselves at war? Is it because the boundaries of the two states are so distant from each other that they fight? Is it because the courts of Germany and Russia border on the territories of the sublime Porte, that they have united themselves with it? Your excellency cannot be ignorant that the French nation, without exception, is extremely attached to the sublime Porte. Endowed, as your excellency is, with the most distinguished talents, and acquainted with the real interests of courts, can it have escaped you, that the Russians and Austrians have conspired, once for all, against the sublime Porte, and that the French, on the contrary, are using every possible effort to counteract their wicked designs? Your excellency knows that the Russians are the enemies of the Mussulman faith, and that Paul the First, emperor of Russia, as grand master of Malta, that is to say, chief knight, has solemnly sworn enmity to the Mussulmen. The French have abolished the order of Malta, given liberty to the Mahometan prisoners detained there, and have the same belief as themselves, that 'There is no God but the true God.' It is then very strange, that the sublime Porte should declare war on the French, its real and sincere friends; and contract alliances with the Russians and Germans, its declared enemies.

"When the French were necessarily of the sect of the Messiah, they

were the friends of the sublime Porte; now, that they are, as it were, united by the same religion, that power declares war against them! The courts of England and Russia have led the sublime Porte into an error. We had informed it, by letters, of our intended expedition into Arabia; but those courts found means to intercept and conceal our papers; and, as if I had not proved to the sublime Porte that the French republic, far from wishing to deprive it of its domains, had not even the smallest intention of making war on it; his most glorious majesty, sultan Selim, gave credit to the English, and conceived an aversion for the French, his ancient friends. Is not the kind treatment the ships of war and merchantmen belonging to the sublime Porte, in the different ports of Arabia, experienced at my hands, a sufficient proof of the extreme desire and love, of the French republic, for peace and amity? The sublime Porte, without waiting for the arrival of the French minister, Descorches, who had already left France for Constantinople, and, without inquiring what were the motives of my conduct, declared war against the French, with the most unaccountable precipitation. Although I was informed of this war, I dispatched Beauchamp, consul of the republic, in the Caravel, in full confidence of terminating it; and while I was expecting the answer of the sublime Porte, by the same conveyance, I found that he had been thrown into prison: and Turkish troops dispatched to Gaza, with orders to take possession of Arabia.

"Upon this I thought it more advisable to make war there than in the territory of Egypt; and I  
was



was obliged, in spite of myself, to cross the desert.

"Although my army is as innumerable as the sands of the sea, full of courage, inured to war in the highest degree, and victorious; although it is completely provided with every thing of which it can stand in need; though I have castles and fortresses of prodigious strength, and though the centre, and extremities of the desert are fortified by batteries of cannon; although I have no fear nor apprehension of any kind; though I have no precautions to take, and that it is impossible for me to be overcome: nevertheless, out of commiseration for the human race, respect for those honourable ways of proceeding which are respected by all nations, and, above all, out of a desire to be re-united with the first and truest of our allies, his most glorious majesty sultan Selim, I now make manifest my disposition for peace. It is certain that the sublime Porte can never realize its wishes by force of arms, and that its happiness can be effected only by a pacific conduct. Whatever armies may march against Cairo, I can repulse them all.—And yet I will facilitate, as much as possible, every proposition which shall be made to me tending to peace. The instant the sublime Porte shall have detached itself from our enemies, the Russians and English, there cannot be a doubt but that the French republic will renew and re-establish, in the completest manner, the basis of peace and friendship with the sublime Porte.

"If you wish to have Egypt—

tell me so. France has never entertained an idea of taking it out of the hands of the sublime Porte, and swallowing it up. Give authority to your minister, who is at Paris, or send some one to Egypt, with full and unlimited powers, and all shall be arranged without animosity and to your wish."

Buonaparte, in the private instructions he left behind him to his successor in the command of the army, general Kleber, directed him to continue the negociation which he had begun, and to conclude a treaty of peace with the Turks, if necessary, but, at the same time, to endeavour to evade its execution. General Kleber was completely satisfied, as his officers also were, from the reduced state of the French army, that a pacification with the Turks was necessary. Conforming his conduct exactly to the instructions of Buonaparte, he addressed a letter to the grand vizier, dated the sixteenth of Rebeul-Akhir, 1214, [fourth September, 1799] re-echoing the sentiments expressed in Buonaparte's letter to that minister, wishing for a termination of hostilities by a negociation for peace, and stoutly maintaining that the French government never had the least idea of taking Egypt from the grand signior.\*—A convention was signed, on the twenty-fourth of January, 1800, near El Arish, by the French and Turkish plenipotentiaries, providing for the complete evacuation of Egypt, and the unmolested return of Kleber and his troops to France.

When it was known in England, that proposals had been made by the

\* See copies of Original Letters from the French Army in Egypt, intercepted by the British fleet in the Mediterranean.

French, in Egypt, for the safe retreat of the invaders, the British ministry, apprehensive, not without reason, of danger, from the return of such an army, while a war between France and the allies was carried on in Italy and Germany, sent an order to lord Keith, commanding the British fleet, in the Mediterranean, not to ratify any convention that might be entered into for that purpose. A dispute arose, on this point, between general Kleber and lord Keith, who declared that he would not suffer the French to pass unmolested. The grand vizier, having taken possession of many posts which the French had evacuated, demanded the immediate surrender of Cairo. General Kleber, urging that the English were hostile to the convention, refused to deprive his endangered army of so important a station, and announced his intention of renewing the war. On the eighteenth of March, he attacked a body of Turks, and routed them. He then engaged the grand army, and obtained a complete victory.

As soon as it appeared that the convention between the Turks and French had been sanctioned by sir Sidney Smith, the British court, though not pleased at his conduct, in protecting an enemy whom, in their judgement, he might have crushed, and that by exceeding his powers or instructions, sent orders for a ratification of the treaty. General Kleber now consented to a revival of this : and it was expected that he and his countrymen would speedily take the benefit of it. But, on the fourteenth of January, he was assassinated by a fanatic, who had been sent for that purpose from Gaza, by the Aga of

the Janassaries. The assassin was justly punished with death. The obsequies of general Kleber were celebrated with due solemnity—and he was succeeded in the command of the army by general Menou.

The West India islands, during the greater part of 1799, had been in a state of tranquillity. But in 1800, they were ravaged by a furious war, arising from a contest between the two chiefs, Rigaud and Toussaint Louverture. Many acts of cruelty were committed on both sides, more especially by the black inhabitants of that island.

In the East Indies, the reduction of Seringapatam was not immediately followed by the submission of all the subjects of Mysore. The commandants of certain forts refused, for some time, to yield to the British arms; but they were at length compelled to surrender. — Jemaulabad, the last fortress that stood out, was taken in October, 1799.

Towards the end of 1800, the revenge of Paul I. provoked by a refusal of the isle of Malta, of which he was the chief knight, or grand-master, raised a storm on the shores of the Baltic; which lowered for some time over the English, with a frowning and formidable aspect, but which was soon dispersed, by the promptitude and vigour of the British navy; as will be related in the History of Europe, for 1801.

## XVIII<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY.

THE never-ceasing lapse of time has, in all ages, been divided into different periods, not only of day and night, the most simple and obvious, but other divisions. These divisions correspond in general, and almost without exception, to certain motions

motions and appearances in the heavenly bodies: but the grand æra of a century appears to be derived from a different origin.—The measurement of time by centuries is made use of by our most ancient historian, Moses. The grand jubilee of the Jewish nation was a period of one hundred years, though it was reduced by the Catholic church to fifty years, and afterwards to twenty-five. It was of course in use before the time of Moses: for if the idea of a century had not been used formerly, and familiar to his contemporaries, but a new mode of reckoning time, he would have announced and explained the reason for adopting that, rather than any other number. It was no doubt in use among the patriarchs. It is not to be presumed that the good patriarchs adopted the centenary number from any astronomical calculations, but from the most simple and natural indications, suggested by the most familiar of all objects. In short, the patriarchs were induced to adopt the centenary number in the computation of large spaces of time, just as we find the Africans and Indians of America have been, from counting their ten fingers. The number ten multiplied ten times makes a century. These observations on the prevalence of decimal numbers are not indeed any new discovery; the general use of the decimal and decuple number, and the origin of that general use, have been noticed by

Ovid,\* by Vitruvius,† and by Plutarch.‡

There is a question, not a little agitated, whether the century was completed at the beginning, or not till the end, of the year 1800: that is, whether, in reckoning time from the birth of Christ, a year of the century is supposed to have passed at the nativity, or only to have begun.—We are among those who incline to the last opinion. But the decision of that question is of no manner of importance on the present subject: we leave it wholly to the priests and the poet-laureats, on whom it is no doubt incumbent to fix, with as much precision as possible, the true period of the jubilee, and the *carmen seculare*.

It is natural, on the expiration of any period of time, to pause, and look back upon its most prominent features, or events:—those that recur oftenest to the mind, on the survey, stand forward on the canvas, and throw other occurrences in the back ground. The justest and most complete representation of any period of time, would no doubt be a just and complete enumeration of all its vicissitudes and events. But this is the business of continuous narration and description:—it will readily be understood, that the character of an age is to be taken from as many of the leading events, as may be arranged in such a picture as may be contemplated at one view, without distraction, without diffi-

\* *Hic numerus magnò tunc in honore fuit,  
Seu quia tot digiti, per quos numerare solemus, &c.*

OVID. Fasti, Lib. III.

† *Ex maribus denarius digitorum numerus.*

VITRUV. Lib. I. Cap. 1.

‡ Plutarch, speaking of the progress of the decuple number, says, that it was in use, not only among the Greeks, but among all the barbarians.

culty, and without details: for details, even the most summary, would fade and efface the great lines, by means of which alone it is possible to make a picture.

On a general recollection or review of the state of society, or human nature, in the eighteenth century, the ideas that recur the oftenest, and remain uppermost on the mind, are the three following: the intercourse of men were more extensive than at any former period with which we are acquainted; the progression of knowledge was more rapid; and the discoveries of philosophy were applied more than they ever had been before to practical purposes.

The intercourse of men and nations may be divided into personal and mental.—In the period under review both these kinds of communication were more extended than they had ever before been. Navigation, tutored more and more by astronomy, and farther and farther aided by the perfection of instruments, for the mensuration of both space and time, explored the most distant seas and shores, and commerce expanded itself in every direction. In the reigns of Lewis XV. and XVI. of France, but, above all, in the reign and under the auspices of George III. of Great Britain and Ireland, the spirit of discovery and exploration of the most remote and unknown regions of the globe took a wider, though not more daring course, than it ever had done, even under Ferdinand and Isabella, and

their successors on the Spanish throne, and our Elizabeth. Not only the north-western coasts of Africa were explored, but in some measure the interior of Africa. A new and nobler passion than the thirst of either gold or conquest, enlisted in the service of navigation and discovery; travels and voyages of discovery were undertaken with no other view than that of ascertaining the real figure, and perfecting the knowledge of the globe; the study and nature of man; and the alleviation of human miseries, and multiplication of human comforts and enjoyment, even among the most remote and barbarous tribes, often, not only ungrateful, but jealous and hostile to their disinterested benefactors.\* Towards the close of the eighteenth century, the facilities of intercourse, communication, and correspondence, might be said to approximate, not only the capitals of Europe, but different quarters of the world. A voyage to India was not thought a greater matter, at the end of the eighteenth, than one across the Atlantic-ocean was at the end of the seventeenth century.

The extension of navigation was accompanied with many and great improvements in marine astronomy, the knowledge of distances, and the bearings of coasts, and what may be called submarine geography. The knowledge of tides, winds, and currents, too, was proportionably advanced: so that the longest voyages were performed not only with greater safety than in former centu-

\* Voyages of discovery, in this century, were performed not only by the French, English, and Spaniards, but by the Danes and Russians.—Russian colonies have been planted on the north-east coasts of Asia, communicating easily, by means of numerous islands, and almost touching on the north-western coasts of America. All those European nations were careful to leave useful seeds, animals, and utensils, among the savages.

ries, but with much more expedition. In the last century the average period of a voyage to and from the East Indies, even on this side the Ganges, including the time necessarily spent in the country, for lading and taking on board stores, was three years: at present, it is no more than eighteen months. Voyages have been frequently made from Bombay, and Madras, to Falmouth, in the space of three months and a fortnight.

The intercourse of minds, at first merely verbal, was facilitated, improved, and extended, by the art of writing, and still more, in later times, by the art of printing; and collateral and subsequent improvements, such as the establishment of posts and packets, and we must now add telegraphs. There was no preceding period when so great a portion of the human race conversed with one another, verbally or mentally, and with so much facility, as in the years 1799 and 1800.

There is a near connection between this extended intercourse and collision of minds and the accelerated progress of knowledge. It sufficiently appears from history, literary, natural, and civil, that all useful arts, and all the hints that have chiefly contributed to the promotion of science, have been furnished more from accident than design: not so much from the innate vigour and celestial fire of the soul, as from an

accumulation of particular facts, obtruded by chance, at different times, on different persons, by an interchange of ideas, a mutual supply of mutual defects of information on subjects of common investigation, and the correction of mutual errors. In times and regions, solitary and sequestered, Hippocrates observed, with truth, that art was long and life short. In the age under review, and particularly towards its conclusion, the labour of art was shortened more than it had ever been, in any former period, by its own progression.

The manner in which extended intercourse accelerates the progress of knowledge is two-fold:—it enlarges the sphere of facts; and, to our own experience and observations concerning those facts, it adds those of others. — Amazing discoveries were made in the eighteenth century, not only of islands and natural productions, but of mankind existing in a state of society unknown before, and not even dreamt of.\* Now, as every fact and well-founded conclusion is to be compared with every fact and every conclusion already known and formed, our knowledge is increased, not merely as our knowledge of facts and classes of facts increases, but in a much higher, and, as it were, in geometrical proportion.

The conversion of the speculative and learned world, chiefly by lord Bacon and Galileo, † from

\* That *pudor circa res venereas*, that particular kind of reserve and modesty, which had been generally considered as peculiar to the human race, and which Grotius and other philosophical theologians believed to be traditionary, and a proof in favour of the Christian religion, was found to have no manner of existence in Otahiti.

† In the times of these luminaries there were many others, particularly in Italy, who had begun to seek knowledge, only by experiments, and induction from uniform results and observations. There was such a train of circumstances (among which the blow that was given to the authority of the pope, or the triumph of faith over reason, was not the least) as must have led to the overthrow of the Aristotelian and scholastic, and prepared the way for a sounder philosophy, had they been deficient.

visionary theories to rational inquiries, may be said to have been an improvement, in kind, rather than in degree. Subsequent improvement has been improvement in degree; and this degree has been so great as to render the conclusion of the eighteenth almost as remarkable an æra, in the history of society and progression of improvement, as the commencement of the seventeenth century.—This accelerated progression of knowledge was not a little aided by an unusual boldness of investigation and freedom, from the restraints of theory. This freedom of restraint, from theory, was indeed, in not a few instances, carried to the length of mere empiricism on the one hand, and to a contempt, of the just and legitimate laws of philosophy and investigation, on the other. Some philosophers, botanists, chymists, and mineralogists, confined all inquiry to experiments, observations, and descriptions of individual substances or subjects.—Other philosophers, of the metaphysical class, impatient of the tediousness prescribed by the experimental philosophy, overleaped natural, and pushed forward to efficient causes. They talked much of spiritual energy, attempted, to speak in the military phraseology of France, to march in the road of investigation: *au pas de charge*, and to storm the citadel of science with fixed bayonets.

That the rapid progress of science may be more clearly perceived, and certainly recognised, it would be proper, did our limits admit, to glance at all the arts and sciences; all the different objects of human knowledge.

The first who conceived and who

dared to mark out a plan of all the branches of learning, of which man is capable, was the immortal Bacon. This plan has been adopted with very little alteration, almost by every author since his time, and of late, among other writers, by the French Encyclopædists. These learned gentlemen declared, however, that, in forming their genealogical tree of the arts and sciences, their embarrassment was great in proportion to the latitude that was presented for arbitrary distribution; in the option they had of referring the different branches of knowledge, either to the beings which they had for their objects, or to the different faculties of the soul. They leaned to this last side probably out of respect to those philosophers, who treat of the origin of human knowledge, and particularly their own countryman Descartes, and who argue, that, as we acquire our knowledge by thinking, we ought, in the first place, to inquire, how it is we think. But to others, who judge with proper freedom even of the French Encyclopædists, and our Locke, and other great names, it appears that the mind does not ordinarily, in the acquisition of knowledge, follow that route. Our first observations, they notice, are more naturally made on those sensations which we receive from the objects, that surround us, than upon the manner itself, in which we receive those sensations. In making that our first study, which affects the senses, we proceed, with certainty, from that which we know, to that which we know not; whereas, if we begin with researches into the manner of our receiving our ideas, and the faculty of acquiring knowledge we find



find ourselves cast upon a sea of hypotheses, without rudder or compass to guide us. We think only through the medium of our senses. We see that an acquaintance with our physical organization is necessary to the knowledge of our intellectual faculties. We perceive that the impressions made upon our organs, and their accompanying sensations, cannot be considered separately from those exterior objects that produce them, and that, in order to our being able to judge how we come to have the notion of sound, of colours, of taste, and so on, we must first know how the air is put into vibration by sonorous bodies, what are the laws of reflection, and refraction, of what nature are the principles contained in the aliments of which we make use: and thus are we obliged, before we can proceed to any other study, to return to that of our physical organization; to the study of physical beings, and the acts which concern them.

Other speculators, of the present day, we mean since the times of the Encyclopædists, and in the very twilight between the closing and the succeeding century, steering, as it were, a middle course, in the arrangement of the arts and sciences, between lord Bacon and his followers, on the one hand, and those whom we shall call the sensationists, on the other, observe, that as the mind, whether it be considered as a spiritual and intellectual, or merely as a sentient being, is the mirror in which, by means of abstracted ideas, we attempt to survey the external world; so it is, by means of analogies drawn from the external world, that we endeavour

to analyse the operations of our minds. As, on the one hand, we examine matter, by metaphysical abstractions; so, on the other, we have no ideas or names for the operations of the mind, than such as are taken from objects of sense. Every thing we perceive or think of seems to be of a mixed nature. It is difficult to say what is mind and what matter, nor is it at all necessary, in the eye of just philosophy, that the difference should be ascertained. Yet, according to our conception of things, the difference between mind and matter is sufficiently clear. And the most comprehensive and accurate arrangement of all the branches of knowledge, perhaps, is the following:

First, mind exercised on matter;

Secondly, matter;

Thirdly, mind.

The first of these classes comprehends physics, or experimental philosophy, including optics, astronomy, hydrostatics, pneumatics, mechanics, magnetism, electricity, and chymistry.

The second comprehends matters of fact, and hypothetical theories; the first of these subdivisions, comprehending the results of particular observations and experiments, whether designed or accidental; the second, that view of the operations of nature, which is formed by the imagination, according to habitual associations; which is, indeed, loose, popular, and only analogical; but which, however, is of use in dividing the labours of philosophy, and employing them in a course of well-directed experiments. This second subdivision of the second class refers principally to physiology, comprising the theory of the earth, mineralogy,

mineralogy, and zoology. Under the head of zoology there are some who take the liberty of classing theories of physic: though they admit that medicine, in its just extent, embraces the state of the mind as well as that of the body.

Electricity, magnetism, and chymistry, are arranged under the first head: although these studies, as far as they are collections of facts, belong to the second; and to the first, only as far as they are theoretical. In different respects, it is evident, they belong to both.

Out of the first and second classes, particularly the heads of mechanics, botany, mineralogy, and chymistry, spring the three grand pursuits of the industrious or busy world. — 1. Agriculture, 2. Arts, 3. Commerce.

The third class, mind, comprehends metaphysics, logic, and ethics.

This division of the sciences will aid the mind in recollecting the great and manifold discoveries of the century just passed in each. — Wonderful improvements in optical glasses, opened a vast and unbounded theatre to our perceptions, and promised to carry our views still farther and farther into the universe. The discovery of different kinds and properties of airs and gales at once enlarged the power of man over nature to a prodigious extent, seemed to draw aside a veil, and to exhibit the whole material creation under a new aspect. The most solid substances appeared to be fluids, not in an aeriform, but a fixed state. A constant transition was discovered from solidity to fluidity, and from fluidity again to solidity. The

world seemed, in some sort, to be an illusion. Electricity, by an acquaintance with which, miracles were wrought, began to be considered as the great agent throughout all nature. There appeared to be a striking affinity and analogy between this power and magnetism, yet, as if to check our propensity to simplification, and draw in our net of investigation too soon, proofs were exhibited, that these two astonishing powers were very different. As the power of man was, by knowledge, extended over the material world, their enterprize and industry were also increased. Steam-engines, looms wrought without hands, and other mechanical inventions performed the labour of hundreds of thousands, and even millions of men. Yet these hands quickly found other employment in the multiplied projects of manufacturers and merchants. But there was no object on which the extended sway of science was so visible, as on the most useful and necessary of all human pursuits, agriculture. Agricultural machinery was greatly improved; the nature of the juices, designed for the nourishment of vegetables, was explored; and the manner in which they were transmitted to their organs. It is not foreign to the present point, the application of science to practical purposes, to observe farther, that the genius of the age, was strongly exemplified in numberless improvements in cookery, both for men and cattle, and other branches of economy, domestic, pastoral, and rural.

As the advancement of science influenced the arts of peace, so it also influenced, in some degree, the miserable art of war. It is sufficient, on this head, just

to mention telegraphs, balloons, and flying artillery.

With regard to the third class, in that division of the sciences which we have followed, mind, the true method of philosophizing, has of late begun to be applied to this as well as to physical subjects, with a degree of success, not indeed very great and brilliant, yet of sufficient certainty, as well as importance, to encourage the experimental pneumatologist to go on with his observations, experiments (for such experiments as well as those in natural philosophy may certainly be made, and that too at less trouble and expense), and records. Certain laws, according to which ideas, emotions, and passions, succeed or pass into one another, in the human mind, have been universally recognized, and seem to be as certain and undoubted as those of attraction and gravitation.\*

Agreeably to the speculative and enterprising genius of the age in other concerns, great boldness was used in the application of the moral nature of man to the science of politics. To philosophers in different countries, particularly in France and Germany, there appeared to be a wide and almost unbounded scope for discovery and invention, in the conduct of education, the framing of laws, and the establishment of various institutions. They not only inculcated political rights, but taught how to form political powers. The modern discovery in politics, of political representation, though not peculiar to the eighteenth century, was then a subject of more serious attention than it ever had been.—

The contest, between Great Britain and her colonies, illustrated the natural and just connection between representation and taxation; and, the dependence on the power and consequence of the scattered multitude, on their association and union, emancipated North America. Association and union emancipated Ireland. Association and union, a coincidence of opinions, and a concert of wills, were also the engines that subverted the ancient order of affairs in France, in the Netherlands; and which, also opened a passage for the introduction of the great instruments of revolution into other countries. Clubs or associations, ramifying, multiplying, and extending themselves, by affiliation, over countries, kingdoms, and even distant empires, like the brotherhood of free-masons, formed a mighty engine of political power, which, when it draws along with it public opinion, becomes wholly irresistible. Great and illustrious names, our great Frederics and Catharines, seem to control the times in which they live; but, on an examination of the spirit by which they are actuated, the objects they aim at, and the measures they pursue, we shall find that there is a tide in the affairs of nations as well as of men; a tide which the greatest sovereign princes cannot command, but on which they, with others, are irresistibly borne. And it is the progress or vicissitudes of public opinion, and public spirit arising out of public opinion, that lays the trains which sooner or later break forth in grand revolutionary explosions: of which, there is to be ge-

\* See Hume *Essays on the Association of Ideas, and on the Passions*; Helvetius; Stewart's *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, &c.

nerally found one or more in the course of every century.\*

A very striking and important example of the means by which, in the hands of Providence, the world is governed; we have in the history of the reformation, to which we may be permitted to refer without being thought too digressive; the rather that this grand event was the forerunner, and prepared the way to that general fermentation which burst forth, towards the close of the eighteenth century, in so much political convulsion.

Had the whole Christian world, at the time when Luther began to preach against indulgences, been devoted to the Roman faith, however absurd the doctrines of the clergy, and however profligate their lives, he could not possibly have met with any considerable success. Such is the power of established authority, and universally-received opinion. But the never-ceasing contests between the popes, on the one part, and the emperor with other sovereign princes on the other, diminished of themselves the reverence for the papal jurisdiction, and roused an inquiry into the grounds on which it was established; an inquiry, which was facilitated by the revival of literature. The discoveries of grave theologians, and antiquarians, were followed by the ridicule of wit and humour. Savanera and Wickliff were aided by Dante, Petrarch, and Erasmus. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the primitive doctrines of

Christianity had taken root in most countries of Europe. The materials for reformation were collected, and the foundations laid deep, before Luther and Calvin raised and completed the superstructure. The minds of men being thus prepared, the doctrines of the reformers spread far and wide. The reformed religion was adopted and protected by sovereign states and princes; and, after a war, continued with little interruption for more than a century, was finally established as the national worship of near the half of Europe, together with the balance of political power, by the peace of Westphalia, in 1648. This peace, which terminated the disputes, religious and civil, between the catholic powers on the one hand, and the protestant powers on the other, was the greatest event, and that which was most characteristic of the seventeenth century. From the treaty of Westphalia to the middle of the eighteenth century, and onwards, the spirit that still presided in the great councils of Europe was a jealousy of religious interests and views of political aggrandizement. Politicians talked of the catholic and protestant interests; and, so late as 1755-6, the great king of Prussia, Frederic II. was called the Protestant Hero.

As the doctrines of the reformation shook the papal throne, which has since fallen, in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, so the same doctrines, together with the advancement of lite-

\* There is certainly no necessary connection between human events, and a decade of decades. There seems, however, to be some degree of connection between great events, and the time requisite to form, by education, and example, that public opinion and public spirit and passion, out of which great events spring. In a century there are, on an average, about four distinct generations of men.

ture, which may be considered as their grand ally, sapped the foundations of feudal authority in France and other kingdoms of Europe, in the course of the eighteenth. The remaining wealth of the church was plundered in France and the Netherlands, and even in Spain the contributions demanded, from the wealth of the church, are a sure forerunner of the confiscation of the whole. Large patrimonial inheritances, and hereditary prerogatives of all kind began to be regarded with an evil eye. Monarchical governments and domains, the vast estates and privileges of nobles began to be split, and crumbled into democratical atoms. And this is the grand event, and that which is most characteristical of the eighteenth century.

The progress of that spirit, which effected the fall of the church, and threatens also the ruin of military or feudal power is scarcely more remarkable than the means by which the established powers, in both cases, religious and political, attempted to oppose and repress it. They did not oppose argument to argument, merely: but, though argumentation was not wholly neglected, they rested their cause chiefly on physical force: they strove to put gags into the mouths of their opponents; and to the pen opposed the bayonet.

The growth of democracy being justly traced to clubs, or political societies, these were every where, in monarchical governments, discouraged and dispersed. Even in Great Britain, a law was made, prohibiting all meetings of the people, in or out of doors, to any number above fifty, without previous notice thereof being given to a magistrate,

who was obliged to attend the meetings, and, on pain of instant death, to dissolve them at pleasure. With regard to the relations of Britain, and other sovereign powers, who durst to avow their sentiments, it plainly appeared, notwithstanding the pretence of restoring the Bourbons to the throne of their ancestors, they were either actuated by views of ambition, or had nothing more in view than to maintain a war with France, without any definite object, as long as they should be enabled to do so, in order to prevent that infection, which was justly to be dreaded from a free and amicable intercourse with the French, (ever ready to propagate, with zeal, their opinions, and even modes and fashions,) in times of peace. The politicians, who had nothing, or little more than this, in view, dextrously obviated the principle of imitation, by operating on that animosity, and rivalry which is wont to subsist between neighbouring nations, nearly on a par, in respect of power and reputation.

As the consequences of the revolutions that took place in respect of religious doctrines and establishments were not foreseen, in the times of Luther and Calvin, and at the peace of Westphalia, so, neither do we, of the present age, foresee the consequences that are to follow (for consequences must follow), the mighty blow that has been given to the feudal system. The double attack that has been made, in the course of the three last centuries, on established authorities, in matters both civil and religious, and that in times of such extended, easy, and ready intercourse, can or be other than rapid, as well as important. The intelligent and reflecting mind



looks forward with a mixture of hope and fear. Revolutions must come to pass, and that quickly. But all changes, we know from recent and dreadful experience, are not for the better. The lightning that blasts is as powerful in effect, and as rapid in communication, as the solar rays that sustain and cheer surrounding worlds.

In characterizing the eighteenth century, by marking the vicissitudes of religious, moral, and political opinion, it will be proper to notice the wonderful effects that have been wrought, in the course of that period, by the progressive influence of the exchange of feudal services for money: or of a feudal and military system of contribution for the public service, for one commercial and financial. The exchange of military service in the field for money assessed for the maintenance of standing armies, has been naturally followed by an increase of armies that seems to defy all bounds, until the whole mass of contending nations shall be converted, as in preceding times of barbarism, into soldiers and slaves: brave and honourable warriors, or *helotes*, *villani*, or bondmen under other names, whose business it is to cultivate the ground for the use of their lords and masters. Immoderate taxes have been the necessary concomitants of this new order of affairs, immense public debts, a kind of new aristocracy of moneyed capitalists, who lend money to governments on usurious terms, and a collusion between the governments and these new aristocrats, whereby the interests of the people at large are sacrificed to the ambition and pride of the one party, and the avarice and rapacity of the other. This collusion is a source of misery to the oppressed nations; and tends,

in the end, to the embarrassment and even ruin of the oppressors. It was the financial difficulties of France, that formed the proximate cause, or link, in the chain of causes, that involved the revolution. This exchange of baronial personal services in the field, for the means of raising and keeping on foot mercenary armies, did not indeed originate in the eighteenth century: but its effects were never so fully and extensively displayed: and since no period can be rightly described or characterised, without comparing it with other and preceding periods, it will not be foreign to our present design, to take a short review of the state of Europe, in regard to the subject in hand, from the grand æra of the middle of the fifteenth century.

Constantinople being taken by Mahomed the Second, in 1343, many learned Greeks sought and found an asylum in Italy. The favourable reception they met with from the popes, princes, and chief men in the republics of that celebrated country, soon introduced among the better sort of Italians the study of the Greek tongue, and of the ancient authors in that language. About the same time also, though somewhat later, some learned men began to restore the purity of the Latin tongue: but that which contributed most to the advancement of all kinds of learning, and particularly the study of the ancients, was the art of printing; which, a few years after the arrival of the Greeks, from Constantinople, in Italy, was brought to a great degree of perfection. By means of the press, the books of the ancients were multiplied and became common; and their arts generally understood and admired. Italy soon swarmed with architects,



architects, painters, and sculptors; and vast expenses were undergone in buildings, pictures, and statues. Thus the Italians were drawn off from their former way of life, which was military and frugal, and addicted themselves to the pursuit of refined and expensive pleasures. A taste for these pleasures was extended by degrees to neighbouring nations; while, by the improvement and extended course of navigation, above noticed, the luxury of Asia and America was added to that of the ancients.—A great uniformity in the costume and mode of life had hitherto prevailed; but now, to all other expenses there was added that arising from a never-ceasing change of the fashions, in clothes, equipage, and the furniture of houses.

The far greater share of all those expenses, fell on the barons, which enabled them to support, and whose dignity seemed to require them. Instead of vieing with each other in the numbers and boldness of their retainers, they became emulous of each other in the splendour and elegance of their houses and tables. This involved them in such heavy debts, that if they did not sell, or otherwise alienate, their lands (which it was not, indeed, at first in their power to do\*) they were at least obliged to convert into money, for the payment of their creditors, the military services due to them from their vassals: which was done partly by way of rent, and partly by way of lease or fine. Thus the vassal, instead of a military retainer, became a tenant. As the baron, or seigneur, accepted money

from his vassals, instead of military service, so the king was under the necessity of accepting pecuniary contributions, instead of personal military service from the seigneur or baron. The nobility and gentry assembled in diets and parliaments, for the maintenance of mercenary armies, voted sums of money to be levied on the people, grown rich by trade, and dispirited for want of military exercise. Such forces were at first raised only for present exigencies, and kept on foot no longer than the circumstances that occasioned them. But princes soon found pretences for making them perpetual; the principle of which was the garrisoning of frontier towns and fortresses. The officers and soldiers of these mercenary armies depending, for their subsistence and preferment, as much upon the prince, as the former militias did upon the barons, the sword was transferred from the hands of subjects into those of kings, and war was converted into a trade to which multitudes had recourse, for the means of living. Nay, many of the barons themselves, being reduced to poverty, by their expensive way of living, took commands in those mercenary troops; and, being still continued hereditary members of diets, and other assemblies of state, after the loss of their vassals, whom they formerly represented, they were now the readiest of all men to load the people with heavy taxes; which were employed by armies, fortresses, and garrisons; and all these still increasing with the increasing ambition of victorious princes, the jealousies of their

\* In England it is well known the nobility and gentry were not permitted to break the ancient entails or to alienate their estates, until an act was made for this purpose, in 1509, by Henry VII.

neighbours, the expenses of warfare, multiplied by the progressive complexity of the art of war, and the increase of wealth, by means of which those expenses were defrayed.

The armies of the first part of the seventeenth century were more than doubled by those of the second: those of the second part more than doubled by the first part of the eighteenth, and those of the first part of the eighteenth century, more than doubled by the armies of the second. The utmost force that was ever on foot in the wars of Louis XIV. was three hundred and fifty thousand men. The French republic made war on their neighbours with a force of eight hundred: the allies were obliged to make war on a similar scale. The line of battle extended not from one strong post, in the same territory to another: but, sometimes, for hundreds of miles along the frontiers of different countries: and invading armies, making no scruple to leave strongholds in their rear, boldly marched forward, indifferent, though immense, divisions, to reduce, not one town or fortress, but a whole state, as by one assault. So mighty and irresistible is the apparatus now brought before a place besieged; and so easy it is with that apparatus to reduce whatever is not bomb-proof to ruin, that the greatest masters in the art of war, begin now to give it as their opinion, that no fortress should be erected, or held in cities or towns in which there are inhabitants. This divorcement between towns and garrisons is among the first changes in war, that are about to mark the commencement of the nineteenth century.

It is greatly to be lamented, that there is no human pursuit that has

called to its service the whole accumulated aid of all the arts and sciences, so much as war. War not only swallows up the produce of industry, but avails itself of the discoveries and inventions of philosophy. Buonaparte, particularly, has given many proofs of this position; he has availed himself of religious tolerance, and even religious versatility, or scepticism, and sent forth the magic of moral artillery, at the same time that he adopted with care every physical and mechanical improvement, that might contribute to the maintenance of his armies, and the force of his arms. It is at the close of the most enlightened age, that we find the greatest number of regular and disciplined troops in the field. We have seen more than twelve hundred thousand men in arms at one time in Europe only, and on the coasts of Syria and Egypt. At a time when pious philosophers began to hail the near approach of the Millennium, war broke out on a scale vastly more extended than any before known. Whole nations of men rose in arms. Whole territories, measured by hundreds of leagues, were held, as it were, in a state of siege. A general and combined attack was made, by contending armies, on the whole of the opposite lines at once, all was in motion, from the gulph of Genoa to the Texel.

The effects of printing, which burst forth so conspicuously, in the sixteenth century, in religious war, and had been continued, as in silent and fructifying streams, for near three hundred years, broke out again in France: when the gentle streams of progressive knowledge dashed, and foamed, in dreadful cataracts, like the falls of Niagara. As religion, in former ages, called every thing

thing to her bar, and assumed all power, in both church and state, to reason, in our age, assumed the power of judging every thing not only in the state but the church. Many zealous and ingenious divines were rash enough, and very unnecessarily, to submit even the most mysterious doctrines to the bar of reason. Christian philosophers or reasoners, such as they were, cut and carved the holy Scriptures at a dreadful rate, admitting certain portions to be authentic, but rejecting others as apochryphal, and interpolation. The consequence was, that multitudes of the vulgar began to listen to such men as Thomas Paine, who taught them that this was the age not of faith but of reason. A spirit of attack on the establishments or property of the church, appeared, in many countries, from the court to the cottage. In former times, priests, in exchange for spiritual comfort, received large tracts of land, and even whole districts and territories. The laity began, in the eighteenth century, to resume the donations of their forefathers. The language of the *profanum vulgus*, to the clergy, was this: "Take ye to other world: we will take this to ourselves."

These observations, on the most important vicissitudes in opinions and usages, religious and political, are not foreign to the division of mind: the third head, under which are arranged the objects of our attention. Did our bounds admit, we would take a view of the vicissitudes and progress of the philosophy of the human mind, and particularly of moral philosophy. We shall, for the present, content ourselves with adverting to a general change, (comprehending many subdivisions,) a kind of revolution in the system of

ethics, which has certainly not been without very considerable influence on the minds of men. In the last century, and the beginning of this, divines and moralists established the foundation of moral obligation in the will of God, directed by his other attributes, in justice, truth, the relations and congruities of things: in a word, an act of the understanding. From lord Shaftesbury's writings, re-echoing many of the sublime and engaging notions of Plato, there arose a school, which founded morality in some principle analogous to sensation or sense, or, at least, to that faculty or power, by which we perceive beauty, grace, and harmony, in external objects. As this was the foundation, so was the superstructure, benevolence, generosity, kind affection, compassion, tenderness, and indulgence: in a word, all the amiable, melting, and weeping virtues, were all the vogue. The more masculine and stern virtues of rigorous justice, and the fulfilment of various severe duties, began to be thought not altogether indispensable in an amiable character. Hence arose such lax moralists as Sterne, and the myriads who condescend to imitate that unprincipled though humorous buffoon. But, if that sensational or sentimental philosophy is not to be considered, in any great degree, as the cause of that general relaxation of both mind and morals, which characterizes the present period, it certainly suits it mighty well, and is very convenient to persons of both sexes.

The eighteenth century was characterized, particularly towards its close, not only by great, but many of these sudden changes.

Correspondent to the quick communication of ideas, was the rapid succession

succession of events. Revolutions in Europe were universally predicted, after the great revolution in America, yet they came sooner than they were expected. Towards the close of the eighteenth century, the balance of political power was overthrown: the world was suddenly turned upside down. The authority of religion, in some countries, was subverted. In others it was tinged by new sentiments and new political connections. The Greek and Protestant churches, nay, the Mahometans, were the patrons of the pope, and the catholic religion. The French nation, formerly the first in devotion to the ladies, the church, and the grand monarch, departed from their refined gallantry, and abandoned themselves to mere sensuality; they persecuted the church, and they killed the king. Generous sentiment and affection in France, and other affiliated democracies, was lost in selfishness, or, according to their new word, *egoism*. If their wild and savage commonwealth could be realized, it would exhibit a picture of men, walking, like wanton school-boys, on their hands and head, instead of their feet.

This delirium, however, is not to be of long continuance. The sentiments of nature must return. A sense of duty is not to be eradicated from the human mind. Nor yet is a sense of religion from the breasts of nations. The religious sentiment already re-appears in France. The present government wisely fosters it.

Yet in an age and nation, whose only hope was in this world, and whose chief good neither was, nor could be, on their principles, any other than sensual gratification, the most intrepid courage was displayed,

not only in the field of battle, but the more trying scenes of judicial condemnation to death, and legalized massacres. Never, in any age or country, did so great a number of men and women display, at any one period of their history, such undaunted resolution, and such a contempt of death.

If so great a portion of the people renounced religion and moral sentiment, the same profligate contempt of both was apparent, and even avowed, in the conduct of the rulers of nations. The wars that had been made from religious sympathies or antipathies, attachments to particular families, and the preservation of the political balance, were succeeded by wars for sharing and dividing the spoils of the weaker among the stronger. This partitioning policy was called a system of indemnities: Indemnities not for any loss sustained, but to balance the robberies committed by their neighbours. Instead of checking, as formerly, unprincipled aggression, from a wise desire of maintaining the commonwealth of Europe, pretty well settled by the treaty of Westphalia, great potentates winked at the rapacity of one another, and then urged the necessity of following each others example. So that, on the whole, we cannot affirm, that there has been, in our age, any practical progress in religion and morality. As to the former, it may be questioned whether there be any such thing as progress in religion. Religions, in their movements, are all rather retrograde. The noble and animating enthusiasm that connects religious sects at their commencement grows colder and colder, and sinks at last into a dead indifference. In vain do priests and politicians whip and spur, and endeavour

endeavour to drum a nation into a religious tone, after the genuine spirit of enthusiasm is lost. In England, and other countries, the higher and middling ranks, perceiving, at last, the connection between a reverence for religion and the preservation of rights and properties, became very regular attenders at church. But it was only a ceremonious and cold business. The motive of their attendance was obvious to every one. To men of discernment this constrained respect, for the exteriors of religion, appeared ludicrous, and, to people sincerely pious, impious. With regard to morality, it has already been observed, that there seems to be a tendency in most of the systems of morals, since Shaftsbury and Huchison, to nurse up the amiable, even at the expense of what we shall on the present occasion, for the sake of contra-distinction, call the respectable and severe virtues. What share that *amiable* philosophy may have had in softening and harmonizing the world, cannot be ascertained. In fact, it is not probably very great. Moral appeals to men themselves, to the constitution of their nature, and to the grace and beauty, and propriety of virtue, what do they amount to? Little more than this, that men *ought* to be morally good, if *they please*. It is the authority and sanction of the Supreme Ruler alone, that can give vital efficacy to any moral system. It is an ingenious amusement to metaphysicians

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one course of action rather than the contrary. But, as to the practical influence of this on society, it is in truth, as we apprehend, but very trifling. Nothing has yet been done, or can be done, for humanizing and softening the human heart, so much as the Christian religion. The morality of that divine dispensation is the most pure and sublime that can be conceived, and it is recommended and enforced by every consideration that can impress the understanding or captivate the affections. It is divinely benevolent and impressive beyond the limits of all human rule or art. The morality of the Christian religion, however, was the same in the last and some preceding centuries, when individuals were more harsh in their private intercourses, and the laws more rigorous and severe in many respects than at present. The Christian religion was more firmly believed in, when lord Ruthven, having imprisoned, in one of his castles, the young king James VI. of Scotland, said, when the captive boy cried, "Better that bairns should greet than bearded men." There was more faith in the world, when men, convicted of seditious practices, or other crimes, not only stood on the pillory, but lost their ears: when philosophers and statesmen, and those of even large and patriotic views advised, in times of dreadful scarcity, that the necessitous and helpless should sell themselves and children, as bondsmen and bondswomen, to rich capitalists.\* The present age, in respect of former times, may be called the age of humanity. Whence this happy change? Not from the progressive effects of moral disquisitions and lectures: not even from the progressive effects of preaching, trim-

\* Fletcher, of Saltown.

med up by the artifices of composition, taught by professors of rhetoric; but from the progressive intercourses of men with men, and minds with minds: of navigation, commerce, arts, and sciences.

Solitary, barbarous, and rude nations, have few restraints on their appetites and passions. Multiplied relations, and attentions to propriety, grace, and decorum, and the opinions of mankind, in a state of cultivated and polite society, mingle, modify, and reduce, as it were, the *corrosive sublimate* of the selfish and angry passions of men, into a gentle sympathy with all around them.—The sciences arrest prejudice and passion, and teach men to think fairly and candidly on the situations of other men, and other individuals, as well as on themselves. Still more immediately is the cause of humanity promoted by the arts: in all of which, we principally contemplate and sympathize with human nature, placed in various attitudes and situations. In poetry, painting, sculpture, music, and architecture, it is still human nature, seen or fancied, that gives the principal charm: human passions, feelings, emotions, and conveniences.

—Didicisse fideliter artes,  
Emollit mores nec sinit esse feros.

HORAT.

Of the progress and state of the arts, in the eighteenth century, we have little to observe, that can be considered as characteristic of that period. The epic poem, which depends on machinery and fable, after some respectable efforts by Voltaire, Glover, and Wilkie, has, at last, died a kind of natural death; having pined away under the too powerful rays of the sun of science. The only species of poetry that has

flourished, for a long time, is the descriptive. The muses that now animate poetry, are the sciences: the sciences that can give dignity to all things, by combining them with the general laws of moral and physical nature.

In painting, gardening, and architecture, there has been a happy retreat from too much drapery, ornament, and various nick-nackery, and an approach to the simple, lovely, and majestic form of nature. In music, there has been much improvement in harmony and contrapunto: but none of the mathematico-musical compositions of our musical doctors, for real effect on the imagination and heart, are to be compared with some of those simple melodies that have been formed by a mere imitation, or rather, indeed, participation of human sentiment and passion.

We shall wind up this sketch of the eighteenth century, with an anecdote of some mad philosophers, which, though ridiculous, may serve perhaps to illustrate our present subject more than all that has been now laid. About the year 1700, the progress of discovery, particularly in chymistry and mineralogy, had become so great, and the reign of art over nature so extensive, that some of the same philosophers, who set up for political reformers, particularly those connected with a seminary of dissenters at Hackney, believed not only that the period was approaching, when men were to be governed by the purity of their own minds, and the moderation of their own desires, without any external coercion, but when the life of man might be prolonged, *ad infinitum*, and philosophers, if they chose it, become immortal.

CHRONI-



# CHRONICLE.

## JANUARY.

17th. **A**T ten at night the whole nave of Chelmsford church fell in with a great crash: fortunately no person was passing by at the time. The ruins seemed to threaten the chancel, by falling in it. An inscription, in white stone Gothic letters, nine inches long, inlaid in flints and hard mortar, in relievo, on the outside of the wall of the south aisle, just under the battlements, sets forth that this building was erected, by the contribution of the townsmen, in 1424.

General Washington's funeral was celebrated, on the eighteenth of December, with every mark of honour and regret so justly due to his virtues. A great multitude of persons assembled at mount Vernon, to pay their last melancholy duty to this distinguished man. His corpse lay in state in the portico. On the ornament, at the head of the coffin, was inscribed *Surge ad Judicium*; about the middle of the coffin, *Gloria Deo*; and on the silver plate, "General George Washington, departed this life on the fourteenth of December, '99, Æt. 68."

The prince of Wales has made a present of a Scotch horn, very beautifully mounted in gold, with a Scotch pebble at the top, to the

marquis of Huntley, as a proof of his esteem, for the very gallant conduct of that young nobleman in Holland. There is an inscription on the lid, in Erse, to the following purport: "The son of the king, to his friend the son of the duke of Gordon."

21st. Between the hours of ten and eleven at night, a terrible fire broke out in Bramah's manufactory of engines and patent locks, in Eaton-street, Pimlico, which, in a short time, destroyed the whole building, being made of wood.

22d. *Exeter*. Between the evening of Saturday last and the Monday morning following, a most daring robbery was committed on the city bank, situated in the church-yard of this city, and conducted under the firm of Samuel Milford and Co. the circumstances of which are as follow: the bank was shut at the usual hour; on Saturday evening, and the cash, bank notes, drafts, &c. were deposited in an iron chest, in an inner room of the bank; after which, the five keys were deposited at the dwelling-house of Samuel Milford, esq. one of the proprietors. On the Monday morning following, the clerks, having opened the bank as usual, found every door, &c. locked, as it had been left; but were astonished to perceive that all

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the property, deposited in the iron-chest, had been stolen. An alarm was immediately given, and several persons were examined; but, as yet, nothing has transpired which may tend to discover the perpetrators of this theft. Bills have been distributed describing the marks, &c. on the notes lost; and it is hoped, from the steps which have been taken, the villains concerned in this robbery will be discovered, and brought to condign punishment. The amount of the cash and notes of different kinds, which are stolen, is about 7000*l*. but payment of the greatest part of the bills has been stopped. What renders this robbery the more remarkable, is, that the iron chest, where the property was deposited, has a lock of peculiar formation; the aperture to which cannot be discovered by a person unacquainted with its nature; yet this, and every other, lock must have been opened, shut again, and no force appears to have been used to effect it.

A fire broke out in a lodging-house in Goswell-street; and an ostler's wife, carrying her two children under her arm, was obliged to drop them in getting out of a window, and they both perished.

25th. The storm, last night, blew down the remains of king John's castle, at Old Ford, near Bow. This ancient pile was built in 1203, and was the residence of king John. Here, historians say, he plotted the death of prince Arthur; here he entertained the Brabançon chiefs; and here he usually slept, after having signed *Magna Charta*. This palace was first mutilated during the civil wars of Charles I. About forty years ago the chapel fell, and

ten years afterwards two wings tumbled down. It is now all levelled. The ground belongs to the Blue-coat school. Some curious coins, &c. have been discovered in the ruins.

The exact report of the number of prisoners, under the charge of the French commissary, December. 21, 1799, the day when they were delivered over to the transport-board, the consular government refusing to provide for them any longer, is as follows:

Plymouth	7,477
Portsmouth	10,128
Liverpool	2,298
Stapleton	693
Chatham	1,754
Yarmouth	50
Edinburgh	208
Norman Cross	3,038
	<hr/> 25,646 <hr/>

31st. This evening, about half past seven, a fire broke out at the sugar-house belonging to Messrs. Freake and Endelman, in Thames-street. In about two hours this large and lofty building was entirely consumed. The Castle-Baynard-Ward association attended, under arms, to prevent depredations.

DIED. At Wolfenbüttele, after a short illness, field-marshal de Castries, formerly minister of the marine in France. He had acquired much reputation, as a soldier, in the seven years war, and shewed talents for administration during the time he was minister of marine. He enjoyed, in an eminent degree, the confidence of Louis XVIII. The duke de Castries, his son, is colonel of a regiment in our pay, which is now in Portugal.

FEB-

## FEBRUARY.

11th. A fire broke out between six and seven o'clock this evening, at Lingham's brandy and sugar warehouses, in Lower Thames-street. The flames extended with great fury to the surrounding houses, particularly the custom-house, which seemed to be in great danger. It is computed to have destroyed property of above 300,000*l.* in value. Of this, a large proportion consisted in prize goods, deposited in the warehouse by government. The flames communicated to some small houses in Gloucester-court, behind the warehouse, and destroyed four or five of them. The wind blew fresh from the eastward, and the fire raged tremendously for some time. The weather-cock at the top of the custom-house, which is on the other side of the street, was twice on fire, as well as the frames of the windows; and two ships in the river, that lay off Bear-wharf, were damaged materially by the flames communicating to their rigging. Happily, however, about twelve at the night, the whole was got under, and no lives lost.

A bill, just passed into a law, for regulating the sale of bread, enacts, "That it shall not be lawful for any baker or other person or persons, residing within the cities of London and Westminster, and the bills of mortality, and within ten miles of the Royal Exchange, after the 26th day of February, 1800, or residing in any part of Great Britain, after the 4th day of March, 1800, to sell, or offer to expose to sale, any bread, until the same shall have been baked twenty-four hours at the least; and every baker, or

other person or persons, who shall act contrary hereto, or offend herein, shall, for every offence, forfeit and pay the sum of 5*l.* for every loaf of bread so sold, offered, or exposed to sale."

On Saturday, February 8, the duke de Montpensier and the count de Beaujelaïs, the younger brothers of the duke of Orleans, arrived at their residence in Sackville-street, from Clifton, where one of them had been confined several days by illness. The duke of Orleans had arrived in town three days before; and his first visit was made to Monsieur, of whom he had requested an audience. On Thursday, the duke waited on his royal highness, and being introduced into his closet, he addressed him by saying, "that he had come to ask forgiveness for all his faults, which he hoped would be forgotten. They were the effect of error, and were chiefly to be attributed to the evil councils of an intriguing woman, (madame de Genlis) who had been intrusted with the care of his education." He added "that he was ready to shed the last drop of his blood in the reparation of his errors, and in defence of the rights of his lawful sovereign. My brothers (continued he) whom I have left indisposed at Clifton, participate in my sentiments, and will hasten to offer to your royal highness the same protestations of repentance. Monsieur then embraced the duke and replied, "that he had no doubt of the sincerity of the professions he had just heard. He received them with pleasure; but he recommended to the duke to repeat them to the king himself, and he should have great satisfaction in forwarding his letters to Mittau." As soon as this con-

versation had ended, Monsieur and the duke went into the drawing-room, where were assembled several emigrants of the first distinction, before whom the duke of Orleans begged leave also to make a recantation of his errors. He then expressed his wish to see his uncle, the duke de Bourbon; the intended visit was soon after made, and a reconciliation took place in the same manner as with Monsieur. On Friday, the duke of Orleans again waited on Monsieur with the letter to Louis XVIII. at Mittau, which was forwarded on the same evening. Monsieur recommended that another should be written, signed by each of the three brothers, and in still stronger terms, which the duke promised to see executed, immediately, on their coming to town.

The throne of Tippon, worth 60,000 pagodas, has been broken up. The sultan's private stud consisted of 3,120 horses, 99 elephants, and 175 camels. There were 650 women, including his wives, &c. in the palace, which is said to have been miserably furnished. Several tigers, which had been kept in a yard, were ordered to be shot, to prevent accidents. The English, who had been kept in captivity by Tippoo, were, two days previous to the assault, brought out, and ordered to work the guns against the besiegers, which refusing to do, their heads were struck off.

19th. At a meeting of the mayor, aldermen, and liverymen of the city of London, in common-hall assembled, consisting of upwards of 2000 persons, it was resolved, by a vast majority, "That a petition be presented to the hon. the house of commons, upon the present situation of public affairs, praying them to take

such measures as they may think proper towards promoting an immediate negotiation with the government of France, for the purpose of restoring to his majesty's subjects the blessings of peace." And a petition being prepared agreeably to the said resolution, was read and agreed to; and the representatives of the city were instructed to support the same in the house of commons.

20th. Four convicts, Abbot, for forgery on the bank; Chapman, Jones, and Hall, for a burglary, in the Minories, were executed before the debtors' door, at Newgate, pursuant to their sentences. Abbot, who appeared about 19 years of age, behaved with becoming propriety. Jones and Hall appeared penitent and resigned to their fate: but Chapman displayed instances of the most abandoned depravity. On his being brought out to mount the scaffold, he leaped up the steps that led to it, and then, instead of attending to the clergyman, nodded to the females that appeared in the windows opposite; laughed at them sometimes immoderately; kicked off his shoes, one to the right, and the other to the left, amongst the crowd that came to witness his disgraceful end; and, in short, did every thing that he thought could prove his contempt of death.

DIED. 5th. At Iddesley parsonage, Devonshire, the rev. William Tatler, author of *An Ode to the Warlike Genius of Great Britain*; *Elegy on the Death of Garrick*; *Poems*, 4to. 1779; the *Carmen Seculare of Horace* translated; *Ode to the Memory of the Bishop of Sodor and Man*; *Odes of Horace and Pindar* translated, 8vo. 1750; *Annus Mirabilis, or the Eventful Year*,

Year, 1782; *Arviragus*, a Tragedy, acted at Exeter; A Series of Letters on the Wounds and Deaths related in the *Iliad*, *Æneid*, and *Pharsalia*, &c. 12mo. 1798; and some other performances. He appears to have lived in distressed circumstances.

23d. At Wickham, Hants, of which he was rector, and prebendary of Winchester, aged 78, the rev. Joseph Warton, D. D. F. R. S. elder brother of Thomas Warton, who died May 21, 1790. Joseph was born about 1722; admitted of Oriel college; proceeded M. A. by diploma, 1759; B. and D. D. 1768; elected head-master of Winchester college, where he had received his education, and which he resigned 1793, and was succeeded by Mr. Goddard; and rector of Upham, Hants, 1792, in the gift of the bishop of Winchester. His earliest publication was "An Ode on reading *West's Pindar*, 1749," followed by other short poems, among which is "The Enthusiast, or Lover of Nature." In 1746, when B. A. "Odes on several Subjects," 8vo. In 1756, without his name, the "Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope, vol I.;" and, in 1782, the second volume, of which the first 200 pages were printed 20 years before publication, in 1753. "The Works of Virgil, in English verse; the *Æneid*, translated by the rev. Mr. Christopher Pitt, the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, by Mr. Joseph Warton; with several new Observations, by Mr. Holdsworth, Mr. Spence, and others," &c. &c. in 4 vol. 8vo.; dedicated to sir George (afterwards lord) Lyttelton, With the merit of Mr. Pitt's version of the *Æneid* the world is well ac-

quainted. Of Dr. Warton's *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, it may be said that they convey the sense of their originals with greater exactness and perspicuity than any other translations we have; that their versification is easy and harmonious, and their style correct and pure; yet, if read for themselves, they are far inferior, to the similar performances of Dryden. In 1797, he committed to the public the labour, as it is said, of 16 years, his edition of the works of Pope, in 9 vol. 8vo. The expectation which this work had excited, in the literary world, was, in some measure, disappointed, on its appearance. It bears marks of haste unpardonable in such an undertaking. The commentary consists of a selection of the best of Warburton's notes, combined with the corresponding parts of the Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope. Notwithstanding, however, various blemishes of style, and instances of the garrulity of age, the notes are useful and entertaining, in point of poetical criticism, illustration, and anecdotes, and perhaps the best are those from the Essay. Yet, though not so excellent a work as may be wished for, and might have been expected, it is certainly the best edition of Pope we have. The doctor was twice married; and by his first wife had one son, who disappointed his hopes, and was found dead in his father's library, at Winchester-school; and several daughters. Harriet, the youngest, was married, at Wickham, to Robert Newton Lee, esq. of Bath, 1793. The doctor's vivacity of character, penetrating judgement, informing conversation, and fund of anecdote, will transmit him to po-

sterity with the regret of all his contemporaries.

### MARCH.

1st. *Rome.* We learn, that the beautiful church of the Vatican, which has been robbed of its treasures by the French, is at present receiving presents from different quarters, consisting of golden chalices, pictures, &c. The nobility, clergy, and merchants, are raising a loan of 150,000 dollars, for purchasing corn in Naples. On the 27th ult. a person of the name of Genoves, who had robbed several churches, was hanged here, his head and hands afterwards fixed on poles, the body burnt, and the ashes committed to the air.

The stone arch, which formed the floor of the white tower, over the east gate, at Lynn, suddenly fell, while the rope-makers, who dress hemp under it, were gone to dinner: to prevent farther danger, it is thought adviseable to take down this ornament of the town.

11th. A society, under the title of "The Royal Institution of Great Britain," and under the patronage of his majesty, commenced its sittings, for the first time, this day. Its professed object is to direct the public attention to the arts, by an establishment for diffusing the knowledge and facilitating the general introduction of useful mechanical inventions and improvements.

In France, as in England, there have been disputes about the commencement of the 18th century. The astronomer Lalande thus determines the question; which, he says, was equally agitated at the end of the last century; he having, in his

library, a pamphlet published on the subject. "Many persons," says he, "imagine that, because, after having counted 17, they commence 18, that the century must be changed, but this is a mistake; for, when 100 years are to be counted, we must pass from 99, and we arrive at 100; we have changed the 10 before we have finished the 100. Whatever calculation is to be made, we commence by 1, and finish by 100; nobody has ever thought of commencing at 0, and finishing by 99." Thus, he concludes that the present year 1800 incontestably belongs to the 18th century.

17th. Lieutenant Rotherly, of his majesty's ship *Repulse*, of 64 guns, captain Alms, arrived at the admiralty, with the unpleasant intelligence of the loss of that ship, a few days since, on the French coast. She struck on a rock near Ushant, in a violent gale of wind, and, notwithstanding the utmost exertions were used, by the captain and officers, to save the men, ten brave sailors unfortunately perished. Capt. Alms, and the remainder of the crew, were made prisoners by the people on shore, from whom, we understand, they received all possible assistance in the hour of distress. Lieutenant Rotherly came home in the long boat, in which he happily effected his escape from the wreck.

27th. With great concern we have to notice a mutiny on board his majesty's ship *Danae*, which has been carried into Brest by the villains who obtained possession of her. The purser of the ship arrived at the admiralty this day with the tidings.

30th. *Chobinsford.* A remarkable occurrence happened towards the close



close of these affizes: John Taylor had been arraigned and tried on the charge of uttering a forged note, in the name of Bartholomew Browne, for 820*l.* 10*s.* with an intent to defraud the bank of Cricket and Co. at Colchester, of which the jury found him guilty; but just as baron Hotham was about to put on his black cap, and to pass sentence of death on the prisoner, one of the barristers, not retained on the trial, happening to turn over the forged note, saw it signed Bartw. Browne; and throwing his eyes immediately on the indictment, perceived it written therein Bartholomew Browne. He immediately pointed out the circumstance to Mr Garrow, counsellor for the prisoner, who rose up and stated the variance as fatal to the indictment; in which the judge concurred, and discharged the prisoner; but, as he was still liable to a new indictment, and immediately arrested for debt, his friends paid the latter to save him from the former.

31st. The following is the result of Mr. Arthur Young's inquiry, on a subject on which his experience ought, in this instance, to be considered as correct. He considers the deficiency in the last year's crops to be in the following proportions, assuming 20 as the general average crop:

	Deficiency.
Essex . . .	6 1-half in 20
Kent . . .	6 — 20
Norfolk . .	6 2-3ds — 20
Suffolk . .	8 — 20
Suffex . .	5 — 20
Surry . .	8 — 20
Berks . .	4 — 20
Hants . .	6 2-3ds — 20
Bedford . .	6 2-3ds — 20

Cambridge . .	5 1-half — 20
Hertford . .	5 1-half — 20
Hunts . .	7 — 20
Average of this great corn district	6 1-4th — 20
Lincoln . .	8 1-half — 20
Gloucester . .	8 — 20
Devon . .	7 — 20
Salop . .	6 2-3ds — 20
Bucks . .	6 2-3ds — 20
Oxford . .	6 2-3ds — 20
Lancaster . .	7 — 20
Westmorland . .	7 — 20
Durham . .	12 — 20
York, W.-R. . .	8 — 20
York, E.-R. . .	10 — 20
Dorset . .	7 — 20
Derby . .	5 — 20
Northumb. . .	10 — 20

General average 7 1-3d in 20

DIED. At his house on Scotland-green, Enfield, in his 95th year, William Fuller, esq. banker, of Lombard-street, London. He was son of William Fuller, who kept an academy in Founder's Court, Lothbury, to which, on his death, his son succeeded, and having, by qualifying in writing and accounts many now eminent merchants of London, besides many others, who served the East-India company both at home and abroad, accumulated the sum of 30,000*l.* he engaged in a banking-house, in which he had before placed his son, who dying, in 1796, left to his father a sum not less than 80,000*l.* Mr. Fuller was a native of Hertfordshire, and married a person of the name of Flower, by whom he had one son, deceased, and three daughters, one, lately deceased, married to Mr. Ellis, who was a tanner, and now holds certain mills at St.

Alban's, and two surviving, single. Mrs. Ellis had one daughter, who has received no share of her grandfather's immense wealth, adequate to her prospects. Mr. Fuller, who never knew what illness was, and divided his time between his counting-house and his horse, being regularly every day on the road, and having, only within a year or two of his death, consented to be attended by a servant just in sight, was suddenly seized with so much weakness, that he, for the first time, felt himself obliged to apply to his servant for assistance, to keep him in the saddle; and, on reaching his house, was put into his bed, and quitted it only for his coffin, after a confinement of near a week, sensible to the last hour. Whatever disposition he had made of his property, he totally changed it by a new will, made a little before his death, to which he appointed three executors, with a small compensation for their trouble, and by which he bequeathed his immense property to his two surviving daughters. Legacies to old and faithful clerks and servants, who had all fared hard enough in his service, or to the poor of any class or rank, we hear not of. Instances of good done by him, in his life, are not generally met with, except the endowment, in 1794, of six almshouses, in Hoxton, (to which, a few weeks only before he died, the foundation of six others were added), for poor dissenting females of his own persuasion, which was rigid calvinism, and, to increase the incomes of poor clergy of the establishment and dissenting persuasion, 10,000*l.* each. Hard investigation may trace out partial relief in particular cases. An adept

in the science of acquiring money, by the most penurious economy, he is said to have suggested several plans of finance to government, through the channel of the newspapers and anonymous letters. The pleasure of amassing wealth reigned unrivalled in his soul; and, with the strictest professions of piety, and attendance on religious ordinances, we find ourselves reduced to a painful concurrence, in that axiom of our divine instructor, "How, hardly, shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God!" and with that sentiment of his emphatic apostle, "Ye know that no covetous man, who is an idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God." On March 19, his remains were deposited in Buphill-fields burial-ground; but, previous to the interment, his body lay in state, at the banking-house in Lombard-street, in his little parlour closely adjoining to it. The idle vanity of thus exposing, in state, the remains of a man who, through the course of a life of extraordinary length, was never known to allow himself the most trifling indulgence, could not escape the observation of the crowds, who witnessed the scene. It was only by the most sordid penurioulness, that Mr. Fuller accumulated one of the largest properties in the kingdom. His executors are, Mr. Ebenezer Maitland, (bank-director), of King's-arms Yard; Mr. Stonard, of Savage-gardens; and Mr. Thomas Hall, of Watling-street, apothecary. The property, which the late Mr. Fuller left behind him, is calculated at 400,000*l.* of which there is about 2000*l.* a year in land. The will was in his own hand-writing, and not

not attested by any witnesses. To his two sisters he has left the whole of his immense property, with the exception of a few very trifling legacies. His old clerks, to one of whom (and who is said to have been his usher when he kept the academy) he had made great promises, are equally forgotten.

#### APRIL.

5th. Yesterday forenoon arrived, at the Admiralty, a foreign messenger from Leghorn, with dispatches from Lord Keith, commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean. He brought the very unpleasant tidings of the loss of the Queen Charlotte, of 110 guns, his lordship's flag ship, which took fire just before day-break, on the morning of the 17th of March, while under an easy sail, between the island of Gorgona and Leghorn. The accident was occasioned by the fire of a match, which was kept lighted, for the purpose of firing signal-guns, and communicated to some hay which lay on the half deck. The fire spread very rapidly, and bursting through the port-holes and the hatchway of the ship, soon caught the shrouds; and, notwithstanding every exertion, she burnt to the water's edge, and then blew up.

Upwards of seven hundred lives are lost; as the boats of the ship could not contain one-fourth of the complement of men. Lord Keith was himself on shore, at Leghorn.

7th. The lords of the Admiralty have given 150 guineas, as a reward to the humane and intrepid exertions of some fishermen, at Winterton, in Norfolk, who, at

the risk of their lives, saved upwards of 30 of the crew of the Mastiff gun-vessel, wrecked near the Cockle-Sands last January. Abel King and William Pile have received 25 guineas each for their first volunteering in this service of danger and humanity.

8th. A very serious accident befel the duke of York, whilst riding for an airing along the King's Road, towards Fulham. At Parson's Green, a dog belonging to a drover, crossed, barking in front of his horse, a spirited animal, which rearing up on his hind legs, fell backwards with the duke under him. His royal highness's foot was unfortunately entangled in the stirrup, and the horse rising, dragged him along, doing him still more injury. Two of the duke's ribs are broken; he has received a contusion on the back of his head, his face is bruised, and one of his legs and arms are also bruised.

9th. A very handsome pump has been erected in the front of the Royal Exchange, over the well lately discovered in Cornhill. The case is of iron, and forms a lofty and very handsome obelisk. It is elegantly painted, and decorated with emblematic figures, among which is the plan of a house of correction, which was built on the ground adjoining the pump in 1282, by Henry Wallis, esq. then lord mayor of London. One side of the pump bears this inscription: "This Well was discovered, much enlarged, and this Pump erected in the year 1799, by the contributions of the Bank of England, the East-India Company, the neighbouring Fire-offices, together with the Bankers and Traders of the Ward of Cornhill." On the reverse, these words

words appear: "On this spot a well was first made, and a house of correction built, by Henry Wallis, mayor of London, in 1282."

11th. This afternoon, as the Chatham and Rochester coach came out of the gateway of the inn-yard of the Golden-Cross, Charing-Cross, a young woman, sitting on the top, threw her head back, to prevent her from striking against the beam: but, there being so much luggage on the roof of the coach as to hinder her laying herself sufficiently back, it caught her face, and tore the flesh up her forehead in a dreadful manner. She was conveyed to an hospital, where she died on the 19th. A coroner's inquest was, on the 22d, held at the Westminster-Infirmmary on the body of the above young woman, who, it appears, was only 19 years of age; and brought in their verdict, *accidental death*; but, on account of apparent negligence in the coachman, they fined him five pounds. It appeared, that the deceased had come to town to visit a lying-in sister, and was on her return to Chatham, when the accident happened.

12th. This morning, about two o'clock, as the watchman was going his rounds in Great Queen-street, Lincoln's-inn Fields, he was alarmed by a strong smell of burning oil and pitch; following the scent, he came to the oil and colour-shop belonging to Mr. Baynham, the corner of Drury-lane and Great Queen-street. The fire had not extended beyond the shop; but, soon after he had sprung his rattle, and knocked at the private door, the whole of the lower premises were in flames. It was not till after repeated knocking, that he alarmed a gentleman lodging in the first floor, who had

no other alternative to preserve his life than jumping out of the window in his shirt; in this he succeeded, without any other accident than a slight bruise. The rattles of the watchmen, and the knocking at the door, produced no effect on the sleepers; the dread and horror, which, in consequence, pervaded the assembled multitude, can more easily be felt than described; for, by this time, the fire had extended from the shop to the second floor, and the flames were bursting through the windows: for the effect, produced from the oil, pitch, and other combustibles, so much exceeded the conflagration of a common fire, as to render all attempts to save any one article useless. Lives only were objects worthy of consideration, and all hopes of saving them were at one time given up. Sheets of burning oil were thrown up to a vast height, and, in falling, set fire to every thing inflammable on which they fell. The adjacent chimneys were all on fire, but, through the timely assistance of buckets of water, no farther damage was sustained. The engines before this time had arrived, but still a proper supply of water could not be procured. Mr. Baynham appearing, now relieved the minds of the spectators from all farther apprehension relative to the safety of himself and family, they having had just time to escape over the tops of the houses unhurt. The conflagration became so great as to excite an universal alarm throughout the neighbourhood: most of the houses being old, were as inflammable as touchwood, and the inhabitants knew not whether to bring out their goods into the street, at the risk of being plundered, or let them remain.

main. In the intermediate time water was obtained, and applied with success; but the premises in which the fire began, could not be saved, nor could others be preserved from damage. The loss to Mr. Baynham, however, is small, having been insured. The principal sufferers were two French gentlemen, who lodged in the first floor; they had lately arrived from Hamburg, and had only been in the house a fortnight. At the time of this unfortunate affair, one was in the country: the other, as already mentioned, jumped out of the window to preserve his life. They had deposited all their papers and effects in their apartments, no part of which were either saved or insured. The above gentleman, in his moment of distraction, declared, that his loss alone, amounted to 600*l*. being the only remains of a large fortune.

18th. An extraordinary large ash-tree, just cut down at Broughton-hall, near Skipton, in Craven, Yorkshire, contained above 500 feet of wood, perfectly sound.

24th. Sarah Lloyd, convicted at the last Bury assizes, of robbing her mistress, Mrs., Syce, of Hadleigh, (the respite of fourteen days, granted by the sheriff, to give time to transmit a petition to the king, having expired) was executed. At the place of execution, Capel Lofft, esq. ascended the cart, and spoke to the multitude for about fifteen minutes, in a very impressive strain; in which he justified the sheriff for granting the suspension; commended the petitioners for interceding in her behalf; and considered the unfortunate culprit as only the instrument made use of by a designing

villain to perpetrate the crime for which she suffered. He said, he rejoiced in the belief, that she had that time for repentance given her which was a happy prelude to future bliss; after which he recommended her as an example to all around him. He received great attention during his address, at the conclusion of which the unfortunate young woman was launched into eternity.

28th. A short time since, eight members of the society of Cumberland youths made an attempt to ring 15,136 changes of Oxford triple-bobs on Edmonton church-bells. It requires upwards of ten hours time to perform this task, at 25 changes a minute. They had entered the ninth hour, when an unlucky accident befell Mr. Gros, the composer of the peal: making an attempt to slacken his knee-buckle, his leg entangled in the coil of the rope, by which he was elevated to a considerable height, and, thence falling down on his head, he broke his collar-bone. Had it not been for this accident, no doubt the feat would have been accomplished, and the performers crowned with perpetual honour, as nothing to be compared with such an achievement of strength and skill can be found in the records of the campanilogers art.

29th. Cannons, near Edgeware, was this day put up to auction at Garraway's coffee-house, by Mr. Phipps, and bought-in by its present owner, colonel O'Kelly, at 36,700*l*. It was erected on the site of the centre of the celebrated mansion of the duke of Chandos, by the late Mr. Hallet; and, on his decease, sold by his grandson to the uncle of the present possessor; who,  
not

not finding tenants to take it, determined on this unsuccessful mode of disposing of it.

**DIED.** At East Dereham, Norfolk, William Cowper, esq. of the Inner Temple, author of a poem intitled "The Task," and many other beautiful productions. He was born at Great Berkhamstead, Herts, Nov. 15, 1731. His father, the rector of that parish, was John Cowper, D. D. nephew to the lord high chancellor Cowper; and his mother was Anne, daughter of Roger Donne, gent. late of Ludham-hall, Norfolk. The first volume of his poems was published in 1782; the second in 1785. In 1791, he undertook the arduous task of translating the Iliad and Odyssey into blank verse.

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### MAY.

4th. The thermometer placed in the sun, rose this day to 104, being four degrees above blood-heat, and 38 above summer heat; in the evening it fell to 66, being ten degrees above temperate.

6th. Two boxes, containing a valuable collection of coins and medals, have been stolen and carried off from a room adjoining to the library in King's College, Cambridge, between the 5th of April last and this day. The college has offered a reward of 500*l.* on the conviction of the offenders.

This day, in a committee of privileges, in the house of peers, the hearing of evidence was concluded respecting the claim to the Scotch peerage of Fairfax. The only point, which appeared to remain undecided, when the committee last sat,

was, whether the claimant was the eldest son of the late William Fairfax. A brother of the claimant's, who was killed in the service at Quebec, was stated as an old man, and having left issue; this produced a degree of doubt in the committee; and farther evidence was resorted to, which this day was delivered by Mrs. Athawes, who stated, to her certain knowledge, that the Mr. Fairfax, killed at Quebec, was a younger brother of the claimant; and, as we could collect, left no issue. This point being ascertained, the committee had no hesitation in forming their opinion; and the attorney-general, and the lord advocate of Scotland, who appeared on the part of the crown, making no objection, a resolution passed the committee, stating, in effect, that the claimant had made good his title to the peerage in question; and, the house resuming, the usual steps were ordered to be taken in consequence.

7th. The duke of Bedford having disposed of the materials of Bedford-house for 5 or 6000*l.* a sale of the furniture, pictures, &c. by Mr. Christie, commenced this day, when, the most crowded assemblage were gratified with a last view of this design of Inigo Jones, for the earl of Southampton, father of the amiable relict of William lord Russell; from whence she dates many of her letters, published by Mr. Selwood; and resided in it till her death, 1723. The late duke fitted up the gallery (which was the only room of consequence in the house), and placed in it sir James Thornhill's copies of the Cartoons, which that artist was three years about; which he bought, at the sale of that eminent



ment artist's collection, for 200*l*.— St. John preaching in the Wilderness, by Raphael, fetched 95 guineas. A beautiful painting, by Gainsborough, of an Italian villa, 90 guineas. The archduke Leopold's gallery, by Teniers, 210 guineas. Four paintings of a battle, by Cassanovi, which cost his grace 100*l*. were sold for 60 guineas. A most beautiful landscape, by Cuype, for 200 guineas. Two beautiful bronze figures, Venus de Medicis and Antinous, 20 guineas; and Venus couchant, from the antique, 20 guineas. Another of the pictures was the duel between lord Mahon and the duke of Hamilton. The week after, were sold the double rows of lime-trees in the garden, valued, one at 90*l*. the other at 80*l*; which are now all taken down, and the site of a new square, of nearly the dimensions of Lincoln's-inn Fields, and to be called Russell-square, has been laid out. The famous statue of Apollo, which was in the hall at Bedford-house, has been removed to Woburn-abbey, and is to be placed on an eminence in the square between the abbey and the tennis-court and riding-house. It originally cost a thousand guineas.

An accident of a remarkable nature lately happened in the environs of Beziers, in Languedoc. A labouring man coming home found a kite perched on the cradle of his child, and devouring it so greedily, that the father took the bird without any difficulty; but the child was so much injured as to be past recovery.

11th. This night, about nine o'clock, — Meadows, esq. of Kippis-Hall, near Pontefract, suddenly called Mrs. Meadows's maid

into the drawing-room, and threatened to stab her with his sword. By the earnest entreaty of his lady, however, he was diverted from the purpose, and the servant was permitted to leave the room. But she had scarcely withdrawn, when he attacked Mrs. Meadows with the most savage ferocity, gave her three stabs in the body, and cut her throat in so dreadful a manner as nearly to sever her head from her body. The servants were first alarmed by one of their children, who ran down stairs exclaiming that her pappa had killed her mamma. As the murderer was armed with two or three brace of pistols, besides his sword, they were obliged to lend for a party of the Pontefract volunteers, who immediately secured him, and carried him off to York-castle. His lady was a dutiful wife and tender mother; and the conduct of Mr. Meadows can be attributed only to insanity.

15th. A circumstance occurred this morning in Hyde-Park, which caused a considerable sensation through the town, in the course of the forenoon. His majesty was attending the field exercises of the grenadier battalion of the guards, when, during one of the volleys, a ball cartridge was fired from the musquet of one of the soldiers, which struck Mr. Ongley, a clerk in the allotment department of the navy-office, who was standing only twenty-three feet distance from the king. The ball entered the fleshy part of the thigh in front, and passed straight through. Mr. Ongley was dressed on the ground: had the wound been an inch higher, it must have proved fatal. An examination took place of the cartouch boxes of the soldiers, but no individual could be

be fixed upon as the perpetrator of this act. The following bulletin on this subject was issued from the horse-guards, in the course of the afternoon :

*“ Horse-Guards, May 15.*

“ This morning, during the field-day of the grenadier battalion of the foot guards, in Hyde-Park, a shot was accidentally discharged from the ranks, which unfortunately wounded a gentleman of the name of Ongley, who was amongst the spectators. The shot perforated Mr. Ongley’s thigh, but did not injure the bone or arteries. His majesty directed the military surgeon present to examine and dress Mr. Ongley’s wounds, and was much gratified by the favourable report made by Mr. Nixon, the surgeon of the grenadiers. His majesty, on coming from the field, sent his command to Mr. Keate, the surgeon-general, and Mr. Rush, the inspector of hospitals, to wait on Mr. Ongley, and to offer their assistance during the progress of his cure.”

In the evening a most alarming, and extraordinary circumstance occurred at the theatre royal, Drury-lane. At the moment when his majesty entered the box, a man in the pit, near the orchestra, on the right hand side, suddenly stood up and discharged a pistol at the royal person. His majesty had advanced about four steps from the door. On the report of a pistol his majesty stopped, and stood firmly. The house was immediately in an uproar, and the cry of “ seize him” burst from every part of the theatre. The king, apparently not the least disconcerted, came nearly to the front of the box. The man who committed the crime was seized and

conveyed from the pit: The audience vehemently called out “ flew him!” In consequence of which loyal clamour, Kelly, who, with a multitude of persons belonging to the theatre, had rushed upon the stage, came forward and assured them that the culprit was in safe custody. The indignation of the audience was soothed by this intelligence, and “ God save the king” was universally demanded. It was sung by all the vocal performers, and encored. The curtain drew up for the commencement of the play; but Bannister, jun. was not suffered to proceed till something more could be learned respecting the wretch who had made this diabolical attempt. Bannister and Mrs. Jordan both again assured the audience that the culprit was perfectly secured; and the play was then suffered to go on without farther interruption.

Mr. Sheridan, assisted by Mr. Wigstead, the magistrate, proceeded immediately to examine the man in the room into which he had been conducted, and where he had been searched, to see if he had any other fire-arms, or papers. He had none. Mr. Tamplin, a trumpeter in the band, who assisted in taking him over the orchestra, recognized the man to be a soldier, and pulling open his coat, found that he had on a military waistcoat, with the button of the 15th light dragoons. It was an officer’s old waistcoat. On being questioned by Mr. Sheridan, he said, “ he had no objection to tell who he was. It was not over yet—there was a great deal more and worse to be done; his name was James Hadfield; he had served his time to a working silversmith, but had enlisted into the 15th light dragoons, and fought

fought for his king and country."— At this time the prince of Wales and duke of York entered the room, to be present at the examination. He immediately turned to the duke, and said—"I know your royal highness—God bless you.—You are a good fellow. I have served with your highness, and (pointing to a deep cut over his eye, and another long scar on his cheek) said, I got these, and more than these, in fighting by your side. At Lincelles, I was left three hours among the dead in a ditch, and was taken prisoner by the French. I had my arm broken by a shot, and eight sabre wounds in my head; but I recovered, and here I am." He then gave the following account of himself, and of his conduct:

He said, that having been discharged from the army, on account of his wounds, he had returned to London, and now lived by working at his own trade. He made a good deal of money; he worked for Mr. Solomon Hougham. Being weary of life, he last week bought a pair of pistols from William Wakelin, a hair-dresser and broker, in St. John-street. (Persons were immediately sent to bring Wakelin and his master to the theatre.) He told him they were for his young master, who would give him a blunderbuss in exchange. That he had borrowed a crown of his master that morning, with which he had bought some powder, and had gone to the house of Mrs. Mason, in Red-Lion-street, to have some beer; that he went backwards to the yard, and there he tried his pistols. He found one of them good for nothing, and left it behind him. In his own trade he used lead, and he cast himself two flugs, with which he

loaded his pistol, and came to the theatre.

At this part of his narrative sir William Addington, the magistrate, arrived, and took the chair: he went over the examination of the persons who had secured him, and who had seen the pistol levelled at his majesty. He asked Hadfield what had induced him to attempt the life of the best of sovereigns? He answered, that he "had not attempted to kill the king. He had fired his pistol over the royal box. He was as good a shot as any in England; but he was himself weary of life—he wished for death, but not to die by his own hands. He was desirous to raise an alarm; and wished that the spectators might fall upon him—he hoped that his life was forfeited." He was asked if he belonged to the corresponding society. He said, "no; he belonged to no political society; he belonged to a club of odd fellows, and he was a member of a benefit society." And being asked if he had any accomplices, he solemnly declared that he had none, and with great energy took God to witness, and laid his hand on his heart.

From this time he appeared to exhibit symptoms of derangement. When asked who his father was? He said he had been possillion to some duke; but he could not say what duke. He talked in a mysterious way of dreams, and of a great commission he had received in his sleep; that he knew he was to be a martyr, and was to be persecuted like his great master. He had been persecuted in France; but he had not yet been sufficiently tried. He knew what he was to endure. He uttered many other incoherent things in the same style.

William

William Wakelin, the person from whom he had bought the pistols, being brought to the house, was examined: He said, it was true that he had bought a pair of pistols of him, and that he had said that they were for his young master, who would give him a blunderbuss for them: but he had not yet got the blunderbuss. He knew very little of Hadfield, but knew where he worked, and had heard a good character of him; but that the least drink affected his head.

Several persons from the house of Mrs. Mason, his acquaintance, confirmed this fact: and they said they ascribed this to the very severe wounds he had received in the head. The least drink quite deranged him.

Upon this evidence, he was committed to Cold-Bath-fields for re-examination; and their royal highnesses the duke of Clarence, duke of Cumberland, and Mr. Sheridan, conducted him thither. His majesty's privy council, however, desiring to examine him forthwith, to discover if he had any accomplices, he was taken to the duke of Portland's office, where he underwent another examination. The persons who were instrumental in securing him, and whose evidence is the most material, as to directing the pistol towards his majesty's box, if not towards his person, also attended.

On Friday the privy-council sat on the farther examination of this man's conduct. Several of the prisoner's shopmates were examined, the tendency of whose evidence shewed that he was insane. He told his wife, and others, that, on Tuesday last, he met a man who assured him that he had had Jesus

Christ in keeping five years in Mount Sion, and that he was soon to visit this world. This man was one Truelock, a cobbler, at Islington. He was taken before the privy-council that day, and is much possessed with an opinion of the speedy return of our Saviour. With this idea he had possessed the prisoner also. Both seem to be religiously mad.

At the privy-council also appeared, and were examined, the adjutant, and one of the captains of the 15th light dragoons, who said the prisoner had been considered as insane, otherwise he was a brave good man, and much beloved by the regiment. About three months ago, he came down to Croydon to see the regiment, and, while there, was taken so ill, it was necessary to put him in a straight waistcoat. They wondered he had not since been taken care of as a madman.

The second flag, which was fired, was found, on Friday morning, by the duke of Clarence, in lady Milner's box. It appears that Hadfield did not fire very wide of his majesty; only about a yard too far to the left. The king stood erect after he fired. The queen came in, and the king waved his hand for her to keep back. Her majesty asked what's the matter? The king said, "Only a squib, a squib; they are firing squibs." After the assassin had been taken away, the queen came forward, and, in great agitation, cried. She looked at the king, and asked if they should stay? The king answered, "We will not stir, but stay the entertainment out."

DIED. 18th. At Petersburg, the celebrated field-marshal Suvaroff. At this time last year, his name resounded from every mouth, and his

his triumphs frequently graced our Register. His blood was inflamed by the painful labours of his glorious campaign; his soul, oppressed with the contradictions which prevented him from crowning it by the total expulsion of the French from Italy; and his heart afflicted with the grief of finding his important services repaid by unaccountable caprice and ingratitude. He is said to have been in disgrace with his sovereign; and such is the character of Russian manners, that the displeasure of the prince includes banishment from all society. The man, so lately the theme of royal panegyric, was absolutely abandoned in the struggles of sickness and death; and the last moments of Suvaroff were deprived of the offices of friendship, and the consolation of public sympathy. Suvaroff, it cannot be denied, served his country with persevering success, and implicit fidelity, and has contributed to consolidate the power, and to extend the fame of the Russian empire. Posterity will render him that justice, which his contemporaries refused him; and we are not afraid to express its language before-hand, by paying this homage to the great talents and virtues of a hero, whose actions will maintain a distinguished rank, in the history of the eighteenth century.

25th. In Gower-street, in his eighty-third year, Benjamin Kenton, esq. From an obscure origin, and an education in a charity-school, he obtained, by frugality, industry, and integrity, with an irreproachable character, a more than princely fortune. For some years, he kept the Crown and Magpye tavern, in White-chapel; and afterwards, becoming a wine-merchant in the Minories,

went very largely into the trade of exporting porter. His property, in the different public funds, exceeds 300,000*l.* and at the present market prices, is worth 272,000*l.* his landed estates 680*l.* a year. And he has bestowed it in a manner that reflects honour to his memory. To the hospitals of Christ, St. Bartholomew, and Bethlehem, 5000*l.* each; to the charity for the blind, 20,000*l.*; to the Philanthropic Society, 3000*l.*; to the Marine Society, and the Lying-in Hospital, 2000*l.* each; to the Foundling Hospital and Asylum, 1500*l.* each; to the Vintner's Company, 4000*l.*; to Mr. John Cole, 20,000*l.*; Mr. Smith, (his grandson, and only immediate descendant, who was, unfortunately, not much in his favour) 800*l.* a year; Mr. Usher, 1000*l.*; Mr. Vaughan, 2000*l.*; Mr. Waley, 1500*l.*; Alderman Harley, 1000*l.*; Chamberlain Clarke, 1000*l.*; his four executors, Messrs. Baldwin, Till, Holford, and Watts, 2000*l.* each: Mr. Wall, 500*l.*; Whitechapel charity-school, 500*l.*; fifty or sixty other legacies, from 100*l.* to 500*l.*; and to his successor in business, Mr. David Pyke Watts, the residuum, supposed to be not less than 6000*l.* a year.

## JUNE.

4th. The celebration of this day, on which his majesty entered into his 63d year, commenced with the grandest sight ever exhibited in Hyde Park. At six o'clock, all the volunteer corps in London and its immediate vicinity, to the number of 12,000, were under arms, and assembled in the field before eight. Notwithstanding the immense crowd

crowd of spectators, and their impatient curiosity, the ground was most excellently kept by the city light horse, the London, Westminster, and Surry cavalry. His majesty arrived at nine, attended by the prince of Wales, the dukes of York, Cumberland, and Gloucester; prince William of Gloucester; Earls Harrington, and Chatham; lord Cathcart, and all the general officers, &c. and then the review commenced. Although it poured a torrent of rain the whole time, he continued, without even a great coat, equally exposed as his subjects. The only observable difference, from his usual conduct, on similar occasions was, that, as he passed the line, he did not keep his hat off quite so long as in fine weather. The formation of the line, and the various orders of the day, were executed with precision, and the firing, under every disadvantage, was excellent. The evolutions ended about two. His majesty, and the princes, returned to Buckingham-house; then all the corps filed off, after having endured a most soaking rain for upwards of eight hours.

12th. A chasm, of extraordinary length and depth, was made by the extraordinary great rains of last winter, in the side of Bredon-hill, Worcester-shire, on the side next Great Comberton. Mr. Parsons, proprietor of the soil, proposed to fill it up, by a sloping in the earth, from the edges; but, the continued rains of this spring have increased it.

The life-boats, established at Shields, have, within twenty-seven months, preserved the lives of the crews of eleven ships, that have been stranded, or foundered, at the mouth of the Tyne; all of whom must otherwise have perished.

13th. The yeomanry, and volunteer corps of Hertfordshire, were reviewed by his majesty, at Hatfield, the seat of the marquis of Salisbury. His majesty was attended by his whole family, ministers, &c. and most sumptuously entertained by the marquis. The volunteers consisted of upwards of 1500, all of whom the marquis hospitably dined. The following is the return of the provisions provided: 80 hams, and as many rounds of beef; 100 joints of veal; 100 legs of lamb; 100 tongues; 100 meat pies; 25 edge-bones of beef; 25 rumps of beef, roasted; 100 joints of mutton; 25 briskets; 71 dishes of other roast beef; 100 gooseberry pies; besides very sumptuous covers at the tables of the king, the cabinet ministers, &c. For the country people, there were killed, at the Salisbury arms, three bullocks, sixteen sheep, and twenty-five lambs. The expense is estimated at 3000*l*.

22d. This day arrived, at Blackwall, Mr. Gower's newly-constructed vessel, the *Transit*. She sailed from the Motherbank, on Thursday evening, at six o'clock, with the wind at west, and arrived in the Downs, at noon, on Friday. Alone, on the same day, she sailed for the river, turning up within Margate sands, through the Narrows, and over the Flats, with a double reef top-sail, breeze at west, and arrived, at Gravesend, at midnight, on Saturday. On Sunday morning, at eight o'clock, she again got under weigh, and turned up to Blackwall the same tide, to the admiration of the beholders, who were astonished at the simplicity of her manœuvres. It appears, by the testimony of the Downs pilot, Mr. William Norris, that she would have



have reached Gravesend, on the second tide, from the Downs, but for the darkness of the night.

26th. This morning, came on; in the court of king's bench, the trial of James Hadfield, for high-treason. At nine, the four judges took their seats, and the prisoner was brought into court. The officer of the court called over the pannel of names; from which, after nineteen challenges on the part of the prisoner, and two on the part of the crown, had been made, the jury were sworn. Mr. Abbott then opened the proceedings on the part of the crown; after which, the attorney-general addressed the jury. When, after a short speech, on the part of the prisoner, by Mr. Erskine, the jury delivered their verdict, "not guilty, being under the influence of insanity, at the time the act was done;" and, on that ground, the court ordered him to be remanded. He was, therefore, conducted to a coach, and conveyed back to prison.

From the Philadelphia Gazette of April last, it appears, that Mr. Cooper, formerly of Manchester, has been arraigned and tried for sedition. The indictment consisted of the following passages, published in hand-bills, signed by Mr. Cooper: 1st, That the president did not possess sufficient capacity to fulfil the duties of his office. 2d, That he had created a permanent navy. 3d, That a standing army had been created under his immediate auspices; and, 4th, that he had interfered in the judiciary of the United States, and caused Jonathan Robbins to be delivered over for execution to an unrelenting military tribunal. Mr. Cooper read numerous passages in his defence, and continued reading until exhausted and un-

able to proceed. The jury, in a few minutes, returned their verdict, *Guilty*. The court then allowed Mr. Cooper three days to prepare any thing he could offer in extenuation. On the appointed day, he was sentenced to pay a fine of 400 dollars, to suffer six months imprisonment, and to enter into bonds for his good behaviour, for one year; himself in the sum of 1000 dollars, and two sureties in 500 dollars each.

The following minute particulars, respecting the capture of the William Tell, French man of war, are given in a letter, dated Syracuse, Foudroyant, April 2, 1800.

"March 30, 1800, sir Edward Berry, commanding his majesty's ship Foudroyant, of 80 guns, after having landed lord Nelson ill in Sicily, came up with the Guillaume Tell, French ship of 84 guns; and laying the Foudroyant alongside so close that her spare anchor was but just clear of the Guillaume Tell's mizen chains, hailed her commander, admiral Dacres, and ordered him to strike; the French admiral answered by brandishing a sword over his head, and then discharged a musket at sir Edward Berry; this was followed by a broadside, which nearly unriggered the Foudroyant, whose guns, however, being prepared with three round shots in each, she poured a most tremendous and effectual discharge, crashing through and through the enemy, she then fired another fresh broadside, when down came the Guillaume Tell's main and mizen masts, at the same time, the Foudroyant's foretop-mast, gib-boom, sprit-sail, maintop-sail-yard, stay-sails, fore-sail, and mainsail all in tatters. It was difficult, in this situation, to get the ship to fall off, so as to maintain her position,

tion, the combatants therefore separated for a few minutes, when sir Edward Berry called his men from the main deck, and cutting away part of the wreck, got the ship once more under command, that is, obedient to her helm, and manageable, and again close alongside her determined opponent, who nailed his colours to the stump of the mast, and displayed his flag on a pole over them. Sir Edward then commenced again a most heavy and well-directed fire, his men having now got into a system of firing every gun two or three times in a minute, regularly going through the exercise; musquetry was occasionally used when the ship was very near on board the *Guillaume Tell*; but latterly, the mizen-mast being almost in two, sir Edward called the marines from the poop and put them to the great guns, by which, many lives were certainly saved. At a few minutes past eight, the *Guillaume Tell*'s fore-mast was shot away, and, becoming a mere log; she struck her colours.

"The *Foudroyant*, in this engagement, expended 162 barrels of powder, 1200 thirty-two pound shot, 1240 twenty pound ditto, 100 eighteen pound ditto, and 200 twelve pound ditto. Although much damaged, she was, within a very short period, in readiness for sea."

An epidemic disease lately prevailed at Bassorah and Korm, in consequence of the overflow of the Euphrates; and which, within the period of two months, proved fatal to upwards of 12,000 persons.

16th. On this day, the anniversary of the duke of Bedford's sheep-shearing and show of cattle commenced, and attracted several hun-

dreds of agriculturists and breeders, from all parts of the country; among whom, was a baron from Germany, who is at the head of an agricultural establishment in that country, and four gentlemen from Ireland. The call for post-horses, and other conveyances, on the London road, during Sunday and Monday morning, was so great that many could not get there till the business had commenced; and others were actually obliged to go by indirect roads, and then could not get conveyances across the country; and were obliged to walk a number of miles. His grace gave a public breakfast at the abbey, at 9 o'clock.

18th. A child of Mrs. Dandy, of Rotherhithe-wall, near Dock-head, being about to be put to bed, and crying vehemently, the servant, Anne Vines, to quell its obstinacy, threatened to put it into the copper, unless it consented to go quietly to bed. Persuasion and remonstrance being in vain, the servant suspended the infant (not three years of age), over the place of terror; when it slipped from her arms, and sunk at once to the bottom of the boiling copper. It died immediately, in a most shocking state, the very skin coming off with the clothes, when taken out. The jury sat the next day, and, after a minute investigation, returned the following verdict: feloniously killing and slaying, by putting the child in the copper, but not with an intent to kill.—Anne Vines has since been tried at the Surry assizes, and found guilty of manslaughter.

21st. *Liverpool*. Mr. Peter Wainwright, a respectable merchant of this town, had long been in the habits of friendship with a Mr. Theophilus Smith, earthen-ware manufacturer,

manufacturer, of Tunstall, near Burslem, Staffordshire, whose affairs had lately become somewhat deranged. Early this morning, Mr. Wainwright received an anonymous note, desiring his attendance upon a gentleman at a public-house, near the Circus, in this town, as soon as possible. Mr. Wainwright suspected the note to be Mr. Smith's hand-writing, although an attempt had been made to disguise it. Mr. Wainwright obeyed the summons, and found Mr. Smith there, who shewed him a printed statement of his affairs, and urged him to accompany him to the place of his residence, to be present at a meeting of creditors, which was to take place on the following day. Mr. Wainwright, though inconvenient to himself, agreed to accompany him: they accordingly set out together, in a post-chaise, on the afternoon of that day. During their journey, all was friendly, as usual; and, at their arrival at a place called Golden Hill, being about a mile from Mr. Smith's house, he begged to dismiss the chaise, and they would walk across the fields, as the carriage, driving to his house, might betray his presence to the country, which he would wish to avoid, there being several writs out against him. It rained slightly, and Mr. Smith pressed Mr. Wainwright to make use of his great-coat, which Mr. Wainwright refused. Mr. Smith led Mr. Wainwright out of the road, through a piece of mowing grass, in which Mr. Smith's house stands; when Mr. Wainwright observed Mr. Smith draw a pistol from his pocket, with which suspecting he intended to destroy himself, he exclaimed,

"in the name of God; Mr. Smith, what are you about?" wrested the pistol from him, and threw it away. They now proceeded a little farther; when Mr. Smith drew a second pistol, presented it at Mr. Wainwright, and fired at him without effect. Mr. Wainwright then closed with him, and threw him down. Mr. Smith then called for mercy, saying, he would forgive him if he would not hurt him. Mr. Wainwright answered, "he wanted no forgiveness, having done him no injury." Two pistols being now disposed of; and, having searched his pockets for more without finding any, Mr. Wainwright considered himself safe, and released Mr. Smith. They were about to proceed towards the house; when Mr. Wainwright reminded Mr. Smith of having left his great coat and a bundle on the ground; on which Mr. Smith took them up. When they had arrived within a short distance of the house, Mr. Smith drew a third pistol from the bundle, and shot Mr. Wainwright through the body. A scuffle now ensued, during which Mr. Smith drew a knife (which, it appears, he had purchased in Liverpool), and endeavoured to cut Mr. Wainwright's throat; which, being guarded by his cravat and a silk handkerchief, he failed of effecting, and gave him several severe wounds on the left jaw: they continued struggling till they reached the house; when Mr. Wainwright by a sudden effort, got from Mr. Smith, knocked at the door, and called out, murder; demanding admittance; but Mr. Smith ordered the people in the house not to admit Mr. Wainwright, who then proceeded to a cottage about five or six hundred yards

yards off, whence he soon after removed to the house of Mr. William Adams, in Tunstall; and, we have since learnt, is almost recovered.

Mr. Smith, for whose apprehension a reward of fifty pounds was offered, was taken at a house in Market-lane, Pall-mall, London, by Dixon and Carpineal, two of the Bow-street officers. Although armed with loaded pistols when the officers came to his house, he made not the least resistance, but conducted himself in the most gentlemanlike manner in every respect. When brought before the magistrates, Mr. Smith admitted he was the person described in the advertisement. He has since been removed, by order of Mr. Bond, from Tothill-fields Bridewell, under the care of Carpineal and Dixon, to the county gaol of Stafford. His trial is put off on account of the absence of a material witness of Mr. Smith's.

30th. This morning, at half past five, a fire was discovered to have burst out in the room called the Prince's Gallery, or Long Room, in Vauxhall-Garden, which was originally built for a masquerade room, but which for some years has been used for scene painting, and as a lumber room. Every assistance was immediately procured, and a part of this building was immediately pulled down, to prevent the rapidity of the flames from destroying the whole of the extensive premises of Vauxhall. A great part of this gallery, which was entirely composed of wood, lath, and canvas, is destroyed. A valuable quantity of scenery is also destroyed. Near thirty of the trees caught fire, and the foliage burnt, together with the portico at the entrance, and the outside railing; but the material

buildings of the house and garden are saved.

*Chatham.* This forenoon, between 11 and 12, a fire broke out at a wharf a little way above the Sun tavern, which raged with dreadful violence upwards of two hours; both sides of the main street are in one heap of ruins, from within three or four doors of the Sun tavern to the Union flag, and very few of the houses opposite that space, towards the new road, have escaped. Unfortunately, when the fire broke out, it was low water in the river, which prevented a supply for a considerable time. A thatched farm-house and barn, about a quarter of a mile distant, were set fire to by the sparks which the wind carried to it, and were totally destroyed, with a great quantity of hay. One or two lives are lost, and a few unfortunate accidents happened.

*Died.* 21st. At two o'clock, at his house in Upper Harley-street, in consequence of a dreadful accident he met with on the preceding Wednesday night, about eleven o'clock, William Bosanquet, esq. He was making some alterations in his house, and, amongst others, had removed the balcony from his back drawing-room window; unfortunately forgetting this circumstance, he walked out, and immediately fell into the area, and, in his fall, broke the vertebrae of his back, and was otherwise most severely bruised and injured. He was sensible of his inevitable dissolution, and bore his sufferings with a fortitude of mind almost unparalleled, dictating, in the extremity of torture, some additions to his will. He has left a most amiable lady and ten children to lament his loss. Mr. Bosanquet was a son of the bank-director, and him-

self a partner in the banking-house of Foster and Lubbock.

24th. Assassinated, while walking on the terrace of his garden, near the head-quarters, at Cairo, giving orders to a builder, general Kleber, commander-in-chief of the French army in Egypt; to which he succeeded on the departure of Buonaparte, and in which he is succeeded by general Menou. The murder, it seems, was committed by Souleyman, a native of Aleppo. The assassin, who confessed the fact, was sentenced to have his right hand burned off, to be impaled alive in the presence of the army, and there to remain till devoured by birds of prey. Three sheiks, who were acquainted with his intentions, and did not impart them, were also sentenced to suffer death by decapitation. General Kleber was interred, on the 27th, in the entrenched camp, called after the name of Ibrahim Bey, with the greatest military honours, and a funeral oration was delivered by citizen Fournier, the French commissary to the Divan. It is a remarkable coincidence, that Kleber's death, and that of Desaix at the battle of Marengo, took place, in Egypt and Italy, on the same day, and at the same hour. Kleber commanded in Lower and Desaix in Upper Egypt, while Buonaparte was there; and the French Government have ordered a monument to be erected to their joint memories in the Place de Victoire at Paris.

## JULY.

2d. This afternoon his majesty went in state to the house of peers,

and gave the royal assent to the union-bill.

4th. This day, one Mr. Rusby was tried, in the court of king's bench, on an indictment against him; as an eminent cornfactor, for having purchased, by sample, on the 8th of November last, in the corn-market, Mark-lane, 90 quarters of oats, at 41s. per quarter, and sold 30 of them again in the same market, on the same day, at 44s. The most material testimony on the part of the crown was given by Thomas Smith, a partner of the defendant's. After the evidence had been gone through, lord Kenyon made an address to the jury, who almost instantly found the defendant guilty. Lord Kenyon. "You have conferred, by your verdict, almost the greatest benefit on your country that ever was conferred by any jury." Another indictment against the defendant, for engrossing, stands over.

Several other indictments for the same alleged crimes were tried during this year, which we fear tended to aggravate the evils of scarcity they were meant to obviate, and no doubt contributed to excite popular tumults, by rendering a very useful body of men odious in the eyes of the mob.

9th. Rome. The pope arrived yesterday in this city, and was received with incredible acclamations. He immediately repaired to St. Peter's, where a solemn *te deum* was performed, at which an immense concourse of people attended. Such a jubilee has not been held at Rome for several centuries. The great families of Colonna and Doria Pamfili sent two sumptuous carriages, drawn by six beautiful horses,

horses, to meet his holiness, as a present to him, in token of their devotion to his interest. These were gifts the more agreeable, as both the papal palaces at Rome, stalls, stables, and all, had been completely ransacked and emptied. A part of the quirinal had been fitted up and furnished in haste for the reception of his holiness. At night the whole city was illuminated, and several triumphal arches:

12th. This day was laid the first stone of the intended new wet dock, near the Isle of Dogs. A grand aquatic procession took place, and a number of persons of considerable distinction were present:

The privy council have decided, that it should be recommended to his majesty to grant a charter for the incorporation of Downing-college, in every respect conformable to the scheme approved by the trustees and the court of chancery.

Mrs. Elizabeth Shaw, who died lately at Pontefract, in Yorkshire, bequeathed the principal part of her property, amounting to 15,000*l.* to her house-maid, named Mary Watson. The heir at law disputed the validity of the will, at the last assizes, and endeavoured to prove, that the deceased was in a complete state of intoxication when she executed the deed. This allegation, however, was not substantiated; and the fortunate house-maid will of course receive the full amount of the above legacy.

The duke of Northumberland, in a letter to a gentleman in Dublin, states the expense of the life-boat presented to the town of North-Shields, at 160*l.* and that it has already saved nearly 1000 seamen and passengers, besides several ships and their cargoes.

The grand junction canal has lately been opened from the Thames, at Brentford, to Fenny Stratford, in Buckinghamshire, from which place onward, through Bedfordshire, to Tring in Hertfordshire, it was before navigable. Mr. Drudd, the engineer, has begun to stake out the line of the Thames and Medway canal, which promises to be of great local and public utility, and, though but eight miles and a half in length, will supersede the necessity of going 47 miles about by sea, between London and Rochester.

Mr. Yates, the master and proprietor of a canal-berge at Coalbrook-Dale, lately went all the way, which is upwards of 400 miles by water, from that navigation, to Hambro' Wharf, near London-Bridge, in 14 days. He touched at Worcester, Gloucester, and other towns, with part of his cargo. This is the first barge that ever made the entire passage.

17th. This day an inquest was taken before Mr. White, one of the coroners for Lincolnshire, at the Bull, Witham-Common, on the bodies of Thomas Gilling and John Barnes, who were overturned from the Newcastle-coach the preceding day, between Stamford and Grantham, and crushed to death by the coach falling upon them. It appearing from the examination of the witnesses, that the coach was overloaded with the knowledge of one of the proprietors, the jury declared it to be forfeited as a dead-dend.

Three girls were killed last week, and a fourth severely wounded, by the falling of an old house at Colgrove, in Northamptonshire.

21st. This night, about eleven, a fire broke out on the premises of Mr.



Mr. Edward May, at Hopton, Minehead, which raged with uncommon fury for several hours, when nearly the whole of the dwelling-house, offices, extensive barns, stables, linneys, &c. were consumed, together with a quantity of wheat in the barns, farming utensils, a mare and colt, some sheep, &c. Most of the household furniture was saved, though much injured. Not long since, a vessel was scuttled and sunk in Minehead quay, laden with corn, for Wales, part of which belonged to Mr. May, who is a considerable dealer in corn; at the same time incendiary handbills were stuck up, threatening to burn the houses of all who should continue to ship wheat and flour at that place, and Mr. May was particularised.

22d. This morning the following melancholy circumstance happened in the parish of Siston, Gloucestershire: Samuel Fussell, of the Crown Inn, Warmly, collector of the taxes for the said parish, attended by the constable and other persons, went to take a distress of some hay, at the house of Edward Wilmot, of Siston-Hill (an old man of very considerable property), for some arrears of taxes due from him. Wilmot had before prepared a gun loaded with a ball, which he discharged at Fussell as he was passing near his house. The ball entered at the eye, and went through the back part of the head, and he instantly expired. Wilmot was observed to recharge the gun, so that it was some time before any person ventured to go near him. When he was apprehended, a loaded pistol was found in his pocket.

At the assizes for Gloucestershire, Wilmot was tried and convicted of

the murder, and hanged at Gloucester. He was about sixty-four years of age, and for several years in his youth worked in the coal-mines at Bitton; in this employ he saved some money, and purchased land at Siston, in the same parish; where, by his parsimonious conduct, he amassed considerable property. In person he was of low stature, and of a very mean contemptible appearance; his dress in general very shabby. Avarice had engrossed his very soul, and deadened every sensation of humanity; indeed, he appeared quite insensible of emotion to the pathetic address of the judge, who very humanely directed, that his property should be divided among his numerous poor relations; as he had most obstinately refused to dispose of any part of it, before his trial, and afterwards appeared equally inattentive to the welfare of those who were to survive him; in short, a more ignorant, stupid, and sordid wretch, perhaps never existed. He had lived to an old age, wholly unbeloved or esteemed; and justly fell a victim to the offended laws of God and man, unpitied, unlamented.

29th. This day, his majesty went in state to the house of peers; where he closed the session of parliament, by a speech from the throne.

Came on, at Worcester assizes, the trial of Samuel F. Waddington, on an information for forestalling hops. The information contained a great many counts; and, after a long trial, which lasted till the evening, the jury found Mr. Waddington guilty on all the counts in the information.

Died. In Charges Street, Piccadilly, John Skrimshire Boothby Clapton,

ton, esq. About nine o'clock in the morning he rung the bell; on the entrance of the servant he was walking up and down the room, apparently in a disordered state of mind. Suddenly turning round, he said, "Why do you look at me so earnestly? What do you do here?" The man said, he attended his commands. Mr. B. always drank cold tea for breakfast, which the servant neglected to make over night, and apologized. Mr. B. said, "It is of no consequence; I shall drink no more this year." About two, he ordered his horse to be got ready to ride in the park; his valet put on one of his boots; he did not like them, and said, "You may have those boots, I shall not wear them any more." When in the park, he was observed to gallop furiously, which he was never accustomed to do, but, on the contrary, always rode a canter; and in returning home kept up the same pace over the stones. At the corner of Clarges-street, in Curzon-street, he got off, delivered the horse to the groom, and walked home; it was then half past five. Entering the parlour, he desired his valet to attend to the serving up of dinner at six: a few minutes after, he went into a back room, placed his right foot on the bed, and a horse-pistol in his mouth; the explosion blew off the upper jaw and the back part of the head: the ball went through the chimney-glass, and lodged in the wainscot. Instantaneous death ensued, and he fell with one foot on the bed, the other under it. The servants in the kitchen heard a noise, which they conceived to be their master uncorking a bottle of spruce-beer; and, had it not been for the breaking of the glass, they would not have attended immediately to

the alarm. It was proved before the coroner's jury, that he had been for some months in a state of melancholy derangement; they therefore returned a verdict of lunacy. He was a very respectable gentleman, and during his lifetime in the habits of intimacy with the first noblemen in this country. The late duke of Rutland, earls of Carlisle and Derby, and Mr. Fox, were among the number of his particular friends and acquaintances. He was a great frequenter of the subscription-houses, and, from his eccentricity in dress, was styled by his friends, prince Boothby, on coming to his estate at Swaffham, in Norfolk. Mr. B. was the person supposed to be alluded to by Mr. Foote in one of his farces, as distinguished by his partiality to people of rank, and inclined to leave one acquaintance to walk with another of superior dignity. Hence arose the denomination of prince Boothby. His chief peculiarity in dress was in the form of his hat, which was uniformly of the same shape for the last twenty years, though he mixed with the most fashionable circles, and was constantly ridiculed by his friends for this whimsical propensity. He was brother to the wife of the celebrated fox-hunter, Mr. Hugo Meynel; had been possessed of three large estates; the first his own inheritance; the second from a distant family alliance; and the third, from Mrs. Clopton Parthericke, whose name he latterly assumed. The value of the last property is said to be nearly 7000*l.* a year.

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#### AUGUST.

7th. A dreadful fire broke out this day at Balassa, in Hungary, which

which burnt with such violence, that in less than two hours 568 houses, the Lutheran church, and the post-house, were consumed; not more than 50 houses were left standing; two women, two children, and a Jew, lost their lives; and the whole damage is estimated at 900,000 florins.

14th. This evening, about eight, two apprentices in Fleet-street, about sixteen years of age, went into the river to bathe from the steps of Blackfriars-bridge, on the city side. The tide running very strong, they were carried away. One of them, on rising, caught hold of a chain for securing barges, but the other was sucked under, and all attempts to save him were of no effect.

At nine o'clock, a gun was fired on board the Braakel, captain George Clarke, in Portsmouth-harbour, and the yellow flag hoisted, as a signal for executing James Allen, who had been condemned by a court martial with John Watson, as being concerned in the mutiny on board the Hermoine. The latter had been executed early the same morning, on board the Puissant sheer-hulk, at Spithead. Armed boats from all the ships in harbour attended the dreadful scene. James Allen came in an armed boat on board the Braakel, attended by Mr. Howell, chaplain of the Royal William, about half past eight. The principal witness against Allen was Parrot, late butcher on board the Hermione, who deposed, "That on the night the mutiny took place, he was seated on a chest in the gun-room. He then observed a band of murderers dragging the second lieutenant across the deck, who repeatedly stretched out his hand, crying, 'Mercy! Mercy!' He

was drawn up the ladder by the hair of his head, after receiving many wounds. Parrot declared, that at this moment he saw the second lieutenant's servant, James Allen, with a tomahawk or hatchet in his hand, and that he exclaimed, "Let me have a cut at him:" on saying which, he dreadfully wounded his own master. On receiving this deposition from Parrot, a general groan of horror was heard in court. Everything, however, that naval justice could devise, was exercised on behalf of the prisoner; but the very witnesses called by him ultimately proved of disadvantage to him! Both Allen and Watson came home to England in the Prince of Wales, but were not recognised till their arrival. Allen, to the last, denied having struck his master. As to the particulars of the murder of captain Pigot, of the Hermione, it appeared, "That hearing a noise upon deck, he immediately ran out of his cabin, when, being badly and repeatedly wounded, he was at length obliged to return. He had reached his cabin, and was sitting on a couch, faint with the loss of blood, when four men entered with bayonets fixed. Crawley headed them. Captain Pigot, weak as he was, held out his dirk, and kept them off. They seemed for a moment appalled at the sight of their commander, when Crawley exclaimed, "What, four against one, and yet afraid? Here goes then," and buried his bayonet in the body of captain Pigot. He was followed by the others, who with their bayonets thrust him through the port, and he was heard to speak as he went astern.

16th. About a fortnight ago, a refractory spirit discovered itself among the felons confined in the prison

prison in Cold-bath-fields. On Wednesday night last it assumed a more serious aspect; for, on locking up the prisoners, many of them were heard to murmur very loudly, and even to threaten the keepers. The next day, as usual, about sixty of them were liberated from their cells, and suffered to take the air in the most open places in the prison, but not without a strict eye being kept on their conduct; and they were observed to whisper frequently among themselves, which gave the governor some concern lest they should attempt any thing serious. When the bell rung as the signal for locking up, they mustered together instead of separating, and appeared to have some plan to execute, but were afraid to begin their operations. However, after a trifling resistance, and a great deal of grumbling, they all suffered themselves to be locked up in their different cells. It was then that they began to call, and encourage each other to cry out "Murder!"—"Starving," &c. They also abused the magistrates in the grossest terms. Their noise was so loud, as to collect round the prison a large mob, who answered them in loud shouts. When they heard the shouting, they again called to the mob to force the gates and pull down the walls. This kind of conduct alarmed the governor; and he immediately sent for the high-constable, who readily attended with a number of assistant constables; at the same time the Clerkenwell association came to the prison, but it was nearly twelve o'clock before they succeeded in dispersing the populace, which consisted of five or six thousand people. One man only was apprehended for riotous conduct on the outside, and

taken into the prison. After the felons had become more silent, some of them were heard to call to each other, that it would be best to remain quiet for that night, lest they should not be let out the next day, which was the chapel morning, and that would be a good opportunity to knock down the keepers, and force the gates. This circumstance being communicated to Mr. Baker and other magistrates, who had attended to give their advice, it was thought prudent not to let the prisoners out of their cells the next day, as usual, a few excepted, who were not refractory. Mr. Baker, and three other magistrates, attended the prison a great part of yesterday, and inspected almost every cell, for the purpose of ascertaining the cause of their complaint; but they either could or would not give any explanation, except one person, who said that he was starved; but, on examining a basket, in which he kept his bread, there was found a pound and a half, which he had saved from his daily allowance, and what his friends had been permitted to send him, besides about two pounds of pudding. The Bloomsbury, St. Sepulchre's, St. Clements, and Clerkenwell associations, all attended by turns to watch the prison; and the Clerkenwell cavalry were parading round the outer gates last night, to keep the mob off, who had again collected in great numbers, but the prisoners seemed to be quiet.

A shocking murder was committed this night at Nottingham. Three peace-officers attempted to apprehend a hair-dresser, who stood charged with a robbery to a considerable amount. As soon as the hair-dresser perceived who they were, he fired a horse-pistol at the officer nearest him,

him, and killed him on the spot. The other officers were so intimidated that he effected his escape. He was, however, taken the next day near Overtons, but not till he had bit off the top of a phial of arsenic, intending to poison himself; a small quantity of which he swallowed. The deceased has left a wife and five small children. We have since learned, that the hair-dresser put an end to his life, by poison, on the 20th instant; and that, in consequence of the coroner's verdict, he was buried the same night in the sand-hills on the road leading to Derby.

Water has been so scarce at Edinburgh, from the failure of the springs, that the magistrates have found it necessary to put some restrictions on the public wells, which are to be shut for several hours every day. Private families are to be served with water only twice a week through the usual pipes; and they are properly ordered to keep their cisterns in a good state, that no waste of water may take place while this scarcity shall continue.

19th. This day, when about two miles out of Colchester, one of the carriages, conveying the attendants of the Turkish ambassador, on his way to Yarmouth, broke down; which circumstance being immediately communicated to the ambassador, he ordered the whole of them to stop, and, with his retinue, retired into an adjoining wood for nearly two hours, till the carriage was repaired. A carpet being spread, the positions were ordered to prepare fuel for a fire; which done, coffee was got ready, and served to the ambassador, who was

seated in the Turkish style, under a canopy, affixed to some trees; and afterwards, his attendants partook of the same. The ambassador was not in the least discomposed at the accident, but seemed happy in the opportunity, thus afforded him, of smoking his favourite pipe, with his attendants, in this rural retreat.

*Ludlow.* A person who owns part of Radnor forest (that is a sheep-walk) wanting to dig out some pit-mar (that is coal), set fire to the heath and moss to clear the top; but the fire burnt so rapid, as to be out of his power to stop its fury; and it burnt for 30 miles in circumference, to the destruction of thousands of sheep, and the distress of many poor cottagers, whose huts became a prey to the flames. There being no water, and the fire having burnt as low in the ground as 18 feet, no trench could be cut to stop it. The people were fearful it would reach to the wood; if so, the whole country would have been ruined. After the fire had been burning for more than eight days, the flames had spread themselves, in different directions, to an alarming extent. On that side the vale adjoining sir W. W. Wynne's estate, at Wynstay, it was supposed to extend from eight to ten miles, and, on the opposite side, about four. After having raged upwards of five weeks, it was at length extinguished by the late providential falls of rain; after having burned about four miles in extent over several hundred acres of land. The fire had raged with great violence, during the above period, and the flames were seen, at night, from the hills in the neighbourhood of Ludlow, distant about 17 miles, rising in columns to an immense

immense height. The fire was principally confined to the hills, the property of the earl of Oxford, Mr. Lewis, and Mr. Lewin.

Between five and six P. M. there fell, at Upper Heyford, in Oxfordshire, a most violent storm of hail, accompanied with thunder and lightning, and succeeded by a tremendous gust of wind: a storm so dreadful in its effects, and so alarming to the beholder, was seldom or never experienced in that country. The hail, or, more properly speaking, large irregular pieces of ice, of the size in general of a hen's egg, broke the windows of many houses that were in the direction of the storm; and the whole of Heyford affords a spectacle truly shocking. The corn, the greater part of which was barley, and very little of it cut, appeared entirely threshed out by the violence of the hail; scarcely an ear remained whole on the straw, and the ground was totally covered by the shattered corn. The violence of the storm lasted about a quarter of an hour, during which time, the poultry suffered much; and the smaller birds of every description were found dead in great numbers on the ground.

22d. *Woburn*. On Tuesday afternoon the weather was uncommonly hot; clouds came on from the north-west, and distant thunder was heard, which continued incessantly till near seven o'clock, when the most tremendous storm of hail, ever known in the memory of the oldest man living, in this county, came on. Its ravages seem to have begun at Broughton; then, passing over by Cranfield, Lidlington, Crawley, Ridgmont, Ampthill, and

Clophill. Great numbers of the hail stones measured 9, 10, and even 11 inches in circumference.

23d. *Edinburgh*. Miss Ayres; only daughter of Mr. Ayres; and Miss Anderson, a young lady residing at Yarrow, were last week on a visit to the family of Mr. Scott, of Singlee, near Selkirk. On Saturday afternoon, Mr. and Mrs. Scott being from home, these ladies, accompanied by two Miss Scotts, went into the garden to walk, having previously enquired at what hour dinner would be ready. The river Ettrick runs past the bottom of the garden. Having been absent considerably beyond the usual hour of dinner, one of the maid-servants went out to inform them that dinner was on the table. On entering the garden, she was struck by the sight of their clothes lying on the bank of the river; and, on rushing forward, she discovered the hapless victims four lifeless corpses at the bottom. She flew back to the house, and immediately returned with assistance. The bodies were taken out of the river, but every effort to restore animation was ineffectual. This catastrophe is as singular as it is afflicting. The young ladies had gone in to bathe; the Ettrick, where it passes the garden of Singlee, is, in general, remarkably shallow; but there is one small part of it which is very deep. Into this fatal spot, it is supposed, one of the young ladies, (perhaps, one of the strangers) had, by some unhappy means, been conveyed; and the others, witnessing her ineffectual struggles, had either lost their lives in attempting to rescue their companion, or, deprived of all consciousness, by the dreadful scene, had

rushed



hished desperately forward to share her fate. These hapless females had scarcely risen into the bloom of womanhood, and one of them was on the eve of her nuptials.

30th. The board of agriculture has transmitted circular letters to the high sheriffs of the respective counties of the kingdom, inclosing certain resolutions entered into at the last spring assizes by the grand jury of the county of York, requesting that they may be laid before the magistrates at the ensuing sessions, and likewise before the grand jury at their respective assizes. These resolutions strongly recommend the immediate bringing into cultivation all such parts of waste lands as may be capable thereof, it appearing that there remains in England the immense quantity of 7,800,000 acres of uncultivated land; in attention to which, the grand jury of the county of York are of opinion, lie the most effectual means of redressing our present, and securing against future wants.

In the returns made to the board of agriculture, are some very important facts. Of the county of Kent, the square acres are estimated at 850,000; the population is about 200,000; the average rent of land 15s. per acre, producing a rental of 672,000l. and the whole extent of commons about 200,000 acres. Norfolk is stated to contain 1,094,400 acres; the population is estimated at 220,000: the average rent per acre, the same as Kent, and the whole rental 770,400l.; the unimproved commons are said to be 80,000 acres. Staffordshire contains 780,800 acres, and the whole annual rent about 600,000l.; the waste land 150,000 acres. Mid-

dlesex contains 175,200 acres; waste lands 16,650 acres.

Two new spacious squares are now forming on the duke of Bedford's Bloomsbury estate, one of which is to be called Russel-square, and the other Tavistock-square. These are to be connected by three spacious streets, running north and south, and opening into Bloomsbury-square and Russel-street. At the north end of these improvements, and adjoining to the new road, a very handsome dressed nursery-ground, and plantations, are already inclosed and laid out; and northward of these, a road of 160 feet wide, in a direct line, is to be formed through the joint estates of the duke of Bedford and lord Southampton, from these buildings to the junction of the two London roads to Hampstead, saving the circuitous and unpleasant routes, either of Tottenham-court-road, or Gray's-inn Lane.

The cartoons, which were in Bedford-house, were bought in for his grace, who very liberally made them a present to the Royal-academy, for the use of the students.

DIED. At her house, in Portman-square, in an advanced age, Mrs. Montagu, relict of the late Edward Montagu, esq. of Denton-castle, Northumberland, grandson to the first earl of Sandwich, daughter of Matthew Robinson, esq. late of West Layton, York, and of Horton, in Kent, sister to the present lord Rokeby, and distinguished for her benevolence, to the poor chimney-sweepers, whom she annually entertained with roast-beef and plumb-pudding every May-day, on the lawn before her house, and who will have great reason to lament her death. Mrs. Montagu was an excellent

cellent scholar, and possessed a sound judgement, and an exquisite taste. Her "Essay on the Writings and Genius of Shakspeare," in answer to the frivolous objections of Voltaire, must always rank with the best illustrations of the transcendent powers of our great English poet. It is not an elaborate exposition of obscure passages, but a comprehensive survey of the sublimity of his genius, of his profound knowledge of human nature, and of the wonderful resources of his imagination. This essay is, we believe, the only work of which Mrs. Montagu publicly avowed herself to be the author; but it is well known that she assisted the first lord Lyttelton in the composition of his "Dialogues of the Dead;" and some of the best of those dialogues, by his lordship's own acknowledgement, were the efforts of her pen. Lord Lyttelton was very much attached to her; and, if he had been free from matrimonial connections, she might have commanded his title and fortune. Mrs. Montagu, however, it was imagined, was attached to Pulteney, the famous earl of Bath. She accompanied this nobleman and his lady on a tour through Germany. Mrs. Montagu peculiarly excelled in epistolary composition; and her letters, in point of learning, judgement, and elegance, far exceed those of her namesake, lady Mary Wortley Montagu, even supposing that the latter was really the author of the letters attributed to her, which, however, have long been known to be in a great measure fictitious. Mrs. Montagu was a near relation of the celebrated Dr. Conyers Middleton, to whose care she devolved in early life, and who su-

perintended her education with parental fondness. It is said, that she made so early a display of her tendency to literature, that she had transcribed the whole of the Spectators, before she was 8 years of age. Incredible as this story seems to be, it has been attested by the best authority, and was always solemnly affirmed by the late Dr. Monsey, physician of Chelsea-college, a particular friend of Dr. Middleton, and of Mrs. Montagu. The epistolary correspondence that took place between Dr. Monsey and Mrs. Montagu, during her tour in Germany, and, indeed, through the whole of their intercourse for upwards of 30 years, affords proofs of uncommon talents, original humour, and acute observation on both sides. We sincerely hope that these letters, at least, those of Mrs. Montagu, will be submitted to the world, as they contain nothing but what would tend to impress mankind with high reverence for her capacity, her attainments, and her virtues. In private life, Mrs. Montagu was an example of liberal discretion and rational benevolence. Her estates, about 10,000*l.* per annum, devolve to her nephew, Mr. Montagu.

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#### SEPTEMBER.

4th. Two labourers, employed in a warehouse at Deptford to remove brandy, took occasion to broach one of the hogheads, and by means of a reed, sucked so much liquor, that they were both found dead by the sides of the casks. One of them, a few hours before, was seen

seen at a public-house, seemingly sober, drinking a pot of beer.

A hair-dresser, at Brussels, having lately quarrelled with a woman to whom he was attached, shot her through the head with a pistol, and, finding that she still gave some signs of life, he killed her with the butt-end of a musket. When the guards entered the place, he threw himself on the dead body, and before he could be seized he blew out his brains with the musket. An inn-keeper, returning from taking a walk with his wife, was so affected at the spectacle as to drop down to all appearance dead; the medical persons who were called in declared him to be lifeless. The next day he was inclosed in an oak coffin, and deposited in a chapel till the funeral was to take place. Some of the neighbours hearing a noise in the chapel, ran to the place, and found the poor man bathed in his blood, and really dead, having, as it appeared, made most violent but ineffectual efforts to break his coffin.

14th. Last week, the whole of the property of Bognor, in Sussex, was put up to sale at that place. It was divided into lots. Sir Richard Hotham's residence, called Chapel-house, with upwards of thirty-nine acres attached to it, was purchased by colonel Scott, at 3650*l*. Bognor-ledge, with upwards of thirty-five acres attached to it, was purchased by Mr. Cook, at 3500*l*. Northampton-place, consisting of seven houses, was bought by Mr. Hurst, at 4400*l*. East-row, containing six handsome houses, was bought by Mr. Metcalf, the East-India director, at 3100*l*. The Lawn-cottage was purchased by Mr. Middleton, at 500*l*. Colonel Scott is the chief purchaser. Besides sir Richard's

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fine residence, he has purchased various lots of ground, to the amount of upwards of 120 acres, some of which sold very high. The colonel gave likewise 300 guineas for the manerial rights of Southwick. Mr. Metcalf has likewise made several purchases of land; so have sir Lionel Darell, alderman Newnham, &c. The whole has yielded but about 64,000*l*. for what cost more than 160,000*l*.

A letter from Xeres, in the neighbourhood of Cadiz, states, that 1857 persons had died in Cadiz in seventeen days; that 30,000 had deserted that city, and that 3000 were sick. The population is about 80,000. Five days generally terminates the disease; two days of which the patient is seized with a delirium and black vomit, and, if a copious perspiration does not succeed, death is the consequence: sometimes they recover, but a relapse is fatal. There had been no rain for seventy days, which occasioned a great foulness in their shores and streets. Some persons are of opinion that the disease has been imported from Tangiers; others, from America.

Pius VII. has begun the reformation of the ecclesiastical state in his own household, by reducing the expenses of it to 86,000 dollars, which formerly amounted to 150,000.—The papal chamber has a debt of fifty millions, the payment of which requires the strictest economy.

14th. This evening notice was given to the magistrates, that two bills of a most inflammatory kind had been posted on the monument. They were in writing, and both apparently in the same hand; and their contents as follow:

BREAD WILL BE  
SIXPENCE THE QUARTERN,  
D

If

If the people will assemble at the Corn-market on Monday.

Fellow countrymen!

How long will ye quietly and cowardly suffer yourselves to be thus imposed upon and half starved by a set of mercenary slaves and government hirelings? can you still suffer them to proceed in their extensive monopolies, while your families are crying for bread? no! let them exist not a day longer; we are the sovereignty; rise then from your lethargy. Be at the Corn-market on Monday.

These infamous provocations to popular outrage induced the lord mayor to take the necessary measures of precaution to secure the public peace. He collected all his civil officers, and received an assurance from the volunteer corps, that they would await his orders. It was not difficult to collect a mob, under a promise of so great a reduction in the price of bread. At ten o'clock the rioters began hussing the mealmen and cornfactors going into the market. Some they hustled, others they pelted with mud. The quakers were the peculiar objects of their wrath. This body of tradesmen, who employ their skill and capital only in those manufactures and commodities which are unconnected with war deserve, more than any other, the blessings of the poor, from the simplicity of their lives, and the example which they give of moderation in all their dealings. Vulgar prejudice, however, marked them out as the authors of the scarcity, by withholding from the market stores which they had accumulated. The riot increasing, the lord mayor went to Mark-lane about ten, and addressed the populace, recommending them to go

peaceably to their homes. The mob heard him with complacency, and began to disperse. There were only a few stragglers; and thus, in the first instance, the market was protected. The lord mayor, however, had scarcely reached Guildhall, when a message was brought him from the marshal and constables he had left on duty, that the mob had reassembled. The lord mayor on his arrival again addressed them in terms most conciliatory and temperate, but in the most decided manner. He was joined by sir William Leighton, and sir John Eamer, and supported by his constables. He descended into the streets among them; and finding at length that all intreaties were ineffectual to make them disperse, and that several of his peace officers were wounded with brick-bats and stones, he read the riot act. The mob then dispersed, and before five o'clock there were only a few idle spectators.—Towards evening the populace, however, again assembled in very large bodies in Mark-lane, and broke the windows of several inhabitants, particularly those of Mr. Bolland. But being dispersed by a few of the volunteers and constables, they proceeded to White-chapel and Shoreditch, and broke the windows of some bakers' shops; and, about twelve at night, they went to the house of Mr. Rusby, in the Blackfriars-road (who was sometime since convicted of regrating), which they completely gutted: an act of the most disgraceful injustice, since Rusby is now awaiting the sentence of the law for his offence. In consequence of the above riots, the lord mayor ordered the following hand-bill to be posted on the walls of the metropolis:

COMBR,

COMBE, MAYOR.

*Mansion-House, Sept. 17, 1800.*

Whereas the peace of this city has been, within these few days, very much disturbed by numerous and tumultuous assemblies of riotous and disorderly people, the magistrates, determined to preserve the king's peace, and the persons and property of their fellow citizens, by every means which the law has intrusted to their hands, particularly request the peaceable and well-disposed inhabitants of this city, upon the appearance of the military, to keep themselves away from the windows; to keep all the individuals of their families and servants within doors; and, where such opportunities can be taken, to remain in the back rooms of their houses. By order of his Lordship,

W. J. Newman, Clerk.

16th. An especial court of aldermen was held; who, in the most temperate yet manly terms, determined to protect the peace of the metropolis; and gave it as their decided opinion, "that, from the best information they were able to procure, had not the access to the Corn-market been yesterday impeded, and the transactions therein interrupted, a fall in the price of wheat and flour, much more considerable than that which actually took place, would have ensued; and the court were farther of opinion, that no means can so effectually lead to reduce the present excessive prices of the principal articles of food, as the holding out full security and indemnification to such lawful dealers as shall bring their corn or other commodities to market."

20th. George Thomas, an eminent attorney, possessed of a good fortune at Brackley, in Northamptonshire,

was indicted, at the Old Bailey, for an attempt to defraud the navy board. He had been applied to by the executors of a Mr. Coldridge, who had been employed by the commissioners of the navy, in carrying timber from the forest towns, to make out an account; he did so to the amount of 1200*l.* and delivered it, accompanied by vouchers, purporting to be the receipts of the workmen. On examining these, many were discovered to have been forged; and others made out in fictitious names. The prisoner addressed the court, but in too low a voice to be distinctly heard; he rested his defence on the respectability of his character, to which many creditable witnesses bore testimony. After a trial of nine hours, the jury found a verdict—guilty; but recommended him to mercy.

The following melancholy account of the loss of the Queen Indiaman, is extracted from a letter from an officer on board the Kent Indiaman, dated from St. Salvadore, on the coast of Brazil, July 17, 1800.—  
"We should have left this place ere now, but for a melancholy accident which has befallen the Queen Indiaman, which had put in here with us a few days since for want of water. On the ninth, between two and three o'clock A. M. our officer who had the watch on deck discovered a smoke issuing from the gun-room ports of the Queen, which was moored a little way from us. Immediately we called the captain and officers; for, although no alarm was given from the Queen, yet, as she was evidently on fire, every exertion was made to man our boats with fire engines, buckets, &c. for their assistance; but, within a few minutes of our discovering the smoke,

she was completely in flames from her stern to the bows, and in a few minutes more the three masts were overboard. Unfortunately it blew very fresh, and a current of at least three or four knots. This, of course, rendered it difficult for the boats to get along-side to save the people; and so rapid were the flames, that about thirty seamen perished below decks, being unable to get up the hatchways. The number of lives lost is about eighty. Captain Craig, with the ladies, were on shore. All the officers of the ship are saved; and, fortunately for us, the current carried her clear of the bay, and she drove a considerable distance before she blew up, about seven A. M. The

cause of the fire is not ascertained, as no person had been in the gun-room after eight o'clock; and although several people slept over the gun-room scuttle, the smoke was not discovered till near three o'clock. The scene was dreadful, from the cries of between 2 and 300 men, many of them perishing in the flames or sea. Those that are saved are almost entirely naked, from being hurried out of their beds. The remaining troops, and all the passengers (about 300), proceeded in the Kent to India. There are five ladies, and general St. John and family, who are accommodated by the captain of the Kent\* with his cabin apartment."—This is the third East-India-

\* The account of the disastrous fate of which ship has come to hand since this volume went to press, and as it is so much connected with the *Queen*, we shall give it to the readers in this place

On Tuesday, March 3, 1801, the following account was received in town of the capture of the hon. company's ship *Kent*, captain Rivington, after an engagement of considerable duration, with the *Confiance*, a French privateer of 26 guns, and 250 men, captain Surcouff, off the Sand Heads.

On Tuesday morning, the 7th of October last, a strange sail was discovered in the N. W. quarter; the *Kent* at that time was lying to, for a pilot, and captain Rivington, conceiving the vessel in sight to be a pilot schooner, immediately bore down, hoisted his colours, and made the signal for a pilot; the stranger upon this made sail, and hauled up towards the *Kent*. It was soon afterwards discovered that she was a ship, all hands were immediately called to quarters, and the ship prepared for action: upon her approach to the *Kent*, as she shewed no colours, a shot was fired at her from the larboard side, which was followed up, as she passed upon the opposite tack, by a broadside, and a constant fire kept up while she was within reach of the guns. The privateer, for it was now ascertained to be one, soon afterwards tacked, came up on the larboard side, and commenced the engagement within about musket shot, but without doing much injury, although she continued in this position for some time: she then got a-head, and passing round the bow of the *Kent*, renewed the engagement on the other side, nearly at the same distance, and for the same length of time, but with as little effect as before. She afterwards made sail a-head, as if with an intention of relinquishing the attack, and making off, which she could easily have done, having greatly the superiority in sailing: when she had got about the distance of half a mile a-head of the *Kent*, she was, however, observed to haul her mainsail up, and wear round immediately towards her, and in about ten or fifteen minutes afterwards, or as soon as her guns would bear, she, for the first time, hoisted the national colours (Surcouff afterwards declared that he had forgot them before), and fired a broadside and volley of musketry from every part of the ship, which was immediately returned by the *Kent*, and continued while her guns would bear: the privateer then wearing round her stern, ranged close up along-side and received a full discharge from the *Kent*'s starboard guns; at this moment she fired a whole broadside, and threw a number of hand-granades from her tops into the *Kent*, some of which penetrated the upper deck, and burst on the gun-deck; at the same time



Indiaman which has been destroyed by fire since the year 1791. The two former were, the Princess Amelia, captain John Ramsden; and the Earl Fitzwilliam, captain James Tweeddale. The commanders of the above

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time a fire of musketry was kept up from her tops, which killed and wounded a number of passengers and recruits that were on the quarter-deck and poop: when the ships were completely locked with each other, captain Surcouff entered at the head of about 250 men, completely armed for boarding, having each a sabre and a brace of pistols; the contest upon deck was now desperate, and lasted for about twenty minutes; but the enemy having greatly the superiority, both in numbers and arms, were victorious, and a dreadful carnage ensued, they shewing no quarter to any one who came in their way, whether with or without arms; and such was their savage cruelty, that they even stabbed some of the sick in bed.

Upon gaining possession of the poop, the French immediately cut down the colours, and soon after this had complete possession of the ship.

Captain Surcouff finding some disinclination in his crew to board, had been under the necessity of plying them several times with liquor, as well as to promise them an hour's pillage in the event of their carrying the ship; and this time they completely occupied, breaking open every package they could come at, and even taking the coats, hats, shoes, &c. from the persons of the officers and passengers.

From the commencement of the action until the time the French were in possession of the ship, was about an hour and forty-seven minutes, and from the gallant manner in which the officers and crew of the Kent behaved, while the ships were clear of each other, there is not a doubt but she would have overcome the privateer; but there being a very great deficiency of small arms, they had no means of repelling such a number of boarders, so well prepared for close action; and captain Surcouff acknowledged, that had he not succeeded in carrying her, his own ship must soon have sunk along-side.

It is with extreme regret we add, that captain Rivington, after the most manly conduct in the defence of his ship, fell by the musketry from the tops of the privateer, while Surcouff was in the act of boarding.

In the afternoon the officers, passengers, and crew of the Kent, were sent on board an Arab vessel, and which had been plundered by the privateer the day before; they afterwards landed at Calcutta. Some of the seamen were, however, detained on board the privateer, and put in irons, with the hopes of inducing them to enter. The chief officer, surgeon, and surgeon's mate, with thirteen of the most dangerously wounded, were detained on board the Kent, under pretence of its requiring too much time to remove them.

Although the prize-master informed the unfortunate people, who were sent on board the Arab, that there was abundance of provisions and water, yet, upon inquiry, there was found but a very small quantity of rain-water, scarcely equal to half-a-pint each per day, for four days, with a few dates and raw rice to subsist on; and they were consequently reduced to the utmost distress before they were relieved by one of the pilot-schooners which they met in the roads.

General St. John and his family were on board the Kent, and appear to have been particularly unfortunate. All his jewels, plate, and baggage, had been burnt on board the Queen, at St. Salvador, in July last.

*List of Officers, Seamen, Passengers, and Troops, killed and wounded on board the Hon. Company's Ship Kent, in Action with La Constance, French Privateer, off the Sand Heads, in the Bay of Bengal, the 7th of October, in Twenty-five Fathoms Water.*

[Published by order of government.]

*Killed.*

Robert Rivington, esq. commander  
Mr. W. Cator, free-merchant, Bengal

Mr. T. H. Graham, writer, do.  
Mr. J. Findlay, carpenter  
Mr. W. Bazely, boatswain's mate

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Mr.

above three ships were, however, saved.—No blame is imputable to captain Craig, the circumstances attending the fire perfectly exonerating him. She had upwards of fifty barrels of gunpowder on board when the accident happened.

The new species of hemp, called sun, the produce of Bengal, and which has been manufactured there for general purposes, has turned out nearly equal to our own rope. In order to give it a fair trial, the company's ship the Earl Howe, captain Robert Burrowes, which has lately arrived, had all her running rigging rove with this rope in Bengal, by the order of government; it answered capt. Burrowes most sanguine expectations, during a long voyage

home. All the marine establishment in India is to be supplied with this new article of eastern produce, which is esteemed an invaluable acquisition to the shipping navigating the Indian seas.

20th. *Weymouth*. This morning, Charles Sturt, esq. of Brownsea-castle, M. P. for Bridport, and who is owner of a fast-sailing cutter stationed in the bay, went out early in the morning; and after dinner, being about two leagues from shore, made a match for his cutter to sail against that of Mr. Weld, of Lulworth-castle. When, in the onset, Mr. Sturt's cutter having the boat fastened to her stern, he ordered a boy to go into her, and convey it to shore, as he supposed it retarded

Mr R. Moore, cadet, Madras  
Mr. Alex. Penland, do. Madras  
Corporal Wally, H. M. 10th regt. foot  
T. Cooper, 76th do.  
S. Cole, 27th light drag.  
J. Davies, 25th do.  
J. Pickering, 29th do.  
J. Mullagen, hon. c.'s recruit.

*Dangerously wounded, and could not be removed from the Kent.*

Mr. J. Puller, writer, Bengal  
Mr. B. Titchburn, cadet, Madras  
Mr. R. Sherwood, assist. surgeon, do.  
J. Cooper, seaman  
H. Bransley, do.  
Cornelius Zadhan, do.  
Serjeant O'Brien, H. M. 10th foot  
Serjeant M'Cullum, 29th light drag.  
P. Lucas, 76th do.  
A. Crowdall, do.  
F. Fletcher, do.  
H. Magness, do.  
J. Floyd, 25th do.  
B. Ford, private, H. M. 76th foot.

#### *Wounded.*

Mr. R. Youl, 3d officer, dangerously  
Mr. J. Tween, 4th do. do.  
Capt. Pilkington, aid-du-camp to the hon. gen. St. John, do.  
Ensign Palmer, H. M. 10th regt. do.

Ensign Byne, 76th do. do.  
William Karr, seaman  
Mr. J. Ewer, writer, Bengal  
Mr. J. Warner, cadet  
Mr. H. Gibson, assistant surgeon  
Mr. Charles Geohagan, cadet, Madras  
Mr. C. Mitchell, do.  
Mr. L. S. Smith, do.  
Corporal Finegan, 29th light drag.  
Corporal Spicer, 76th foot  
J. Healing, private, do.  
J. Seawood, do. do.  
W. Potts, do. do.  
W. Colliers, 27th light. drag.  
H. Perry, do.  
S. Daniels, 10th regt. foot  
R. Gillings, do.  
G. Wright, do.  
J. Griffiths, hon. c.'s recruit  
H. Hayding, do.  
J. Garnerith, do.  
Adw. O'Neil, do.  
J. Stafford, do.  
W. Lickson, do.

#### *Abstract.*

Killed . . . . .	13
Wounded . . . . .	42
	—
Total	55
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and

and impeded the sailing. The child (the sea running high) being afraid, Mr. S. requested any man on board, but they also declined the task; on which he jumped into the boat, when just at that instant, the rope, by which it was lashed, parted from the vessel, and he was, by the force of the tide, drifted to sea at a considerable distance, when the boat, by the surges, upset. In this perilous situation, left at the mercy of the waves, he had the presence of mind to pull off all his clothes except his nankeen trowsers and stockings, keeping his station as well as he could, sometimes on the keel of the boat, and then, dashed off by a tremendous wave, compelled to swim and regain his former station. Giving up all for lost, previous to throwing away his clothes, he wrote with a pencil on a slip of paper, which he put into his watch-case, the following label:—"Charles Sturt, Brownsea, to his beloved wife."—The watch, in the case of which Mr. Sturt placed the label, was of the most elegant kind, being enriched with diamonds, &c. and is reported to be worth upwards of 300 guineas. It was a present from his lady. This he preserved by fastening it to his trowsers, the only covering left himself. Some transports, which were intended to carry the troops to Guernsey and Jersey, by contrary winds being obliged to put back; all had passed, but the last vessel, unnoticed him, when one of the mates exclaimed, "Good God! there is a man in distress!" The transports could not bring-to, as they lay full three miles to the windward, and a heavy sea, when

four resolute fellows embarked in a boat, Mr. Stuart only being occasionally visible, and followed the line in which they perceived him; and, after near two hours, they came up with him, as he was only to be seen within a few yards, now almost worn out, when they lifted him into the boat; in which he had no sooner arrived, than he grasped his kind deliverers, lifting his hands to Providence for this relief, and burst instantaneously into tears. In February, 1799, by his intrepidity, he saved the lives of a ship's crew, who would otherwise have perished:\* being shipwrecked near his seat at Brownsea-castle, within a short distance of Poole.

29th. The election came on this day at Guildhall, for two proper persons to be returned to the court of aldermen, for their choice of one of them to be lord mayor for the year ensuing, when the show of hands was declared by the sheriffs to be in favour of the present lord mayor and sir William Staines; but a poll being demanded by the friends of Mr. Alderman Newman, the same was granted, and immediately commenced.

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OCTOBER.

3d. At a common hall this day, it was unanimously resolved to petition the king to convene his parliament, to take into consideration the present high price of provisions; and that the same shall be presented to his majesty on the throne. And the sheriffs were directed to

\* See the Chronicle of our last volume.

attend his majesty, to learn his royal pleasure when he would be pleased to receive the same.

6th. On the close of the poll this day at Guildhall, the sheriffs declared the majority to be in favour of sir William Staines and the present lord mayor; and having reported the same to the court of aldermen, sir William Staines was by them elected lord mayor.

16th. This day the lord mayor and corporation of London attended his majesty with their address; which being presented to the king on the throne, his majesty was graciously pleased to make this answer: "I am always desirous of recurring to the advice and assistance of my parliament on any public emergency; and, previous to receiving your petition, I had given directions for convening my parliament, for the dispatch of business."

The Russian chargé d'affaires, about three weeks since, applied to the under secretary of state, for the northern department, for a passport for a Russian courier. Not receiving it immediately, he applied for it a second time, and seemed very impatient to procure it. At eight o'clock on the following morning, M. Lilakewitz left town, taking with him all his baggage; but he gave out that he was only gone for a few days into the country, having no business in town. He however left the country under the passport granted for this courier.

22d. At Margate a most tremendous storm of wind came on about three o'clock in the morning. The jetty, for thirty yards, and all the shops, including the fishmongers, watchmaker's, and Mantle's, the

fruiterer, were beat down by a collier, who broke from her moorings in the harbour, and was driven in by the hurricane. Soon after a heavy swell from the north washed away at least half the Parade, which stood about six feet above the surface of the water at high tide.

31st. This night, about nine o'clock, a fire broke out at Mr. Smith's, a shoe-maker, close to Aldgate pump, which in a short time consumed his house and three others adjoining. They were wooden houses, and burnt with great rapidity. At one shop, a lady suddenly finding the fire burning through to the house in which she was, and supposing there was no escape by the stair-case, threw herself out of the two-pair of stairs window. By the fall her arms were broken, and she was otherwise much bruised. She was carried to the hospital, and recovered her senses, but her life is in great danger. No other personal accident happened till about eleven o'clock, when the fronts of three of the houses fell forward on the street, and crushed several persons in the ruins. Two of the firemen were dug out before twelve o'clock. Four firemen were on the tops of the houses when the fronts were falling; but they clung to a stack of chimneys, and were saved. The calamity was occasioned by a person who was manufacturing squibs and rockets, preparatory to the celebration of the fifth of November; and who, by some accident or other, suffered a part of the apparatus to take fire.

The superb chapel of St. George, at Windsor, is now completed; and its grandeur is so combined with simplicity, that it is one of the finest

finest specimens of gothic architecture in Europe. The splendid painted gothic window, at the west end, is to be removed; and, a new one, after a design of Mr. West's, is to be substituted. His majesty is repairing and beautifying the small chapel adjoining to that of St. George, at Windsor, as a royal mausoleum. It is also reported that the castle is to be embellished with beautiful gothic windows. Fifteen years is the period allowed for the completion of the new large window; and the subject is to be the crucifixion.

The alterations in the house of commons, preparatory to the meeting of the imperial parliament, began in August. The oaken wainscoting at each side having been removed, gave again to the view the venerable walls of what was once St. Stephen's Chapel. The gothic pillars, the finished scroll-work, and the laboured carvings, were, generally speaking, in good preservation. But what is more observable is, that the paintings which fill the interstices, having been protected from the action of the air for so many centuries, are, in many parts, as fresh and vivid as if they could only boast a twelve-month's date. In the right hand corner, behind the speaker's chair, and about five feet from the ground, there is a virgin and child, with Joseph bending over them, well preserved, and tolerably executed in colour; and Edward III. and his queen and suite making their offering to the virgin. Under them, in six niches, as many knights in armour, with their tabards of arms, and in each angle an acolyte holding a taper. Adjoining these, and on the same level, are two whole-

length figures of angels, their heads reclining on the shoulders, and holding each, extended before them, a piece of drapery, or mantle, charged with various devices, or armorial bearings; their wings composed of peacock's feathers, very highly finished, and in which the green and gold are, in general, as lively as if they had been newly laid on. The same may be said of the gilding of the cornices, which, as far as they have been laid bare, are very richly decorated. On each side of the altar are pictures of the Nativity, and Presentation in the Temple, the Marriage in Cana; and a fourth, in which the devil is introduced coming through the air, perhaps representing the Temptation. On the south wall, near the altar, are three beautiful stone stalls, with rich flowered arches, and west of them a narrower one, reaching below them. Over the figures, on each side, on an inverted frieze, are the arms of the royal family and nobility in 18 shields, and between each shield grotesque figures of men and animals. On the opposite side of the chapel are figures of men in complete armour, with inscriptions under them, which are nearly illegible. Under two of them, however, were distinctly to be read the names of "Eustace" and "Mercure" in black-letter characters. The interior roof of the building, which has at all times been visible over the house of commons, speaks sufficiently as to the style of the architecture, and the laboured *minutiae* of the ornaments; but, not having been covered in the same manner with the lower parts, it offers but a very faint idea of the superb finishing and expensive decoration bestowed by our ancestors upon

upon a building, which has been so strangely converted to a purpose very foreign indeed from its primitive use.

## NOVEMBER.

4. His majesty's ship *Marlborough*, of 74 guns, commanded by captain Southby, was totally wrecked off Belleisle, the whole of the officers and crew have arrived safe at that port, having been rescued from the wreck by the Captain man of war, and the *Amity*, a ship from Malaga, detained by the Captain.

In consequence of some inflammatory hand-bills posted about the metropolis, inviting this day a mob on Kennington-Common, the life guards were ordered out. The volunteer corps were also stationed in the environs. The police officers, in case of disturbance, attended at the Axe and Gate in Downing-street, and the following hand-bill was circulated:

" TO THE PUBLIC.

" *Sunday, November 9, 1800.*

"Whereas an inflammatory hand-bill has been distributed and posted up, inviting every journeyman, artisan, mechanic, and tradesman; every manufacturer, labourer, &c. to meet this day on Kennington-Common, under pretence of petitioning the king and parliament; and whereas there is reason to apprehend that such meeting would, from its circumstances, endanger the public peace: notice is hereby given, that the magistrates have taken measures to prevent any number of persons from assembling in consequence of such hand-bill; and all well-disposed persons are exhorted to abstain from going to such

meeting, and to return peaceably to their houses, avoiding the hazard which they must incur by joining in any tumultuous proceedings."

8th. A most tremendous wind arose about eleven o'clock in London, and for 100 miles round, and did incalculable damage to houses, and occasioned floods in the country, by which much property in cattle, &c. was destroyed.

The dreadful hurricane of this day committed ravages in several parts of Germany, but especially in Holland. At Rotterdam the damage done was also considerable: it pierced a dyke in one place, where 1520 head of cattle were drowned.

10th. The old and new lord mayor, &c. proceeded in the accustomed state to Westminster, where sir W. Staines was sworn into office, for the ensuing year. On returning from Blackfriars-bridge, the populace took the horses from the carriage of the old lord mayor, alderman Combe, and drew him to Guildhall; and did the same by lord Nelson, who, (having obtained the king's permission to appear in public before he was introduced at court) was one of the numerous company that dined with the lord mayor; when he received the sword voted by the city of London.

12th. His majesty held a levee, at which lord Nelson, and sir W. Hamilton, were presented on their arrival from Naples.

Were executed before Newgate, Thomas Chalfont, for secreting a letter, which came within his power, as a forter at the general post-office, and stealing thereout a 10*l.* bank note, the property of Messrs. Bedwell and Co.; Thomas Newman,



for stealing a gelding, the property of George Arnold; John Price, and John Robinson, for a burglary in the dwelling-house of Mr. John Lambe and Co. and stealing a quantity of silk; and William Hatton, for maliciously firing at J. Doonah (a watchman) with a loaded pistol.

19th. The king held a levee at St. James's, when the Algerine ambassador, who went to court in one of the royal carriages, had his first audience, and present to his majesty two beautiful horses, the skins of several tigers, &c. a sword and other valuables.

Early this morning the guard of one of the coaches from Dover to London was shot at by two highwaymen, who stopped the coach near Shooter's Hill. The poor man has, it is feared, received a mortal wound in his back. The highwaymen fired slugs. There were five inside passengers, all of whom these ruffians robbed of their money.— We have since learnt, that the above unfortunate man is dead.

Recent letters from the Rev. Mr. Jackson, chaplain to the colony in New South Wales, states its condition to be most promising. Grain, of all kinds, but more especially barley, was abundant; and some hop-seeds, which about three years since were sent from England to this gentleman, had thrived in such a manner, that several plantations had been formed, and porter of the best quality produced from it.

DIED. 30th. In his 88th year, after a long and painful illness, at

his seat at Monk's Horton, near Hythe, Kent, Matthew Robinson Morris\*, lord Rokeby of Armagh, in Ireland, and an English baronet, and on Monday, December 8, he was buried in the family vault of that parish, where his father, Matthew Robinson, of West Layton, in Yorkshire, esq. was buried, in 1778, aged 84. His loss will be sincerely regretted by all his acquaintance, and still more by his poor neighbours, whose wants he was always ready to relieve with the greatest liberality. He, many years ago, twice represented Canterbury in parliament; during which time he executed the trust, delegated to him by his constituents, with singular integrity and independence, in the practice of which he persevered through the course of a long life. In his last pamphlet, "An Address to the County of Kent. 1797," he speaks most truly of himself as "one who did from his early years adopt the principles of an old and true whig, the principles of Mr. Sydney, Mr. Locke, lord Moleworth, Mr. Trenchard, and such men; from which he has to the best of his knowledge, throughout a long life, in no single action or circumstance ever once varied or swerved, and which he will certainly now relinquish only at his grave." He was elected for Canterbury in 1747 and 1751; and succeeded his cousin, Dr. Richard Robinson, primate of Ireland, as an Irish peer, &c. in October, 1794, in consequence of the collateral remainder inserted in

\* He took the additional name of Morris in compliance with the will of a relation, but was so attached to his first name, that, in the title of a pamphlet he published in 1777, on a political subject, he gave only the initial of his second name, writing himself "Matthew Robinson M."

the primate's patent. He is succeeded in titles, and part of his large estates in Kent, Yorkshire, and Cambridgeshire, by his nephew Morris Robinson, late M. P. for Boroughbridge, and now third lord Rokeby. His sister, Mrs. Montagu, died 25th of August last, aged 80. Lord Rokeby was a man of very vigorous understanding, and who thought upon all occasions for himself, and acted with unexampled consistency up to his own principles, which gave him the appearance, and perhaps the reality, of some eccentricities, of which the relation has been so exaggerated, as to amount to a tissue of the most gross and ridiculous falsehoods. His solitude, though not interrupted by the intercourse of formal visiting, was constantly enlivened by a succession of casual society; and his house, at which nothing was sacrificed to cold and insipid ceremony and ostentation, constantly afforded all the liberal pleasures of ancient hospitality. His address was happy, his manners were easy and attractive; his sentiments were enlarged, candid, and full of philanthropy; and his conversation was original, energetic, and often highly eloquent. He never failed to set the subjects he discussed in a new light; and if he did not always convince, he always interested and entertained. Though single himself, he never lost the most lively anxiety for the welfare of every member of his family. And though the idea of his wealth, added to the hatred of ostentation with which he lived, impressed many with an opinion of his fondness for money, yet the numberless poor neighbours as well as others, whom it now appears that he assisted with loans, through

pure benevolence, and on very slight securities, prove how much that part of his character was mistaken. He had early conceived an indignation of the corruptions of power and rank; and of the little mean passions and distinctions, which too often disgrace them. This gave a colour to all his political opinions, in which no man ever displayed more constancy. Independence was his peculiar characteristic; and no motives of personal interest, ambition, or disappointment, ever intruded themselves in the formation of his opinions. Simplicity and nature were his idols; and he let the grass every where supersede the plough, and his fences and divisions fall, through his extensive domains, that his immense and increasing herds of cattle might have a wider range. By these means, and an uniform and unostentatious life, he died possessed of a large property in addition to his hereditary estates. He was author of several political pamphlets at various periods of his life; and was much looked up to by the party in his county whose cause he espoused,

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#### DECEMBER.

2d. R. Tighe, esq. of the county of Westmeath, obtained a verdict, and 10,000*l.* damages, in the court of King's Bench, Dublin, against a Mr. Jones, for *crim. con.*

3d. His majesty in Council, in compliance with the request of the two houses of parliament, issued his royal proclamation, exhorting all persons who have the means of procuring other food than corn, to use the strictest economy in the use of every kind of grain, abstaining from pastry.

pastry, reducing the consumption of bread in their respective families, at least one-third, and, upon no account, to allow it "to exceed one quartern loaf for each person in each week;" and also all persons keeping horses, especially those for pleasure, to restrict their consumption of grain as far as circumstances will admit.

4th. This day, came on the election, in the prince's chamber, house of lords, of a Radcliffe travelling physician; when Dr. Vaughan, of All Souls college, in Oxford, was elected. Dr. Aslie, of Holles-street, made the present vacancy. There are two only of these medical travellers belonging to the University of Oxford; who hold the appointment for ten years, the first five of which they are required to spend in medical pursuits abroad. No one can be a candidate, who is not a graduate of the University of Oxford. There are two spacious suites of apartments in University-college, belonging to the Radcliffe physicians, who become, by the appointment, fellows for the time being. Dr. Turton and sir Francis Millman, formerly travelled under this appointment, which is reckoned the most honourable situation that can be held by a physician, in this or any other country. It often requires more interest to obtain this, than to become a member of parliament. The following great personages are the electors, by virtue of their office; viz. the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, the chancellor of the university of Oxford, the two lord-chief-justices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, the two principal secretaries of state, the master of the rolls, and the bishops of London and Winchester.

9th. The recorder passed sentence

of death, at the Old-Bailey, on J. Coward, for stealing three heifers; Elizabeth Deering and J. Mills, for stealing in a dwelling-house; John and Mary Oakes, and Margaret Miller, for highway robberies; J. Reynolds, W. Barnes, and D. Lawley (a boy) for burglaries; J. Fisher, for stealing sugar off a wharf; and G. Thomas, for forgery. D. Grant, for receiving stolen sugar, was sentenced to be transported for 14 years. Twenty-eight persons were ordered to be transported for 7 years; 27 to imprisonment, whipping, and fines; and Mary Ann Bellows, a girl 11 years old, was ordered to the Philanthropic Society. B. Pooley, a letter-carrier, found guilty, at September sessions, of having taken a bill for 200*l.* out of a letter, and whose case, in consequence of his counsel having objected to the indictment, on the ground that the note not having been duly stamped, he had not stolen any thing of value, had been referred to the twelve judges, was pardoned; but he was ordered to be detained, to answer other charges.

10th. The admiralty session was held, at the Old-Bailey, when T. Potter, one of the crew of a smuggling vessel, was sentenced to be hanged, and to be afterwards, anatomized, for the wilful murder of H. Glynn, late a boatswain belonging to his majesty's customs at Plymouth, and who was shot whilst rowing towards the smuggler, for the purpose of boarding her, in the execution of his duty. He was executed on the 18th.

13th. Between nine and ten o'clock three footpads stopped a post-chaise, in which were three gentlemen, on the road between Shooter's

Shooter's Hill and Blackheath, whom they robbed to nearly the amount of 100*l*. Mr. Taylor, of Crayford, happening to pass on horseback immediately after, at the request of the gentlemen, pursued; and, having watched the robbers into a wood, between Charlton and Woolwich, rode off to inform the commandant of that garrison of the circumstance, who immediately ordered detachments of the royal horse artillery to surround and patrol the skirts of the wood, while parties of the foot artillery entered it, in search of the offenders, who were soon secured without resistance, having first deposited their booty and six brace of pistols in a ditch, where they were found by one of the gunners. When stripped of their disguise, they were of good appearance, the eldest not more than 23 years old. Eleven of the pistols were loaded, and several cartridges, balls, and slugs, were found upon these fellows.

This afternoon, about five o'clock, as one of the Chatham coaches was coming to town, through Woolwich, with a guide, (the coachman having, it is supposed, lost his way), the coach overturned in passing through a cart-rut. One of the inside passengers, a lady from Canterbury, had her skull fractured, which afterwards caused her death. The coachman had his collar-bone and arm broken, by the fall from his box, and several others were hurt.

22d. St. Thomas's day falling this year on a Sunday, the annual election of common-council-men, for the city of London, was held this day; when fewer changes took place than has been for many years remembered. There was no poll in any of the wards.

29th. This day, a very extraordi-

nary attempt is said to have been made on the life of Buonaparte. A combustible machine, it appears, placed in a cart, was set fire to as he passed in his carriage to the Opera. The explosion caused much damage; and several lives have been lost.

By a diary of the weather, kept during the year 1800, at Norwich, there appears to have been 214 dry days, viz. 20 in January, 23 in February, 14 in March, 7 in April, 23 in May, 16 in June, 28 in July, 16 in August, 14 in September, 17 in October, 15 in November, 21 in December. In 1799 there were only 173 dry days.

It appears, by the adjutant-general's returns, that the number of troops in the pay of Great Britain, on the 24th of December, 1800, amounted to 168,082. The marines being in the admiralty department, are not included; but that corps, consisting of 23,370, increases our effective military force to 191,452, exclusive of the numerous volunteer corps, which do not receive pay from government. The military establishment of Ireland, as stated by lord Castlereagh, on the 10th of February, consists of, regulars 45,839, militia 27,104, and yeomanry 53,557; amounting to 126,500; which makes the military establishment of the united kingdom 317,952 men. Taking the naval establishment, exclusive of marines at 100,000 men, our force will be found to consist of 417,952 men.

From the first day of March last there has been a difference of 12 days between the old and new styles, instead of 11, as formerly, owing to the regulations of the act for altering the style, passed in 1752; according to which, the year 1800 was only to be accounted a common year.

year, and not a leap-year, as it otherwise would have been. In consequence of this alteration, Old Lady-day will be April 6; Old May-day, May 13; Old Midsummer, July 6; Old Lammas, August 13; Old Michaelmas-day, October 11, &c; and will continue so for 100 years.

**DIED.** At her cottage, on Englefield-green, Mrs. Mary Robinson, the once celebrated Perdita. She had been several months in a declining state of health, which worldly troubles greatly aggravated. As the author of several popular novels and poetical pieces, many of them under the signature of Laura-Maria, she was well known to the public. Her last work was a translation of Dr. Hagar's "Picture of Palemeo," just published. She was interred, in a private manner, at Old Windsor.

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**BIRTHS in the Year 1800.**

*Jan.* 6th, Lady Sondes a daughter.

8th. Countess of Mansfield, a daughter.

15th. Lady M'Lean, a son.

20th. Countess of Oxford, a son and heir.

31st. Lady of Sir Samuel Fladger, bart, a son.

*Feb.* 3d. Lady of Sir Henry Mildmay, bart. of her ninth son.

Right honourable Lady Charlotte Carr, a son and heir.

11th. Countess of Berkley, a son.

18th. Lady Elizabeth Talbot, a son.

22d. Countess of Yarmouth, a son and heir.

24th. Countess of Caithness, a son.

*March* 9th. Countess of Derby, a son.

19th. Lady of Sir H. Harpur, bart. a son.

*April.* At Constantinople, the countess of Elgin, a son and heir.

*May* 5th. Lady of Sir William Rowley, bart. a son.

8th. Lady of Sir John Trollope, bart. a son and heir.

14th. Lady Arabella Ward, a daughter.

25th. Dutchess of Rutland, a daughter.

Lady William Beauclerc, a daughter.

*June* 8th. Lady Porchester, a son and heir.

17th. Lady of the speaker of the house of commons, a daughter.

26th. Countess Mount Edgecombe, a daughter.

*July* 10th. Lady of Sir James Saumarez, a daughter.

15th. Lady Harvey, a son.

Lady Rous, a son.

Lady Massey, a son.

Lady Harriet Gill, a daughter.

*August.* Lady Louisa Hartley, a son.

5th. Marchioness of Clanricarde, a daughter.

Dutchess of Manchester, a daughter.

11th. Lady Charlotte Campbell, a son.

16th. Countess of Albemarle, a son.

17th. Countess of Ancram, a son.

20th. Countess of Hardwicke, a son.

Lady Stewart, a daughter.

Marchioness of Tweedale, three sons, two of whom were still born.

25th. Lady Charlotte Duncombe, a son.

27th. Countess of Seston, a son.

31st. Lady Cholmondeley, a son.

*Sep-*

*September 3d.* Lady Mulgrave, a daughter.

*10th.* Lady of sir Francis Ford, bart. a daughter.

*16th.* Viscountess Garlies, a son.

*24th.* The lady of sir Charles Cotton, bart. a son.

*October 7th.* At Madrid, the princess of Peace, a daughter.

*24th.* Countess of Dalkeith, a daughter.

*25th.* The honourable Mrs. Gunning, a son.

*28th.* Countess of Mountcashel, a son.

Lady Blaney, a daughter.

Lady Bantry, a son and heir.

*November 14th.* Countess of Chesterfield, a daughter.

Countess of Northesk, a daughter.

*28th.* Countess of Banbury, a son.

*29th.* Lady of sir Francis Burdett, bart. a son.

Lady of sir Edward O'Brien, bart. a son and heir.

*December 1st.* Countess of Mansfield, a son.

*6th.* Countess of Cork and Orrery, a son.

*14th.* Viscountess of Chetwynd, a son.

Lady of sir Francis Wood, bart. a son.

Lady of sir Frederick Eden, a daughter.

Lady Auckland, a daughter.

Lady of the bishop of Carlisle, her tenth son.

Reverend Robert Moore, son of the archbishop of Canterbury, to Miss Bell.

Lieutenant-colonel Henry Clinton, to the honourable Miss Susan Charteris.

Sir Charles Mills, bart. to Miss Morehead.

*Feb. 6th.* Colonel Charles Crauford, to her grace the duchess dowager of Newcastle.

*March 7th.* Sir William Bagenal Burdett, bart. to Miss Maria Reynett.

*24th.* Earl of Westmoreland, to Miss Saunders.

Major-general Edward Morrison, to lady Caroline King, daughter of the late earl of Kingston.

*April.* Sir Hew Dalrymple Hamilton, bart. to Miss Duncan, daughter of lord viscount Duncan.

Henry Slaughter, esq. to the dowager lady viscountess Montague.

In America, the eldest son of the honourable Thomas Erskine, to the niece of the late general Washington.

*May.* Lord Bantry, to Miss Hare. The prince of Hohenzollern Hechingen, to a princess of Courland.

*27th.* Lieutenant-colonel Anson, to lady Charlotte Primrose, eldest daughter of the earl of Roseberry.

*June 17th.* Cecil Forester, esq. M. P. to lady Catherine Mary Manners, younger sister of the duke of Rutland.

*25th.* Duke of Somerset, to lady Charlotte Hamilton.

*July 8th.* Right honourable George Canning, M. P. to Miss Scott, youngest daughter of the late general Scott, and sister to the marchioness of Titchfield.

*24th.*

#### MARRIAGES in the Year 1800.

*Jan. 1st* Colonel Lake, to lady Graham.

Sir John Smith, bart. to Miss Morland.



24th. Lord Amherst, to the counts of Plymouth.

Earl of Clanrickarde, to Miss Burke.

Baron Hompesch, to Miss Christian.

William Devon, esq. to Miss Mary Heath, sister of Mr. justice Heath.

31st. Charles marquis of Winchester, to Miss Ann Andrewes.

August. Lord Dunsany, to Miss Smith.

19th. Earl of Exeter, to the duchess of Hamilton.

Sir Brooke William Bridges, to Miss Foote.

28th. Earl Talbot, to Miss Lambert.

Sept. 5th. Viscount Tamworth, to the honourable Miss Curzen.

10th. Sir Charles Henry Knowles, bart. to Miss Charlotte Johnstone.

17th. Marquis of Bute, to Miss Coufts.

October 2d. Lord Folstone, eldest son of the earl of Radnor, to lady Catharine Pelham Clinton.

20th. Lord viscount Corry, to lady Juliana Butler.

Sir Wharton Amote, bart. M. P. to Miss Amelia Campbell.

The honourable and reverend lord Henry Fitzroy, to Miss Caroline Pigott.

Nov. 11th. Lord viscount Aghrim, to Miss Eden.

John Simon Harcourt, M. P. to Miss Henniker, grand-daughter of lord Henniker, and great niece to the duchess-dowager of Chandos.

9th. Ebenezer Maitland, jun. esq. to Miss Ellis, grand-daughter of the late William Fuller, esq. of Lombard-street.

23d. Admiral sir Hyde Parker, to Miss Onslow, daughter of admiral Onslow.

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PROMOTIONS in the Year 1800.

Jan. 1. His majesty has been pleased to appoint lieutenant-colonels William Gooch, Henry Chaytor, Stapleton Cotton, Samuel Dalrymple, William Johnston, George Fred. Kochler, Fred. Wm. Wolaston, Rowland Hill, Wm. Stewart, hon. William Stapleton, Danzell Onslow, John Murray, William Twiss, hon. Charles Hope, Richard Mark Dickens, sir George Pigot, bart. Frederick Maitland, John Leveson Gower, Martin Hunter, John lord Elphinstone, Richard viscount Donoughmore, John Abercrombie, Richard William Talbot, George Charles Braithwaite Boughton, Carr Beresford, John Eveleigh, Orlando Manley, Alexander Shand, George earl of Dalhousie, Thomas Baker, George Porter, James Erskine, Henry Williams, hon. George Napier, Francis earl Conyngham, hon. John Vaughan, Charles Baillie, hon. Alexander Hope, John Thomas Maddison, Peter Heron, Robert Lawson, Thomas Peter, Robert Montgomery, Edward Fage, hon. Montague Mathew, John Ramsay, William earl Bulwer, John Deves Broughton, William Dyott, Donald Craufurd Ferguson, Andrew Gammell, Robert M'Farlane, Peter John James Dutens, Samuel Achmuty, James Thewles, John Gustavus Crosbie, to be colonels in the army. —Majors Rowland Edwards, Henry Baird, hon. Alexander Murray, William Cullen, R. Sacheverell Newton, John Wingfield, William Charles Fortescue, Andrew Ross, Gerrard Gosselin, Richard Lee, H. Lewis Dickenson, William Pearce, William Alexander, lord Henry Murray, Andrew Hay, Thomas Robinson Grey, Frederick Philip

Philip Robinson, Charles Campbell, Arthur Robert Dillon, hon. George Carnegie, Thomas Partridge Thorpe, Duncan Darrock, Frederick Delme, John Grey, William Henry Pringle, hon. Robert Clive, William Hutchinson, Anthony Egan, count Philip Walsh, David Barry, William O'Shee, James Conway, Francis Stewart, George Jackson, William Tomlinson, Gordon Skelley, Thomas Hockley, Hugh Antrobus, John Murray, Arthur Aylmer, William Maxwell, William Say, John Mackenzie, Edward Barnes, Henry Zouch, John Shee, Edmund Reilly Cope, Henry Davis, hon. E. M. Packenham, John Bagwell, Phœneas Riall, Robert Bell, Robert Campbell, William Brooke, William Ponsonby, Thomas Molyneux, William Roberts, Hugh Baillie, Edward Macdonnell, Edward Edwin Colman, hon. J. Butler Wandesford, George A. Armstrong, James Francis Bland, Augustus Fitzgerald, Charles Smith, John Bainbridge, John Shaw Maxwell, Benjamin Forbes, John Chas. Fuffnell, John Popham Watson, Haviland Smith, Wm. Peachy, George Vigoreux, Thos. Skinner, Thos. de la Beche, Chas. Newton, George Lewis Hamilton, George Hart, Humphry Dennis, George Glasgow, George Johnson, Henry T. Thompson, Richard Donaldson, Abraham Duverniet, James Butler, William Inglis, David Robertson, James Brag, William Douglas, Matthew Jenour, James Wynch, Charles Robison, Thomas Judson, William Bentham, William Frederick M'Bean, John Vincent, William Booth, John Borthwick, Thomas Bassett, William Wade, George Lewis, William Eyers, Sherborne Stewart, John Haddon, Robert

Lethbridge, David Gordon, Frederick de Chambault, Alexander Cumins, William Frederick Spry, Edward Musgrave, Patrick Maxwell, to be lieutenant-colonels in the army.—Captains Charles Dupperry, Stephen Collins, Charles Sutherland, Edward Wood, Thomas Paterson, William Kersteman, Samuel Swinton, John William Evans, Malcolm M'Pherson, George Johnstone, William Buller, J. Killigrew Dunbar, sir George Leith, George Cookson, Philip Riou, Christopher Seaton, George Calland, to be majors in the army.

4th. Brevet. Captain the hon. Alexander Murray, to be major in the army.

7th. Rev. John Luxmore, D. D. to be dean of Gloucester; reverend Charles Peter Layard, D. D. to be dean of Bristol.

8th. Lieutenant-general the hon. sir Charles Stuart; sir Henry Harvey, vice-admiral of the white; and sir Andrew Mitchell, vice-admiral of the blue; created knights of the bath.

11th. Barracks. Thomas Fraser, gent. to be barrack-master at Fort-George.

21st. A commission passed the great seal, appointing sir Charles William Rouse Boughton, bart. M. P. for Bramber, in Sussex, one of the commissioners for auditing the public accounts of the kingdom.

24th. Brevet. Majors Hugh Bowens, Henry Proctor, John Brown, Joseph Walker, William Hutchinson, Taylor White, Daniel Seddon, to be lieutenant-colonels in the army.—Staff. Colonel George Milner, of the foot-guards, to be brigadier-general in the island of Jersey only.

29th. His royal highness the prince of

of Wales has been pleased to appoint John M'Mahon, esq. to be his vice-treasurer and commissioner of accounts; and Robert Gray, esq. to be deputy-commissioner of accounts.

*Feb. 1st.* The king has been pleased, by letters-patent under the great seal of Great Britain, to confer the dignity of a knight of the said kingdom unto Edward Hamilton, esq. captain in the royal navy, and commander of his majesty's ship the *Surprize*.

William Thornton, esq. elected a director of the East-India Company for two years.

The marquis of Bute, elected a trustee of the British Museum.

Edward King, esq. of Lincoln's-inn Fields, appointed vice-chancellor of the duchy and county-palatine of Lancaster.

*4th. War-office.* Invalids. Ensign William Lodge, from the half-pay of the 91st foot, to be lieutenant in the hon. major-general Napier's independent company of invalids at Guernsey, vice Brigges, deceased.—Brevet. Captain W. A. Phipps, inspector of the royal military academy at Woolwich, to be major in the army.—Hospital-staff. Surgeon James M'Niell, to be assistant-inspector of hospitals at Surinam.—Barracks. David Scott, gent. deputy barrack-master of Fort-George, to be barrack-master of Fort-Augustus.

*8th. Whitehall.* Rev. Daniel Robertson, presented to the church and parish of Meigle, in the presbytery of Meigle and county of Perth, vice Playfair, late minister there, transported to the united colleges of St. Salvador and St. Leonard, in the university of St. Andrew; and rev.

John Sangster, to the church and parish of Garvald, in the presbytery of Haddington, vice Nesbit, deceased.

*15th. War-office.* His majesty has been pleased to appoint the undermentioned officers of the East-India company's forces to take rank by brevet in his majesty's army in the East-Indies only: Majors Thomas Holland, John Barton, Nicolas Carnegie, James Gordon, John Horsford, Richard Humphries, Patrick Alexander Agnew, Edward Gibbings, Robert Mackay, John Tindal Evans, Hector Macleane, Robert Cameron, Thomas Dallas, John Torin, Keith Macalister, Charles Frederick Mandeville, Richard Gore, Francis William Bellis, John Little, John Wiseman, Henry Oakes, Thomas Marshall, Charles Reynolds, Barnaby Boles, George William Mignan, William Home, Andrew Anderson, Charles Boyle, John Macdonald, James Romney, Henry Long, Jacob Thompson, Jeremiah Hawkes, John Baillie, Joseph Bland, and William Henry Blashford, to be lieutenant-colonels.—Captains Richard Walker, Edward Pennington, Thomas Polhill, Alexander Legertwood, Andrew Fraser, Edward Tolsrey, Samuel Jeannerett, John Chalmers, and George Knox, to be majors.—Brevet. Captain Charles N. Cookson, of the royal artillery, to be major in the army.—Garrison. Lieutenant-general David Dundas, to be governor of Landguard fort.

*21st. St. James's.* Right hon. Thomas lord Bolton, took the oaths on being appointed lord-lieutenant of the county of Southampton, and of the town of Southampton and county of the same.

25th. Brevet. Major sir William Lowther, bart. to be a lieutenant-colonel in the army.

*March 4.* Staff. Colonel John Stewart, of the royal artillery, to be brigadier-general at Gibraltar only.

15th. Hon. Arthur Paget, to be his majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary at the court of his Sicilian majesty.—Hon. William F. Wyndham, his majesty's envoy-extraordinary at Florence, to assume the additional character of minister-plenipotentiary at that court.—Archibald M'Niell, esq. to be his majesty's consul at Leghorn.—Joseph Pringle, esq. to be his majesty's agent, and consul-general in the islands of Madeira.

19th. Robert Coney and Robert Hickey, together with Charles Agar, John Pouchet, and Richard Bevan, esqrs. to be his majesty's commissioners for appeals, and regulating the duties of excise.

21st. *Dublin-Castle.* Sir Charles Whitworth, K. B. created a baron of this kingdom, by the title of baron Whitworth, of Newport-Prat, in the county of Mayo.

22d. Sir Walter Farquhar, bart. to be physician to his royal highness the prince of Wales.

*April 2. St. James's.* Lieutenant-colonel John Douglas, late commander of a party of marines serving on board the *Tigre*, knighted.

5th. Right rev. William lord bishop of Chester, recommended, by congé d'Elire, to be elected bishop of Bangor.

8th. Hospital-staff. — Frank, M. D. to be inspector of hospitals to the forces.

22d. Joseph Phelan, M. D. to be physician to the forces.

*May 16th.* Staff. Colonel Alex-

ander Buchanan, of the 37th foot, to be brigadier-general in the Leeward islands only.

13th. Brevet. Major-general Henry Bowyer, to be lieutenant-general in British North America only. Hon. colonel John Hope, to be brigadier-general in the Mediterranean only.

Staff. Brevet-major Charles Neville, to be deputy quarter-master-general to the British troops serving in the kingdom of Portugal, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army.

Garrison. Major-general William Goodday Stuart, to be governor of Quebec. Lieutenant-colonel Samuel Graham, of the 27th foot, to be deputy-governor of Stirling-castle.

24th. Henry-William Majendie, D. D. one of the canons-residentiary of St. Paul, London, recommended, by congé d'Elire, to be elected bishop of Chester.

24th. The earl of Carysfort, to be his majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the court of Berlin.

*June 10th.* Alexander baron Bridport, K. B. admiral of the White, and vice-admiral of Great Britain, created a viscount of Great Britain, by the title of viscount Bridport, of Cricket St. Thomas, in the county of Somerset. Right hon. Henry Dundas, to be keeper of his majesty's privy-seal of Scotland.

13th. Herman Hayman, esq. appointed British vice-consul at Bremen, to assist and act under the direction of Alexander Cockburn, esq. his majesty's agent and consul-general in the circle of Lower Saxony, and the free cities of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck.

14th. Thomas Wallis, esq. to be one

one of his majesty's commissioners for the management of the affairs of India.

17th. Brevet. Captain Peter Beaver, of the 7th foot, to be major in the army.

19th. William Leighton, Edwin Joynes, Roger Kerrison, John Everitt, Thomas Carr, Matthew Bloxam, Robert Burton, John Brazier, Alexander Gordon, James Earle, Beaumaris Rush, and Robert Graham, esqrs. knighted.

24th. Brevet. Captain Hampson P. Thomas, of the 64th foot, to be major in the army.

Lord Carrington, elected president of the board of agriculture for the year ensuing, *vice* lord Somerville.

25th. Right hon. William Dundas, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy-council.

July 1st. Earl Temple, to be one of the commissioners for the management of the affairs of India.

4th. Thomas Johnes, esq. appointed lieutenant of the county of Cardigan.

5th. Hon. William Elliot, to be a lord of the admiralty.

10th. Brevet. Captain Thomas Macmahon, of the 17th foot, to be major of the army.

19th. John Lane, of Upper Eaton-street, Grosvenor-place, esq. to be receiver of the duties of sixpence in the pound, and one shilling in the pound on salaries, fees, and wages, of any offices and employments payable by the crown.

26th. Right hon. Thomas Grenville, to be warden, chief justice, and justice in Eyre, of all his majesty's forests, chaces, parks, and warrens, on this side the Trent. Lord Granville Leveson Gower, to be a lord of the treasury.

30th. His majesty has been pleased to grant the following dignities: to Charles Henry earl of Mountrath, the dignity of baron of Castle Coote, in the county of Roscommon; and, in default of issue, to Charles Henry Coote, esq. of Forest lodge, in the Queen's county; hon. Clotworthy Rowley, baron Langford, of Somerhill, in the county of Meath; right hon. sir John Blaquiere, bart. K. B. baron de Blaquiere, of Ardkill, in the county of Londonderry; right hon. Lodge Morres, baron Frankfort, of Galmoye, in the county of Kilkenny; dame Dorcas Blackwood, widow of sir John Blackwood, bart. baroness Dufferin and Claneboyc, of Ballyleidy and Killyleagh, in the county of Down; and the dignity of baron Dufferin and Claneboyc to the heirs-male of her body by the said sir J. Blackwood; sir John Henniker, bart. baron Henniker, of Stratford-upon-Avaney, in the county of Wicklow; dame Charlotte Newcomen, wife of sir William Gleadowe Newcomen, bart. baroness Newcomen, of Mallow, in the county of Longford; and the dignity of baron Newcomen, to the heirs-male of her body by the said sir William Gleadowe Newcomen, bart; sir Richard Quin, bart. baron Adare, of Adare, in the county of Limerick; sir Thomas Mullins, bart. baron Ventry, of Ventry, in the county of Kerry; William Hare, esq. of Tivoli, baron Ennismore, of Ennismore, in the county of Kerry; Joseph Henry Blake, esq. baron Wallscourt, of Ardery, in the county of Galway; and, in default of issue, to the heirs-male of the body of his father, Joseph Blake, esq.; Henry Moore Sandford, esq. baron Mount-sandford, of Castlereagh, in the

the county of Roscommon; and, in default of issue, to his brother, William Sandford, esq.; and, in default of his issue, to his brother, George Sandford, esq.; Henry Prittie, esq. baron Donally, of Killboy, in the county of Tipperary; John Preston, esq. baron Tara, of Bellinter, in the county of Meath; Maurice Mahon, esq. baron Hartland, of Strokestown, in the county of Roscommon; and John Bingham, esq. baron Clanmorris, of Newbrook, in the county of Mayo.

*August 2d.* Baron Salvesin, esq. approved by his majesty to be consul for the king of Denmark in Scotland, and in the northern parts of England to Flamborough-Head, conjointly with Thomas Mulderup, esq.

*12th.* Brevet. Hon. colonel Thomas Maitland, of the 10th West-India regiment, to be brigadier-general to the forces serving under the command of lieutenant-general, sir James Pulteney.

*13th.* Right hon. Richard earl of Shannon, K. P. the right hon. Isaac Corry, chancellor of his majesty's exchequer, in this kingdom, the right hon. Robert Stewart, commonly called lord viscount Castlereagh, keeper of his majesty's signet, or privy seal, and chief secretary to the lord lieutenant general, and general-governor of Ireland, the right hon. lord Frankfort, and the right hon. John Loftus Loftus, commonly called lord viscount Loftus, to be commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of his majesty's exchequer in Ireland.

*26th.* Right hon. Alexander lord Bridport, K. B. admiral of the white, to be general of his majesty's marine forces; and the right hon. John earl St. Vincent, to be lieutenant-general of the said forces.

*Sept. 10th.* Henry Luttrell, esq.

to be clerk of the pipe, and engrosser of the great roll, in the court of exchequer of this kingdom.

*30th.* Brevet colonel Gerrit Fisher, to be brigadier-general to the forces serving under the command of lieutenant-general sir James Pulteney. Captain Robert-Alexander Dalzell, to be major in the army.

*October 21.* John Hookham Frere, esq. to be his majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary at the court of the prince regent of Portugal.

*22d. Dublin Castle.* Lieutenant-colonel Marcus Beresford, to be lieutenant-general of his majesty's ordnance in this kingdom.

*Nov. 4th.* Sir Richard Carr Glyn, of Gaunts, in the county of Dorset, knt. late lord mayor of the city of London; Robert Kingmill, esq. admiral of the blue squadron of his majesty's fleet; Robert John Buxton, of Shadwell-lodge, in the county of Norfolk, esq.; William Elford, of Bickham, in the county of Devon, esq. lieutenant-colonel of the South Devon regiment of militia; Nathaniel Holland, of Wittenham, in the county of Berks, esq.; Francis Milman, of Levaton, in the county of Devon, M. D. and physician to his majesty's household; Robert Peel, of Drayton Manor, in the county of Stafford, and of Bury, in the county of Lancaster, esq.; and Walter Stirling, of Faskine, in the county of Lancaster, esq. banker of London, created baronets.

*25th.* Hon. and rev. William Stuart. bishop of St. David's, translated to the archbishoprick of Armagh, in Ireland.

*29th.* Lord Seaforth took the oaths on being appointed governor of Barbadoes.

*Dec.*



*Dec. 2d. War-office.* Brevet Lieutenant-colonel John Frazer, commandant of a corps of infantry, to be colonel in the army.

Barracks. Lachlan Maclean, to be barrack-master at Hamilton.

6th. Brevet Colonel Frederick Maitland, to be brigadier-general to the forces serving in the Leeward Islands only.

9th. John Hiley Addington, esq. to be one of the lords commissioners of the treasury, *vice* Sylvester Douglas, created baron Glenbervie, of Kincardine, Ireland, and appointed governor of the Cape of Good Hope; right hon. Charles Sloane lord Cadogan, to be viscount Chelsea, in the county of Middlesex, and earl Cadogan; right hon. James lord Malmesbury, K. B. to be viscount Fitz-Harris, of Horn-Court, in the county of Southampton, and earl of Malmesbury.

16th. Right rev. William lord bishop of Armagh, and St. George Daly, esq. his majesty's prime serjeant-at-law, sworn of the privy-council of Ireland.

20th. Rev. George Murray, commonly called lord George Murray, recommended, by royal sign manual, to be elected bishop of St. David's.

20th. Right hon. John Toler, to be chief justice of the court of common pleas of Ireland.

23d. Right hon. John Stewart, to be his majesty's attorney-general in Ireland; and William Smith, esq. to be his majesty's solicitor-general.

Lord viscount Loftus, John Stewart, esq. attorney-general, and Charles-Henry Coote, esq. sworn of the privy-council of Ireland.

*Dec. 27th. Dublin-castle.* The Dublin gazette notifies the elevation to the Irish peerage of lord

Charles Fitzgerald, as lord Lecale; admiral Waldegrave, lord Radstock; Sylvester Douglas, lord Glenbervie; John Toler, lord Norbury; and sir Alan Gardner, lord Gardner; the marchioness of Buckingham, to be baroness Nugent, and her second son, lord George Nugent Grenville, to be lord Nugent; Frederick Trench, lord Ashdown; general Eyre Massey, lord Clarina; and the hon. Robert King, lord Erris.

29th. The Dublin Gazette announces the following creations: the earl of Inchiquin, to be marquis of Thomond; earl of Bečive, marquis of Headfort; earl of Altamont, marquis of Sligo; and earl of Ely, marquis of Ely; viscount Castle Stewart, earl of ditto; viscount Donoughmore, earl ditto; viscount Kenmare, earl of ditto; earl Clanricarde, the title in reversion to his daughters; lord Glentworth, viscount Limerick; lord Somerton, archbishop of Cashel, viscount Somerton; lord Yelverton, viscount Avonmore; lord Longueville, viscount, ditto; lord Bantry, viscount ditto; lord Monck, viscount ditto; lord Kolcomnet, viscount Dunbar; lord Tullamore, viscount Charleville; and lord Kilwarden, viscount ditto.

30th. *Whitehall.* Henry earl of Exeter, advanced to a marquis.

31st. *Dublin.* Lord Conyngham, elected a knight of the order of St. Patrick.

Edward Christian, esq. barrister-at-law, and Downing, professor of the laws of England in Cambridge university, appointed, by the bishop of Ely, chief justice of his franchise in the Isle of Ely.

Hon. Spencer Perceval, M. A. of Trinity-college, appointed counselor to the University of Cambridge.

DEATHS *in the Year 1800.*

*Jan. 3d.* Sir William Musgrave, bart. V. P. R. S. and F. A. S. a trustee of the British Museum, formerly a commissioner of his majesty's customs, and afterwards an auditor of the public accompts.

*6th.* Aged 72, the right honourable Wilmott Vaughan, earl of Lisburne, in the kingdom of Ireland. He represented his native county of Cardigan near 40 years.

*7th.* Sir Edward Baynton, bart. aged 90 years.

Henry, 12th lord Roper, of Teynham, born May 3, 1764; succeeded his father, Henry, 1786; and, dying unmarried, is succeeded by his only brother.

*11th.* At Mr. Coke's, at Holkham, in Norfolk, Charles Nevinston, viscount Andover, eldest son of the earl of Suffolk. He was born May 13, 1775. Returning from shooting on the 8th, he handed to his servant his fowling-piece, which went off at the instant, and the shot penetrated his right side and lungs. He survived only three days. His lady was Mr. Coke's daughter.

At Dublin, Dr. William Newcome, archbishop of Armagh. He was of Hertford-college, Oxford; where he took the degrees of M. A. Oct. 19, 1753; B. D. Oct. 30, 1765; and D. D. Nov. 6, 1765. He was in the 71st year of his age, and had successively filled the sees of Dromore 1766, Ossory 1773, and Waterford 1779, till he was advanced to the primacy by earl Fitzwilliam, in January, 1795. He was buried in New College Chapel, Dublin. Dr. Newcome was private tutor to Mr. Fox, when that gentleman was at college. A wound which he at that time accidentally

received in one of his arms soon caused an amputation to take place. He received the bishoprick of Waterford during his pupil's administration.

*22d.* In Lombard-street, Mrs. Esther Ellis, daughter of William Fuller, esq. banker\*, and wife of Mr. Thomas Ellis, tanner. She has left an only daughter.

Aged 64, after a few days illness, the Rev. John Warner, D. D. son of the rev. Dr. Ferdinando W. (many years rector of Barnes, in Surrey, and author of the "History of Ireland," &c.) He was of Trinity-college, Cambridge; B. A. 1753; M. A. 1761; D. D. 1773. For many years he possessed an unusual degree of popularity as a pleasing, manly, and eloquent preacher, at a chapel, his private property, in Long-acre; (which he sold to the late Dr. King, who had before been chaplain to the British factory at St. Petersburg.) He was presented, in 1771, to the united rectories of Hockliffe and Chalgrave, in Bedfordshire; and was afterwards presented, by sir Richard Colt Hoare, bart. to the valuable rectory of Stourton, Wilts.

At his house, at Hampstead, George Steevens, esq. F. R. and A. SS. the celebrated commentator on Shakespeare.

Lady Elizabeth Worsley, widow of the late sir Thomas Worsley, bart. in her 69th year.

At Berlin, in his 87th year, count Finkenstein, the oldest of all the statesmen in Europe, and Prussian minister of state. In 1735, he entered on his diplomatical career, as ambassador to the court of Sweden; from 1740 to 1742, he was at the Danish court; after which, he was sent to the king of England,

\* See the Chronicle for a short account of Mr. Fuller.

George II. who was then on the banks of the Rhine, on business of great importance. He was afterwards ambassador at Petersburg, where he remained a twelvemonth, when he was appointed to the important station of minister of the cabinet, which he held ever since 1749, full fifty years.

27th. The rev. Dr. John Warren, lord bishop of Bangor. He was of Caius-college, Cambridge, where he proceeded B. A. 1750; M. A. 1754; and D. D. 1772. In 1779, he was promoted to the see of St. David's; from whence, in 1783, he was translated to Bangor.

The most hon. Charlotte Jane Windsor, marchioness of Bute.

At Gompas, in Hungary, a shepherd, in the 126th year of his age. His manner of living was extremely simple; he never ate any meat, but subsisted entirely on milk, butter, and cheese, and had never been ill in his life.

At Aufburg, baron de Steiger.

The reigning prince bishop of Constance.

At Nice, after twelve days illness of a putrid fever, general Championet, commander of the French republican army of Italy.

At Nancy, Nicolas Guillemin, M. D. formerly professor of materia medica and botany in the medical college of that city.

At Bourdeaux, citizen Garat, formerly an advocate there, and afterwards a member of the constituent national assembly.

At Dresden, in his 77th year, the Saxon minister of state, Louis de Warmb.

Feb. 6th. At Cambridge, Robert Glynn Clobery, M. D. fellow of King's-college, 1737; A. B. 1741; A. M. 1745; M. D. 1752; and fel-

low of the college of physicians of London, 1763. He practised first as a physician at Richmond; but afterwards at Cambridge, where he constantly resided. In 1785, he received the Seatonian prize for the poem on "The Day of Judgement," which, however, was generally believed to be the production of another fellow of the college, not then of standing to be a candidate for it. He changed his name to Clobery for an estate left him by an uncle.

At Hamburg, in the 85th year of her age, her excellency Sophia Charlotte, countess dowager of Bentinck, only child of the late count Aldenburgh, and of the princess of Varel, widow of the late hon. William count Bentinck Rhoon, second son of the first earl of Portland, and grandmother to the present count Bentinck Rhoon, and of governor Bentinck, the latter of whom she has left her heir.

In the city mansion-house, in Dawson-street, Dublin, the right hon. John Sutton, lord mayor of that city. He is the 7th magistrate who has died in that office since the revolution.

10th. In his 57th year, cardinal Altieri. He renounced his dignity while Rome was in the hands of the French; which step he repented publicly, previous to his death, in a printed pamphlet, in which he entreats the pardon of God and the church for his fear of men.

21st. In her 57th year, after a reign of four years, the princess abbess of Lindau, baroness of Ulm.

24th. In her 80th year, Elizabeth Douglas Hamilton, countess dowager Brooke and of Warwick, eldest daughter of lord Archibald Hamilton, the youngest son of Anne, duchess of Hamilton in her own right,

right; and William Douglas, earl of Selkirk, created duke of Hamilton in 1661. Lady Archibald Hamilton, her mother, was the daughter of James earl of Abercorn, descended from Claud Hamilton, youngest son of James Hamilton, earl of Arran, and duke of Chatelherault. She was, by her own direction, interred in a very private manner in Westminster-abbey, where her remains have been deposited with those of her maternal grandfather and grandmother, in the Ormond vault in Henry the Seventh's chapel.

*March 5th.* At Pontoise, in France, George Barnewell, viscount Kingfishland, nephew to earl Fauconberg.

John Macbride, esq. admiral of the blue.

Sir Thomas Shirley, bart. many years governor and commander-in-chief of the islands of Antigua, St. Christopher's, &c. and a general in the army.

The right hon. Jane lady dowager Erne, relict of the late lord Erne.

17th. At Liege, the hon. and rev. William Aston, prebend of the collegiate church of St. John the Evangelist in that town, and brother to lord Aston, of Forfar. He died in distress from the revolutionary government of that unhappy country.

Hon. Daines Barrington, F. R. and A. S. S. fourth son of the first viscount Barrington, so well known by his "*Miscellanea Sacra*," by Anne, his wife, daughter and co-heiress of sir William Daines. John viscount Barrington of the kingdom of Ireland had issue six sons, viz. 1. William, his successor in the peerage; 2. Francis, died young; 3. John, a major-general, who reduced Guadaloupe, and was governor of

Berwick; 4. Daines, the subject of this article; 5. Samuel, the celebrated admiral; 6. Shute, bishop of Durham, &c. He was one of his majesty's counsel learned in the law, and a benchet of the honourable society of the Inner Temple; appointed, May 24, 1751, marshal of the high court of admiralty in England, which he resigned in 1753, on being appointed secretary for the affairs of Greenwich-hospital; was appointed a Welsh judge on the North-Wales circuit, 1757; and afterwards second justice of Chester, which he resigned after 1785, we believe, on a pension, and, at his death, retained only the place of commissary-general of the stores at Gibraltar. Although Mr. B. claimed no high distinction as a lawyer, he was universally allowed to be a profound and judicious antiquary. His first publication, which will always maintain its rank, and has gone through five editions, the author liberally canceling each preceding at his own expense, was "*Observations on the Statutes, chiefly the more ancient, from Magna Charta to 21st James I. c. 27; with an Appendix, being a Proposal for new-modeling the Statutes, 1766*," 4to. two editions in one year. He was also the author of many valuable papers in the *Archæologia*, and the *Philosophical Transactions*.

John viscount Arbuthnot, lord Inverbervie.

Lady Chapman, widow of sir John Chapman, bart.

The rev. John Norbury, fellow of Eton-college. He was the son of a barrister in Cheshire. He was admitted into King's-college 1744, and took the degrees of A. B. 1746; A. M. 1750; S. T. P. 1784. On

3d Dec., 1783, he was chosen fellow of Eton. On the death of Mr. Barnard, 1772, he succeeded to the living of Maple Durham, in Oxfordshire, for which he resigned the rectory of Walton-upon-Trent, in Derbyshire, to which he had been presented by the marquis of Townsend. He was many years an assistant at Eton, and published, in 1793, a translation into Greek verse of Gray's *Elegy in a Country Church-yard*.

Aged 83, lady Hawkins, relict of sir Christopher Hawkins, bart.

Lady Charlotte Radclyffe, daughter of the hon. Charles Radclyffe, by the countess of Newburgh, who was a Scotch peeress in her own right.

The hon. colonel Rawdon, M. P. for the city of Lincoln, brother to the earl of Moira, and nephew to the late earl of Hunsington; and traced, in his very illustrious ancestry, the blood royal of the Plantagenets.

The lady of sir Thomas Miller, bart.

Sir John Menzies, bart. He has left a widow without any issue, lady Charlotte, eldest daughter of the duke of Athol. The title and estate devolve to Robert Menzies, esq. of Edinburgh.

Philip Wenman, seventh lord viscount Wenman, baron Wenman, of Kilmaynham, and a baronet. He was born April 18, 1742, and was united July 7, 1766, to the lady Eleanora Bertie, fifth daughter of Willoughby, earl of Abingdon; but, having no issue, the title is extinct.

April 6th. Right hon. James Stewart Mackenzie, lord privy seal of Scotland, second brother of John third earl of Bute; elected M. P. for Argyleshire, in 1740; Bute,

1747; burghs of Air, &c. 1754; Roxshire, 1761; envoy extraordinary to the king of Sweden, 1759. He succeeded to the estate of Rosehaugh by the entail of his great grandfather, sir George Mackenzie, whose name and arms he took. He married lady Betty Campbell, one of the daughters and co-heiresses of John duke of Argyle.

At Oldenburgh, in Germany, the right hon. lady Isabella-Henrietta de Ginkell, fourth daughter of the earl of Athlone, and sister of lord Aghrim. Her ladyship was, some time back, united to her relation, baron W. T. de Reede.

At Perth, Elspet Watson, at the great age of 115. She was born in 1685, in the reign of James II. and is probably the last Scottish subject born in the reign of that prince. She was undoubtedly one of the smallest, or rather shortest women in the three kingdoms. When in the prime of life, she did not exceed two feet nine inches in height. She has not had any other way of living, for many years, but begging her bread from door to door; and so strong a predilection had she for this way of life, that she went her usual rounds till within a few weeks of her death, although she had more than 30l. sterling of ready cash in her possession when she died.

At Berlin, in his 81st year, the Prussian minister of state, count Blumantel. He had retired from the greater part of his public functions some time, and only retained the inspection of the royal treasury.

At Vienna, count Nadasti, imperial field-marshal-lieutenant, and proprietor of a regiment of infantry.

At Nice, of absolute want, the artist Corbion, master of the celebrated Viotti.

At

At Paris, Guillemain, the famous comic writer, author of 368 theatrical pieces.

In France, aged 90, citizen Turpin. He was author of a vast number of historical works, but has not been placed, however, in the rank of distinguished historians. His principal labours are, "The History of the Koran," &c.; "History of the Life of Mahomet, the Arabian Legislator;" "Civil and natural History of the Kingdom of Siam;" "History of the Governments of the ancient Republic;" "The French Plutarch." For some time he carried on "The Lives of the illustrious Men of France." He was near 80 when he published the continuation of "The Revolutions of England."

At Paris, C. Planterre, author of several dramatic works.

9th. At her mother's house, lady Mary Juliana Howe, second daughter of the late earl Howe, born 1765, and on the eve of her nuptials with the earl of Morton.

At Bath, lady Mary Colyear and lady Juliana Colyear, the eldest daughters of the earl of Portmore.

22d. The most noble George Paulett, marquis of Winchester, earl of Wiltshire, baron Seynt John, premier marquis of England.

The countess of Strathmore, relict of John earl of Strathmore, who died in April, 1776. In 1777, she married Andrew Robinson Stoney, esq. who afterwards took the name of Bowes, and whose history is well known, having first fought a duel with another suitor on her account. After a long series of domestic unhappiness, a separation took place; soon after which, he attempted to carry her off from her lodgings in Oxford-street, Nov. 10, 1786; but

she regained her liberty. Mr. Bowes was apprehended, and a suit commenced against him; the rule was made absolute 1787; and, March 3, 1789, lady Strathmore was restored to her property, and divorced from the unfortunate connexion. Mr. Bowes being unable to pay the costs incurred by the suit in the spiritual-court, was ordered, 1790, to remain in the King's-bench till they were paid. In the riot and conspiracy which took place in that prison, 1791, Mr. Bowes's conduct was so commendable, that he obtained a remittance of the rigour of his confinement. Her ladyship's remains were deposited in Westminster-abbey, dressed in a superb bridal dress.

At Richmond, M. Mallet du Pan, the celebrated political writer, of a disorder on his lungs.

Admiral George Vandeput, commanding on the Halifax station. He was promoted to the rank of captain in 1765; rear-admiral 1793; vice-admiral 1794; and admiral in the last promotion of flag-officers in 1799. He was son of sir George Vandeput, who many years ago was engaged in the memorable contest for the representation of Westminster—a contest by which his large fortune was considerably impaired.

At Madrid, don Juan Baptista Munos, one of the most voluminous Spanish authors. He published 130 volumes of historical and other works, many original documents and letters of Columbus, Ximenes, &c. and other works relating to America; and was employed, 1779, by the late king of Spain, to write the history of the New World.

At Warsaw, prince Poniatofsky, a brother of the late king of Poland.



*May 6th.* Lady of sir Lionel Darell, bart.

*24th.* Sir John Hunter Blair.

At Hamburgh, the duke D'Aiguillon, in the 38th year of his age. He fell a martyr to the gout.

At Lingen, Vander Speigel, the former grand pensionary of Holland.

*June 3d.* At his house, in Tenterden-street, Hanover-square, by shooting himself with a pistol, sir Godfrey Webster, bart. of Battle Abbey, Suffex. For five or six weeks past, he had betrayed very evident symptoms of a troubled mind, in consequence of ill luck at play; whereupon the coroner's inquest brought in a verdict of lunacy. He succeeded to the title on the death of his father, sir Christopher, 1779, and has left two sons and one daughter by his lady, the daughter and heiress of Mr. Vassal, a rich planter of Jamaica, who, in his absence from Florence, where they resided, on business in England, quitted him, and afterwards, being divorced, was married to lord Holland.

*5th.* Sir Henry Bridgeman, first lord Bradford, a vice-president of the Welch charity, and L. L. D. He was born 1725; and married, 1755, Elizabeth Simpson, by whom he had a numerous issue, viz. the survivors are, 1st, Orlando, now lord Bradford, married the honourable Lucy Byng, daughter of George, lord Torrington; 2d, John, who has taken the name of Simpson, married Henrietta, daughter of sir Thomas Worsley, and is a M. P. in the present parliament; 3d, George, rector of Wigan, married to the lady Lucy-Isabel Boyle, daughter of Edmund, seventh earl

of Cork and Orrery, in Ireland, and lord Boyle, in England. The daughters of lord Bradford were, 1st, Charlotte, wife of Henry Grefwold Lewis, of Malvern-hall, Warwick; 2d, Anne, deceased; 3d, Elizabeth-Diana, married George, only son of sir Robert Gunning, knight of the bath. The father of Henry, first lord Bradford, was sir Orlando Bridgeman, who married the lady Anne Newport, daughter and co-heiress of Richard Newport, last earl of Bradford. The earl deceased 1702; the titles became extinct, but the estates devolved on his grandson, sir Henry Bridgeman, son of lady Anne Newport, by sir Orlando, who was raised to the peerage 1797, by the title of baron Bradford, and is now succeeded by his son Orlando, the second lord.

In his 55th year, at his house in Bedford-square, sir Francis Buller, bart. one of the judges of the court of common pleas. On the morning of the preceeding day, he had visited the lord chancellor and several of his friends; he returned home to dinner, and afterwards amused himself for a short time in playing at piquet with his niece, who, observing some change in his countenance, which she hinted to him, he acknowledged that he felt himself seized with a degree of langour and faintness; he was conducted to his chamber, and went to bed; and early the next morning he expired without a groan. He was the second son of James Buller, esq. who was one of the representatives in parliament for the county of Cornwall by his second wife, Jane, one of the daughters of Allen, earl Bathurst. He was created a baronet in 1789; and is succeeded by his eldest

eldest son, now sir F. Buller Yarde, who changed his name for an estate of considerable value.

7th. The Right honourable Henry Willoughby, lord Middleton of Middleton, and a baronet. He was born December 19, 1726; succeeded his cousin Thomas, the late lord, January 19, 1781. He married, December 25, 1756, Dorothy, daughter and coheir of George Cartwright, of Offingham, in Nottinghamshire, by whom he had several children.

8th. The right honourable lady Bagot.

William Cruikshanks, esq. a surgeon of the very first eminence. He was a native of or near Glasgow, where he was educated. He was born in 1745; and in compliment to the hero of Culloden, his parents chose the name of William-Cumberland for their son, the latter part of which name he but rarely used. He was educated and intended for the church, but never shewed much inclination for it. About the time that Dr. William Hunter, teacher of anatomy in London, and his assistant, Mr. Hewson, were to part, the doctor had applied to the professors, at Glasgow, to recommend a young man of genius and learning to succeed Mr. Hewson, for which purpose Mr. Cruikshank's abilities well recommended him. He therefore came to London, about thirty years ago. He married, in 1773, a native of Dundee, who died in 1795, by whom he had four daughters.

Suddenly, at his seat at Chiselmurst, in Kent, the right honourable Thomas Townshend, viscount Sydney, chief-justice in Eyre, S. of Trent, a governor of the charter-

house, and a vice-president of the Asylum. Returning from his morning-ride, he went into the garden, and walked round the pond to see his ducks, as was his usual custom, and then returned to the parlour, desiring his servant to bring him pen and ink, saying he would write to his attorney to inform him when he should be in town. After writing "Sir, I shall be —," his lordship fell back in his chair, in a fit. His eldest son, the honourable J. T. Townshend, one of the lords of the treasury, and his successor in title and estate, who was with him, called for assistance, but to no purpose; the last words his lordship spoke were "Give me my draught;" in three minutes afterwards he expired. He once filled a high office under government, having been secretary of state, when Mr. Pitt came into administration.

July 1st. At East Retford, Lincoln; aged 76, the lady of sir Wharton Amcotts, bart. sister of the late Charles Amcotts, esq. of Kettlethorne, in the same county, by whose death, in 1777, she divided with her sister, Mrs. Buckworth, his considerable estates, which are still possessed by sir Wharton.

Sir Robert Goodere, bart.

James Drummond, lord Perth, so created October 26th, 1797.

The duke de Duras, a peer of France.

Bryan Edwards, esq. M. P.

14th. In his 82d year, the right honourable Basil Fielding, earl of Denbigh, viscount Fielding, one of the lords of his majesty's bed-chamber, and earl of Desmond in Ireland. This noble earl was descended from the earls of Hapsburgh, in Germany. Geoffrey, earl

earl of Hapsburgh, being oppressed by Rodolph, emperor of Germany, came over to England, and one of his sons served king Henry III. in his wars; whose ancestors, laying claim to the territories of Lauffenburg and Rhin Filding, in Germany, he took the name of Filding. The late earl was twice married; first to the daughter of Sir J. Bruce Cotton, by whom he had two sons, (lord Fielding, and the honourable C. Fielding), both deceased; second, to dame Sarah Halford, relict of sir Charles Halford, bart. and now countess-dowager of Denbigh. His lordship's titles, &c. descend to the eldest son of the late lord Fielding, a minor.

The right honourable George Mason Villiers, lord viscount Grandison.

18th. The lady of Aubrey Beauclerk, earl of Burford (son to the duke of St. Alban's); to whom she was married in 1788.

22d. Sir Benjamin Hammet, knt. M. P. for the borough of Taunton, in the county of Somerset, and an eminent banker, of Lombard-street. He was chosen alderman of Portoken-ward, London, June 3, 1785, and was knighted on presenting an address of congratulation to his majesty on his escape from assassination by Margaret Nicholson, 1786. This gentleman was a conspicuous example of the effects of enterprize and industry. His origin was humble, and the progress of his early life afforded no prospect of the situation which he subsequently obtained. He wanted the advantages of education; but he possessed plain common sense, and was well acquainted with the qualities of mankind. After having filled the subordinate situation

of a porter in the shop of a bookseller, on Fish-street-hill, he became the architect of his own fortune, and acquired considerable property and high civic distinction.

The right honourable Frederick Montague. He was one of the commissioners of the treasury when Mr. Fox came into administration with lord North, 1783.

*August.* In his 71st year, the honourable Samuel Barrington, senior admiral of the white, and general of his majesty's marine forces; a brother of the honourable Daines Barrington, before mentioned.

2d. At Venice, the countess Lucy Bartiza, wife of his excellency the count Antonio Bartiza, patrician of Venice, and only surviving child of the late John Paradise, esq.

7th. Aged 23, Frederick-Augustus Eschen, a native of Eutinen, in the bishoprick of Lubeck. He and one of his friends, Mr. Zimpfen, accompanied by a guide, were ascending Buet, one of the Glaciers, near Sallanches, when Eschen unfortunately fell into a deep fissure covered with snow, and, it is supposed was instantly killed. A person, let down by means of ropes, into the chasm, the day after the accident, was able only just to feel the dead body with the end of his stick. On the following day, another man went down, in the same manner, and, after several hours labour, was able to get the body up. It was found jammed in between the ice, in an erect posture, and completely frozen, at the depth of more than a hundred feet. The compression was so great, that his watch was flattened in his sob. Three of his ribs were found broken on each side, and his sternum beat in. In his pockets were found 78 livres,

livres, in money, the third volume of Saussure's "Voyage dans les Alpes," and a letter which he had begun, in German, to his father, dated Vevey, August 2, in which he talks of being at home again in three weeks, and says he travels on foot with a friend. His body was interred near the spot, and a stone placed over it, with an inscription calculated to caution future travellers who may chance to visit these dangerous situations.

9th. The Right honourable Mary countess Howe, widow of the late earl Howe. She was daughter of Cheverton Hartopp, of Welby, in Leicestershire, and married to lord Howe, July 5, 1758.

At New-hall-nunnery, by Chelmsford, Essex, the honourable Charlotte Clifford. She was second daughter of Hugh third lord Clifford, and sister of the fourth, and great aunt of the present lord; and was, as well as her sisters Mary and Preston, a benedictine nun at Ghent, and superior of the nunnery of the same order lately established under the patronage of lords Clifford, Petre, &c. in the old palace of Henry VIII.

Sept. General Russell Manners, colonel of his majesty's 26th regiment of light dragoons.

In his 87th year, Albany Wallis, esq. of Norfolk-street, in the Strand, an eminent solicitor, in partnership with Mr. Troward. He was a man, who, by the exertion of indefatigable industry and phlegmatic prudence, acquired a very considerable fortune in the law. His abilities were of a very inferior kind; but he had learned the policy of silence, and, therefore, it was generally conceived, while he was so taciturn in society, that "more was meant than

met the ear." Upon the whole, it may be said of Albany Wallis, that, though he had necessarily many acquaintances, his temper and character were not likely to conciliate many friends.—He has left his large fortune, between 70, and 80,000*l.* to lady Bailey, of Pall-mall, for life; and, after her death, to colonel Bailey, her son, who has taken his name. Mr. Wallis had several sisters' children and other near relations in indigent circumstances, of whom he has taken no other notice than by giving 500*l.* to his heirs at law. Lady Bailey, it is said, has refused to act as an executrix under the will of her late liberal friend; and Mr. Troward has likewise declined the same act of representative duty, being a claimant on the estate to the amount of 30,000*l.*

Countess dowager of Darlington, sister to the earl of Lonsdale.

9th. In his 85th year, James Hayes, esq. a bencher of the Middle Temple, formerly one of his majesty's justices for North Wales. He was of King's-college, Cambridge; B. A. 1737; M. A. 1741.

13th. The right hon. Eleanora dowager lady Saltoun.

16th. At Newmarket, in his 85th year, W. Vernon, esq. the father of the turf, and upwards of fifty years distinguished as a sporting man. He married lord Ossory's mother, by whom he had three daughters, viz. the present lady Warwick, Mrs. Smith, and one unmarried. He is believed to have first introduced into England the forcing of peach and other fruits on hot walls, of which he had some capital ones at Newmarket.

Mary dowager lady Walsingham. She was daughter of William Cowper, esq. of the Park, near Hartford;

ford; and married, Nov. 12, 1743, to William de Grey, created lord Walsingham, 1780.

Aged 76, the duke of Saxe-Cobourg.

30th. Lady Hughes, relict of admiral sir Edward Hughes.

*Oct.* The rhingrave of Salm.

Right hon. John Meade, earl and viscount Clanwilliam, baron of Gillford, and a baronet. He was only son of sir Richard Meade, third baronet of the family; born April 21, 1744; created baron and viscount 1766, and earl 1776. He married Theodosia, daughter of Robert Hawkins Magill, esq. by whom he had five sons and five daughters.

John Lord Northwick, so created 1797, being sir John Rushout, bart. in which title he succeeded his father; he represented Evelham in parliament many years.

The right hon. Charles Coote, earl of Bellamont, K. B. He succeeded, on the death of the late earl, 1766, to the barony of Colony; was created earl of Bellamont 1767; and in August, 1774, married the lady Emily Fitzgerald, daughter of the late duke of Leinster, by whom he has left several daughters. Dying without issue-male, his titles are extinct.

In his 81st year, lord William Seymour, uncle to the present, and brother to the two late dukes of Somerset.

Aged 38, the once celebrated and beautiful countess of Massarene, lady of Clotworthy second earl of Massarene. Her death was supposed to have been occasioned by the disorder termed *angina pectoris*. Her body, on being opened by Mr. Fearon, in the presence of doctors Laforestier

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and Mackie, presented some very uncommon appearances. There was literally no lung on one side; whilst, on the other, there appeared a complete pair, with their proper vessels. The heart, without being diseased, was preternaturally enlarged. Lady Massarene was madame Borcier; twice married to his lordship in France, and, accompanying him to England, was married to him a third time, at St. Peter's, Cornhill, Aug. 19, 1789.

*Nov.* Aged 66, Charles Hamerton, esq. city pavior, and alderman of Bread-street ward; to which office he was chosen 1797. He was sheriff of London 1789, when the king went first to St. Paul's. Mr. Hamerton realised a considerable fortune by the introduction of the Scotch pavement into London.

10th. Dowager lady Reay.

In London, the marquis de Bouillé, so justly celebrated for his military talents, the rectitude of his character, and the honourable conduct which he pursued towards us in the American war, and for the strong marks of fidelity which he gave to the unfortunate Louis XVI.

In the 50th year of his age, the right rev. Dr. Matthew Young, lord bishop of Clonfert and Kilmacduach.

Colonel Harpur, of Gower-court, in Kent.

Lady Molyneux, relict of the right hon. sir Capel Molyneux.

In his 66th year, George de la Poer Beresford, second earl of Tyrone, marquis of Waterford, custos rotulorum of the city and county of Waterford; a member of his majesty's privy council in Ireland, knt. of St. Patrick, and baron Tyrone, of Haverford West, county of Pembroke. He married, April 18, 1769,

F

Elizabeth,

Elizabeth, only daughter of Henry Monck, esq. by his wife, lady Anne-Isabella Bentinck, second daughter of Henry late duke of Portland; by whom he had issue four sons and four daughters. His first son, Marcus lord la Poer, born March 17, 1771, died August 10, 1783. The marquis is succeeded by his son, Henry lord la Poer, born in May, 1772, now marquis of Waterford.

Dec. 5th. At Hamburg, the count de Schimmelmann, Danish minister.

7th. Benjamin Robertson, esq. of Stockwell, in Surrey, one of the police-magistrates of the borough of Southwark. His remains were interred in the family-vault at Crutch-ed-friers. The bulk of his fortune (which is near 100,000*l.*) except a few legacies, he has devised to botanical purposes, as a fund. His own garden at Stockwell, it is said, contains exoticks, and other rare plants, to the value of upwards of 10,000*l.*

19th. Elizabeth countess of Bristol, (wife of the present earl of Bristol and bishop of Derry), and sister to sir Charles Danvers, bart. M. P. for Bury.

On board his majesty's frigate Doris, of 44 guns, in Plymouth-Sound, her captain, Charles Jones, sixth viscount Ranelagh, baron Jones, of Navan, in the kingdom of Ireland. He succeeded his father, Charles Wilkinson, the late viscount, in 1797; and is succeeded by his brother, major Thomas Jones, who is now on duty with his regiment, the 66th, in Newfoundland.

26th. At Greenwich-hospital, aged 70; William Locker, esq. lieutenant-governor of that royal institution.

27th. At Edinburgh, in his 83d year, Hugh Blair, D. D. professor of rhetoric and belles lettres, in that university; fellow of the royal society of Edinburgh, &c. and author of many popular works on subjects of piety, taste, and morals.

29th. Sir Joseph Andrewes, bart.

30th. At Hertford, aged 89, the hon. baron Dimsdale, M. D. F. R. S. body physician, and actual counsellor of state to her late imperial majesty of all the Russias, whom he inoculated in 1768.

Henry lord baron Donally.

Aged 75, Maurice Dillon, baron Drumreany.

Lady Mansel.

Sir George Leonard Staunton, bart. secretary to earl Macartney in his embassy to China; F. R. S. He was born in Ireland, and became, very early in life, acquainted with lord Macartney, from whom he experienced such a continuance of friendly patronage as essentially contributed to promote his fortune. He was bred to surgery and physic, which he practised for some time: but, upon going to the West Indies, he soon exchanged the medical profession for that of the law, and then acted as an attorney. The principal event of his life was his concern in the arrest of general Stewart, in India; an event in which his presence of mind, spirit, and judgement, were effectually manifested in supporting the government of his patron. His account of the embassy to China is rather to be considered as a proof of learning and observation than of genius and reflection. The subject itself was highly interesting, but it is certainly not rendered very much so in the relation. However, it is, on the whole



whole, a valuable work, and creditable to his character for knowledge and diligence. By his death 500*l.* per annum, granted to him as a pension by the East-India company, reverts to their treasury.

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*SHERIFFS appointed by his Majesty in Council, for the Year 1800.*

Bedfordshire, John Everitt, of Westoning, esq.

Berkshire, Sir J. C. Hippeley, bart. of Worfield-Grove.

Bucks, M. D. Mansell, of Lathbury, esq.

Cambridge and Huntingdonshires, R. Ketley, of Alwalton, esq.

Cheshire, Roger Burnston, of Churton, esq.

Cumberland, Sir J. C. Mulgrave, of Eden-hall, bart.

Derbyshire, Eusebius Horton, of Calton, esq.

Devonshire, Remundo Putt, of Gittesham, esq.

Dorsetshire, R. E. Drax Grosvenor, of Charborough, esq.

Essex, George Lee, of Great Ilford, esq.

Gloucestershire, Charles Hanbury Tracey, of Doddington, esq.

Herefordshire, Thomas Beaby, of Willey, esq.

Hertfordshire, Justinian Casamajor, of Potterelis, esq.

Kent, John Larking, of East Malling, esq.

Leicestershire, Edward Manners, of Goadby, esq.

Lincolnshire, Matthew Bancroft Lyster, of Burwell Park, esq.

Monmouthshire, Benjamin Waddington, of Llanover, esq.

Norfolk, Roger Kerrison, of Brooke, esq.

Northamptonshire, Edward Bou-

verie, the younger, of Delapree, esq.

Northumberland, G. Adam Afkew, of Pallingburn, esq.

Nottinghamshire, W. G. Williams, of Rempstone, esq.

Oxfordshire, Richard Williams, of Nathorp, esq.

Rutlandshire, J. Haycock, of Owton, in the county of Leicester, esq.

Shropshire, W. Chalenor, of Duddestone, esq.

Somersetshire, T. S. Champneys, of Orchard-Leigh, esq.

Staffordshire, Haughton Okeover, of Okeover, esq.

Southampton, N. Middleton, of Shamblehurst, esq.

Suffolk, W. B. Bush, of Roydon, esq.

Surrey, G. Griffin Stonestreet, of Clapham, esq.

Sussex, Thomas Carr, of Beddingham, esq.

Warwickshire, Sir Theophilus Biddulph, of Burdibury, bart.

Wiltshire, George Yalden Fort, of Alderbury, esq.

Worcestershire, William Smith, of Meardiston, esq.

Yorkshire, James Milnes, of Thornes-House, esq.

#### SOUTH WALES.

Carmarthen, Gabriel Powell, of Capel Thydis, esq.

Pembroke, John Mear, of Eastington, esq.

Cardigan, Thomas Lloyd, of Kilgwyn, esq.

Brecon, Richard G. Awbrey, of Yniskedwin, esq.

Glamorgan, Robert Jenner, of Wenvoe-Castle, esq.

Radnor, John Brewster, of Cafcob, esq.

## NORTH WALES.

Carnarvon, Rowland Jones, of  
Westgloddawr, esq.

Anglesea, William Harvey, of  
Park, esq.

Merioneth, Bulkley Hatchett, of  
Carngadale, esq.

Mongomery, Henry Proctor, of  
Aberhayes, esq.

Denbighshire, John Wynne, of  
Coed Coch, esq.

Flintshire, James Mainwaring, of  
Saltney, esq.

SHERIFF *appointed by his Royal  
Highness the Prince of Wales, in  
Council, for the Year 1800.*

County of Cornwall, Matthew  
Mitchell, of Manger, esq.

## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

*London Gazette, January 21.*

*Admiralty-Office.*

*Copy of a Letter from Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, Knt. Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels, at Jamaica, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated in Port Royal Harbour, the 4th of November, 1799.*

Sir,

**I** HAVE the peculiar satisfaction of communicating to you, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that his majesty's late ship *Hermione* is again restored to his navy, by as daring and gallant an enterprize as is to be found in our naval annals, under the command of captain Hamilton himself, with the boats of the *Surprise* only.

Captain Hamilton's own letter, with the reports accompanying it, (copies of which are enclosed,) will sufficiently explain to their lordships the detail of this service, and the bravery with which the attack was supported, and leaves me only one observation to make on this very gallant action, which adds infinite honour to captain Hamilton as an officer, for his conception of the service he was about to undertake. This was, sir, his disposition for the attack; which was, that a number of chosen men, to the amount of fifty, with himself, should board, and the remainder in the boats to cut the cables and take the ship in

tow. From this manœuvre he had formed the idea, that while he was disputing for the possession of the ship, she was approaching the *Surprise*, who was laying close into the harbour, and in case of being beat out of the *Hermione*, he would have an opportunity of taking up the contest upon more favourable terms.

To the steady execution of these orders was owing the success of this bold and daring undertaking, which must ever have rank among the foremost of the many gallant actions executed by our navy this war.

I find the *Hermione* has had a thorough repair, and is in complete order; I have, therefore, ordered her to be surveyed and valued, and shall commission her as soon as the reports are made to me from the officers of the yard, by the name of the *Retaliation*.

I have the honour to be, &c.

H. Parker.

*Surprise, Port-Royal Harbour,  
Jamaica, Nov. 1.*

Sir,

The honour of my country and the glory of the British navy were strong inducements for me to make an attempt to cut out, by the boats of his majesty's ship under my command, his majesty's late ship *Hermione*, from the harbour of Porto Cavallo, where there are about

two hundred pieces of cannon mounted on the batteries.

Having well observed her situation on the 22d and 23d ultimo, and the evening of the 24th being favourable, I turned the hands up to acquaint the officers and ship's company of my intentions to lead them to the attack, which was handsomely returned with three cheers, and that they would all follow to a man; this greatly increased my hopes, and I had little doubt of succeeding: the boats containing 100 men, including officers, at half past twelve on the morning of the 25th (after having beat the launch of the ship, which carried a 24-pounder, and 20 men, and receiving several guns and small arms from the frigate) boarded; the fore-castle was taken possession of without much resistance; the quarter-deck disputed the point a quarter of an hour, where a dreadful carnage took place: the main-deck held out much longer, and with equal slaughter; nor was it before both cables were cut, sail made on the ship, and boats a-head to tow, that the main-deck could be called ours; they last of all retreated to the 'tween decks, and continued firing till their ammunition was expended; then, and not until then, did they cry for quarter. At two o'clock the *Hermione* was completely ours, being out of gun-shot from the fort, which had for some time kept up a tolerable good fire. From the captain, don Romend de Chalas, I am informed she was nearly ready for sea, mounting 44 guns, with a ship's company of 321 officers and sailors, 36 soldiers, and 15 artillery-men on board.

Every officer and man on this expedition behaved with an uncom-

mon degree of valour and exertion; but I consider it particularly my duty to mention the very gallant conduct, as well as the aid and assistance at a particular crisis I received from Mr. John M'Mullen, surgeon and volunteer, and Mr. Maxwell, gunner, even after the latter was dangerously wounded.

As the frigate was the particular object of your order of the 17th September, I have thought proper to return into port with her.

Enclosed, I transmit you a list of captures during the cruise, also two lists of killed and wounded.

I have the honour to be, &c.

E. Hamilton.

Sir Hyde Parker, knt. &c. &c.  
Jamaica.

*London Gazette, March 29.*

*Copy of a Letter from Captain Sir W. S. Smith, Captain of his Majesty's Ship Tigre, to Fran Nepean, Esq. dated off Jaffa, the 8th of November, 1799.*

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose a copy of my letter to the right hon. lord Nelson (of this date), for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty.

I have the honour to be, sir, &c.

W. S. Smith.

*Tigre, off Jaffa,  
8th November, 1799.*

My lord,

I lament to have to inform your lordship of the melancholy death of Patrona Bey, the Turkish vice-admiral, who was assassinated at Cyprus, in a mutiny of the Janissaries, on the 18th of October; the command devolved on Scid Ali Bey, who

who had just joined me with the troops from Constantinople, composing the second maritime expedition destined for the recovery of Egypt. As soon as our joint exertions had restored order, we proceeded to the mouth of the Damietta branch of the Nile, to make an attack thereon, as combined with the supreme Vizier, in order to draw the attention of the enemy that way, and leave his highness more at liberty to advance with the grand army, on the side of the desert. The attack begun by the Tigre's boats taking possession of a ruined castle situated on the eastern side of the Bogaz, or entrance of the Channel, which the inundation of the Nile had insulated from the main land, leaving a fordable passage. The Turkish flag, displayed on the tower of this castle, was at once the signal for the Turkish gun-boats to advance, and for the enemy to open their fire, in order to dislodge us; their nearest post being a redoubt on the main land with two 32-pounders, and an 8-pounder field-piece mounted thereon, a point-blank shot distant. The fire was returned from the launch's carronade, mounted in a breach in the castle, and from field pieces in the small boats, which soon obliged the enemy to discontinue working at an intrenchment they were making to oppose a landing. Lieutenant Stokes was detached with the boats to check a body of cavalry advancing along the neck of land, in which he succeeded; but I am sorry to say with the loss of one man killed and one wounded. This interchange of shot continued, with little intermission, during the 29th, 30th, and 31st, while the Turkish transports were drawing nearer to the landing-

place, our shells from the carronade annoying the enemy in his work and communications; at length the magazine blowing up, and one of our 32-pounders being silenced, a favourable moment offered for disembarkation. Orders were given accordingly; but it was not till the morning of the 1st of November, that they could effectuate this operation. This delay gave time for the enemy to collect a force more than double that of the first division landed, and to be ready to attack it before the return of the boats with the remainder. The French advanced to the charge with bayonets. The Turks completely exculpated themselves from the suspicion of cowardice having been the cause of their delay, for when the enemy were within ten yards of them they rushed on, sabre in hand, and in an instant completely routed the first line of the French infantry. The day was ours for the moment; but the impetuosity of Osman Aga, and his troops, occasioned them to quit the station assigned them as a corps of reserve, and to run forward in pursuit of the fugitives: European tactics were, of course, advantageously employed by the French at this critical juncture. Their body of reserve came on in perfect order, while a charge of cavalry, on the left of the Turks, put them completely to the rout in their turn.—Our flanking fire from the castle and boats, which had been hitherto plied with evident effect, was now necessarily suspended, by the impossibility of pointing clear of the Turks in the confusion. The latter turned a random fire on the boats, to make them take them off, and the sea was, in an instant, covered with turbans, while the air was filled with piteous

F 4 moans,

moans, calling to us for assistance; it was (as at Aboukir) a duty of some difficulty to afford it them, without being victims to their impatience, or overwhelmed with numbers; we, however, persevered, and saved all, except those which the French took prisoners, by wading into the water after them; neither did the enemy interrupt us much in so doing. Major Douglas and lieutenant Stokes, who were with me on this service, gave additional proofs of their zeal, ability, and bravery, and the boats' crews, as usual, behaved admirably. The loss in killed, on our side, cannot be ascertained. The French general, in his offer to exchange prisoners on the general account, assures me he has 1,100. As to the enemy's loss, we have no means of estimating it, but it must have been sufficient to convince them, that such victories as these, against troops which, though irregular, will fight hand to hand with them, must cost them dear in the end.

I am, &c.

W. S. Smith.

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*Copy of a Letter from Lord Nelson,  
to Vice-Admiral Lord Keith.*

*Foudroyant, at Sea, off Cape  
di Corro, 8 Leagues W. of  
Cape Passaro, off Shore  
about 4 Miles, Feb. 18.*

My lord,

This morning, at daylight, being in company with the ships named in the margin\*, I saw the Alexander in chase of a line-of-battle ship, three frigates, and a corvette. At about eight o'clock she fired several shot at one of the enemy's frigates, which struck her colours, and, leav-

ing her to be secured by the ships astern, continued the chase. I directed captain Gould, of the Audacious, and the El Corso brig, to take charge of this prize. At half past one P. M. the frigates and corvette tacked to the westward, but the line-of-battle ship not being able to tack, without coming to action with the Alexander, bore up. The Success being to leeward, captain Peard, with great judgement and gallantry, lay across his hawse, and raked him with several broadsides; in passing the French ship's broadside, several shot struck the Success, by which one man was killed, and the master and eight men wounded. At half past four the Foudroyant and Northumberland coming up, the former fired two shot, when the French ship fired her broadside, and struck her colours. She proved to be the Generoux, of 74 guns, bearing the flag of rear-admiral Perée, commander-in-chief of the French naval force in the Mediterranean, having a number of troops on board from Toulon, bound for the relief of Malta.

I attribute our success this day to be principally owing to the extreme good management of lieutenant William Harrington, who commands the Alexander, in the absence of captain Ball; and I am much pleased with the gallant behaviour of captain Peard, of the Success, as also with the alacrity and good conduct of captain Martin and sir Edward Berry.

I have sent lieutenant Andrew Thompson, first lieutenant of the Foudroyant, to take charge of the Generoux, whom I beg leave to recommend to your lordship for

\* Northumberland, Audacious, and El Corso brig.

promotion;



promotion; and have sent her under care of the Northumberland and Alexander to Syracuse, to wait your lordship's orders. I have the honour to be, my lord, &c.

Bronte Nelson.

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*London Gazette, July 8.  
Admiralty-Office.*

*Copy of a Letter from Sir Charles Hamilton, Captain of His Majesty's Ship Melpomene, to Evan Nepean, Esq.*

*Goree, April 23.*

Sir,

You will be pleased to acquaint the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that having been informed that three French frigates were at anchor, under the forts of Goree, this intelligence, with the force and situation of these frigates, induced me to take his majesty's ship Ruby, then watering, at port Praya, under my command, and, with this additional force, I proceeded immediately in quest of them. In the afternoon of the 4th instant, I reconnoitered the roadstead of Goree, but not finding the frigates there, and conceiving our appearance sufficient to alarm the garrison, I dispatched lieutenant Tidy, with a verbal message, summoning the island to surrender (the enclosed letters having passed between me and the governor): at midnight, lieutenant Tidy made me the signal agreed on, that my terms were complied with; the marines of the squadron were instantly landed, under the command of captain Mac Cleverty, and the garrison in our possession before day. Their lordships will be well aware of the strength and consequence of

this acquisition, which, I am happy to state, has been obtained so easily; Mr. Davis, of the Magnanime, being the only person wounded before our flag of truce was observed from the forts. On the 13th instant, I dispatched Mr. Palmer, with two boats and 30 men, to Jool, a factory dependant on Goree; he returned on the 22d, having executed his orders most perfectly to my satisfaction, and bringing with him from thence a French brigantine and sloop loaded with rice.

I have the honour to be, sir, &c.

C. Hamilton.

*Goree, 1st Germinal, 8th,  
Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.*

*Liberty. Equality.*

*The Commander of Goree to the Commander of the English Squadron off the Island.*

Sir,

I have received the verbal summons which you have sent to me by two officers of your squadron. Anxious to defend the place which has been intrusted to me, I am likewise so to spare bloodshed. I expect, therefore, to receive from you, to-morrow morning, the conditions for the surrender of the place, to which I shall agree, if they are admissible.

The commander of Goree,  
Guillemin.

*Melpomene, off the Island of  
Goree, April 4.*

Sir,

I have received your answer to my verbal message to surrender the island of Goree, and have to inform you, that the only conditions I can accept of are, to be put in possession of the forts and island of Goree before

fore twelve o'clock to-morrow noon. I allow to you, sir, and your garrison, to march out with all the honours of war; and these conditions only will be accepted.

I have authorised the bearer, lieutenant Tidy, to fulfil my intentions; and have the honour to remain, &c.

C. Hamilton.

To his excellency the governor of Goree.

N. B. All private property will be respected.

*London Gazette, July 12.*

*Admiralty-Office.*

*Copy of a Letter from Captain Inman, of his Majesty's Ship Andromeda, to Evan Nepean, Esq.*

*Off Dunkirk, July 8.*

Sir,

I beg you will be pleased to inform their lordships that, agreeable to their orders to me of the 17th of June, to take under my command the fire-vessels and others named in the margin \*, and endeavour to take and destroy the enemy's frigates in Dunkirk Roads, we joined at the appointed rendezvous the 27th following; but, from contrary winds, and the tide not answering, could not make the attempt before last night, when I fear the enemy had been apprized of my intention, as we were much annoyed by gun-vessels and others lying advanced some distance, which afforded the frigates an opportunity to cut their cables, and avoid our fire-ships. I had di-

rected captain Campbell, of the Dart, to get in, if he could, to the easternmost, and lay her on-board, at the time I hoped the first fire-ship would have been entangled with the westernmost. The handsome and intrepid manner of his completely carrying her in less than a quarter of an hour, and bringing her out, must convince their lordships of his unparalleled bravery, and the very gallant conduct of his officers and ship's company, as the enemy's frigate was so much superior in force; and had it not been so instantly done, the ship could not have been got over the banks, as the water had begun to fall. By captain Campbell's report to me, great praise is due to lieutenant M'Dermott, who, I am sorry to say, is badly wounded. I enclose captain Campbell's letter to me, giving an account of this transaction; and have the pleasure to observe, that one spirit seemed to actuate the whole; but am sorry that, notwithstanding the steady conduct of captains Edwards, Butt, Leef, and Carthew, of the several fire-vessels, in remaining on board till completely in flames, the three enemy's ships, from cutting their cables, escaped before the wind, and ran out of Dunkirk Roads some little distance down the inner channel, within the Braak Sand: one of them got on shore for a short time, but at daylight we had the mortification to observe her working back on the ebb tide, and, with the other two, regained their anchorage, though not without considerable damage, having received the fire of the Dart,

\* Wasp, capt. Edwards; Falcon, capt. Butt; Dart, capt. Campbell; Comet, capt. Leef; Rosario, capt. Carthew; Selby, capt. Williams; Boxer, lieut. Gilbert; Teaser, lieut. Robins; Biter, lieut. Norman; Stag cutter, lieut. Humphrys; Nile lugger, lieut. Whitehead; Ann cutter, lieut. Young; Kent, lieut. Cooban; and Vigilant lugger, lieut. Dean.

Biter,

Biter, and Boxer gun-brigs, within pistol shot, before they cut. I kept the Selby in the rear to aft, had any remained long enough on shore, to have destroyed them by firing carcasses, and have now to regret I reserved her for that purpose, as I am confident, had captain Williams been directed to lay one of the enemy's ships on board, he would have been successful in bringing her out. I put Mr. Scott, first lieutenant of the Andromeda; in the command of the boats in a gig, and Mr. Cochran, third lieutenant, in another boat; and as I had all the cutters to attend on the fire-vessels except the Kent, directed their lieutenants in gigs to put themselves under his command, and by which means not any lives were lost; the Kent, lieutenant Coohan, I directed to attack the gun-vessels, who trimmed them pretty handsomely, and prevented any boats from annoying our's that were employed to take out the crews of the fire-ships. I feel particularly indebted to captains Mainwaring, Baker, and Seater, as also to lieutenant King, second lieutenant, who was left in command of the Andromeda, for their perseverance in getting over the banks, to render us every assistance by boats, and to be in readiness to meet the enemy, had they ventured over the Braak Sand; which position they maintained for that purpose in spite of fresh gales, and direct opposition to the established pilots, who gave up the charge of each ship on their hands while in this situation; and before, when I first made the proposition, positively refused taking charge of any vessels of the lightest draught of water intended for this service; but with the assistance of Mr. Moor, master (who I put on board the Dart,

to lead in), and Mr. Wheatland, mate of the Ann hired cutter, who very handsomely volunteered their services to take any of the ships in, on my suggesting it to them, and some men which I got out of smugglers, I was enabled to put one on board each of the gun-vessels and fire-brigs: I feel an inward satisfaction at bringing the whole of the Squadron through the roads without the least difficulty. I cannot omit mentioning that Mr. Butcher, master of the Nile, and Mr. Dean, master of the Vigilant (luggers), at my request, would have laid as a leading mark at Gravelines Hook; the former performed this service, and I embarked with 30 volunteers from the Andromeda in the latter; and through the whole of this service I feel particularly indebted to the commanders of the several vessels and cutters for their very steady conduct. I enclose a list of the killed and wounded, and am sorry to say, captain Leef, of the Comet, is among the latter, having been blown up. I have also to acquaint you, for their lordships' information, that, from the mangled and unhappy state of many of the prisoners, I was induced to send a flag of truce with them into Dunkirk.

I have the honour to be, &c.

H. Inman.

*Dart, off Dunkirk, July 8.*

Sir,

Agreeable to the directions you honoured me with, to board the easternmost of the enemy's frigates in Dunkirk Roads, should it be practicable, I have complete satisfaction in acquainting you, that about one, A. M. I succeeded in carrying La Desirée national frigate, mounting 40 guns, long 24-pounders on the main

main deck, with a complement of 330 men, some of whom were on shore. From your being so nearly situated to me during the attack, I have only to anticipate your approbation of the Dart's conduct; but, as individual merit could not be distinguished but by those present, I trust I may be permitted to speak in terms the most gratifying of lieutenant M'Dermeit, who gallantly led the boarders on this occasion, and who, I fear, will lose his arm by a severe wound he received; indeed I cannot say enough in praise of his gallantry in this unequal contest, having every reason to believe the enemy were fully apprized of your intentions, from the resistance they made, and the preparations that were found on board. Lieutenant M'Dermeit, with much presence of mind, on being wounded, called to me he had possession of the ship, but feared they would rally, and requested an officer might be sent to take charge. Lieutenant Pierce gallantly anticipated my wishes by jumping on board, completely repulsed the enemy, who were rallying at the after-hatchway, instantly cut her cables, got her under sail, and over banks, which could not have been effected half an hour later. I also beg to state Mr. Ingledon, the master's conduct, as highly meritorious, in placing the Dart so completely on board the *Desirée*, and who nearly lost his life supporting the boarders, by falling between the ships; indeed all the officers whom I had the honour to command, behaved in a manner that will ever merit my warmest acknowledgements; and when I think of the support given me by my brave crew, I feel confident I shall never forget their loyalty and merit. Enclosed I send

you a list of killed and wounded, and am, sir,

Your very humble servant,  
P. Campbell.

To captain Inman.

*A List of the French Squadron in Dunkirk Roads, on the Evening of the 7th of July.*

*La Pourfuiivante*, of 40 guns, 24-pounders on the main deck, wears a broad pendant, commodore's name Castagnie, chief of division.—*La Desirée*, of 40 guns, 24-pounders on the main deck, commanded by citizen Deplancy; taken by his majesty's sloop Dart.—*L'Incorruptible*, of 40 guns, 24-pounders on the main deck.—*La Carmagnole*, of 50 guns, 18-pounders on the main deck.

[Here followed the list of killed and wounded.]

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*London Gazette, August 9.*

*Admiralty-Office.*

*Copy of a Letter from the Earl of St. Vincent, K. B. Admiral of the White, &c. to Evan Napier, Esq. dated on board his Majesty's Ship Royal George, at Sea, the 4th Instant.*

Sir,

I did not think the enterprize of sir Edward Hamilton, or of captain Campbell, could have been rivalled, until I read the enclosed letter from sir Edward Pellew, relating the desperate service performed by acting lieutenant Coghlan, of the *Viper* cutter, on the 29th July, which has filled me with pride and admiration; and although the circumstance of his not having completed his time in his majesty's navy operates at present against his receiving the reward he is most ambitious of obtaining, I am persuaded

persuaded the lords commissioners of the admiralty will do all in their power to console him under his severe wounds, and grant him promotion the moment he is in a capacity to receive it.

I am, sir, &c. &c. &c.

St. Vincent.

*Impetueux, Palais Road,  
1st August.*

My lord,

I have true pleasure in stating to your lordship the good conduct of lieutenant Jeremiah Coghlan, to whom, for former gallant behaviour, you had given an acting commission to command the Viper cutter from this ship.

This gallant young man, when watching Port Louis, thought he could succeed in boarding some of the cutters or gun-vessels, which have been moving about the entrance of that harbour, and, for this purpose, he entreated a ten-oared cutter from me, with twelve volunteers; and on Tuesday night, the 29th instant, he took this boat, with Mr. Silas H. Paddon, midshipman, and six of his men, making, with himself, twenty; and accompanied by his own boat and one from the Amethyst, he determined upon boarding a gun-brig, mounting three long 24-pounders, and four 6-pounders, full of men, moored with springs on her cables, in a naval port of difficult access, within pistol-shot of three batteries, surrounded by several armed craft, and not a mile from a seventy-four and two frigates, bearing an admiral's flag. Undismayed by such formidable appearances, the early discovery of his approach (for they were at quarters), and the lost aid of the other boats, he bravely determined to attack alone, and

boarded her on the quarter; but unhappily, in the dark, jumping into a trawl-net hung up to dry, he was pierced through the thigh by a pike, and several of his men hurt, and all knocked back into the boat.

Unchecked in ardour, they hauled the boat further a-head, and again boarded, and maintained, against 87 men, 16 of whom were soldiers, an obstinate conflict, killing 6 and wounding 20, among whom was every officer belonging to her. His own loss 1 killed and 8 wounded; himself in two places, Mr. Paddon in six. I feel particularly happy in the expected safety of all the wounded. He speaks in the highest terms of Mr. Paddon, and the whole of his party, many of whom were knocked overboard, and twice beat into the boat, but returned to the charge with unabated courage. I trust I shall stand excused by your lordship for so minute a description, produced by my admiration of that courage which, hand to hand, gave victory to a handful of brave fellows over four times their number; and of that skill which formed, conducted, and effected so daring an enterprise.

Le Cerbere, commanded by a lieutenant de Vaisseau, and towed out under a very heavy fire, is given up as prize by the Squadron, to mark their admiration, and will not, I know, be the only reward of such bravery; they will receive that protection your lordship so liberally accords to all the young men in the service, who happily distinguish themselves under your command.

I enclose lieutenant Coghlan's letter, and have the honour, &c.

(Signed) Edward Pellew.  
Admiral the earl of St. Vincent, K. B. &c.

*His Majesty's Cutter Viper,  
Tuesday Morning, eight  
o'Clock.*

Dear sir,

I have succeeded in bringing out the gun-brig *Le Cerbere*, of 3 guns, 24-pounders, and four 6-pounders, and 87 men, commanded by a lieutenant de Vaisseau—pray forgive me when I say from under the batteries of Port Louis, and after a most desperate resistance being made, first by her, and afterwards by the batteries at both sides, and a fire from some small vessels which lay round her; but nothing that I could expect from a vessel lying in that inactive situation, was equal to the few brave men belonging to your ship, whom I so justly confided in, assisted by 6 men from the cutter, and Mr. Paddon, midshipman, who, I am sorry to say, was wounded in several places, though I hope not mortally. I am sorry to state the loss of 1 man belonging to the cutter, who was shot through the head, and 4 of your brave men, with myself, wounded in different parts of the body: the principal one I received was with a pike, which penetrated my left thigh. Mr. Patteshall, in the cutter's small boat, assisted with 2 midshipmen from the *Amethyst* in one of their boats. The loss of the enemy is not yet ascertained, owing to the confusion.

I remain, &c.

J. Coghlan.

N. B. There are 5 killed and 21 wounded; some very badly.

*A Return of killed and wounded in a ten-oared Cutter belonging to his Majesty's Ship Impetueux, under the Command of Lieutenant Jeremiah*

*Coghlan, on the Night of the 29th July, in boarding the National Gun-brig Le Cerbere, commanded by Lieutenant de Vaisseau Menage.*

Viper cutter—1 seaman killed; lieutenant Jeremiah Coghlan, Mr. Silas H. Paddon, midshipman, 2 seamen wounded. *Impetueux*—4 seamen wounded.—Total, 1 killed, 8 wounded.

*London Gazette, November 29.*

*Admiralty-Office.*

*Copy of a Letter from Captain Frederick Watkins, Commander of his Majesty's Ship Nereide, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated in Curaçao, 15th October.*

Sir,

Be pleased to inform my lords commissioners of the admiralty that I have thought it indispensably necessary to send these dispatches to England by my first officer, lieutenant Paul, to acquaint their lordships of the surrender of the valuable island of Curaçao to his majesty's frigate under my command. I beg leave to transmit duplicates of all my letters to the right honourable lord Hugh Seymour, and the articles of capitulation agreed between his excellency Johan Rudolph Lauffer and myself; as also inventories of warlike stores, shipping, &c. I hope their lordships will sanction my conduct in taking possession of this central and valuable island in his majesty's name.

Lieutenant Paul I cannot recommend in too strong language to their lordships; for his zealous exertions during the whole of the siege; and for any farther information he is perfectly



fectly able to describe every thing their lordships may be desirous of knowing respecting Curaçao.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Frederick Watkins.

*His Majesty's Ship Nereide,  
off Amsterdam, Island of  
Curaçao, 11th September.*

My lord,

I wish not to lose a moment in sending a fast-sailing vessel to inform your lordship, that the island of Curaçao has claimed the protection of his Britannic majesty. I have in consequence felt it my duty to take possession of it in his name.

I am now running for the harbour, as it is absolutely necessary to lose no time to save the island from the enemy, who threaten to storm the principal fort to-night; but I trust the Nereide's assistance will be the means of frustrating the enemy's views, and saving a most valuable colony for his majesty.

I compute the force of the French to be about fifteen hundred now in possession of the west part of the island, but no strong post of any consequence to prevent my holding the forts commanding Amsterdam, until I am honoured with an answer from your lordship.

There is great property afloat belonging to the Spaniards.

Lieutenant Paul will have the honour of delivering this dispatch to your lordship, of whose exertions and zeal for the service I cannot speak in too strong terms.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) F. Watkins.

The right hon. lord Hugh  
Seymour, &c. &c. &c.

*His Majesty's Ship Nereide,  
off Amsterdam, September  
14.*

My lord,

Since sending my last dispatch of the 11th instant, governor Johan Rudolph Lauffer has finally surrendered the island of Curaçao and its dependencies to his majesty's arms.

Enclosed I have the honour of transmitting to your lordship a copy of the terms of capitulation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

F. Watkins.

The right hon. lord Hugh  
Seymour, &c. &c. &c.

*Articles of Capitulation agreed between  
Frederick Watkins, Esq. Captain of  
his Britannic Majesty's Ship Ne-  
reide, now lying off the Harbour  
of Curaçao and Johan Rudolph  
Lauffer, Governor (interim) of  
the said Island, and its Depend-  
encies, and Commander-in-Chief of  
all the armed Force of the said  
Island; namely, that the said Island  
of Curaçao and its Dependencies  
shall surrender, and be placed under  
the immediate Protection of his  
Britannic Majesty, in Conformity  
to the following Articles, viz.*

Art. I. The island of Curaçao and its dependencies shall be placed under the protection of his Britannic majesty, and shall peaceably and quietly submit to the government of his said majesty.

Answer.—Agreed to.

Art. II. The inhabitants of this island and its dependencies shall enjoy perfect security in their persons and properties, and the full exercise of their religion, except such as shall appear to belong to the subjects of the powers now actually at war with

Great

Great Britain; such property only excepted as was on board the vessels in the harbour of the 10th instant.

Answer.—Agreed to.

Art. III. All ships and vessels of war that may be in the harbour, and all artillery, warlike stores, ammunition, &c. that may be found in the forts and public magazines, and all property, of whatsoever nature it may be, belonging to the Batavian republic, shall be delivered up to his Britannic majesty in the state in which they now are, and officers shall be appointed on each side by the joint parties to take inventories thereof.

Answer.—Agreed to.

Art. IV. All debts due by the government of this island shall be punctually paid out of the revenue of the said island.

Answer.—Agreed to.

Art. V. No alteration shall be made in the established laws of the said island, except such as in future may be found necessary for mutual benefit or safety, and which must be regulated by the concurrence of both parties.

Answer.—Agreed to.

Art. VI. During the time this island may remain under the protection of his Britannic majesty, or, in case this island and its dependencies should, at the conclusion of the war, remain in the possession of Great Britain, the inhabitants of the said island and its dependencies shall enjoy the same rights and privileges as his majesty's subjects in the West Indies.

Answer.—Agreed to.

Art. VII. The laws heretofore observed, respecting property, shall remain in full force.

Private.—As it is impossible for

the inhabitants of the said island and its dependencies to subsist without a free intercourse with the Spanish main, the ports of Curaçao and its dependencies shall be open to all Spanish vessels.

Answer.—Agreed to be allowed the same free trade as the island of Jamaica.

Signed, sealed, and ratified, in the presence of Cornelius Spencer and E. A. Van Eck, on the part of Johan Rudolph Lauffer; and in the presence of John Lewis March, on the part of Frederick Watkins; at the port of Amsterdam, in the island of Curaçao, this 13th of September, 1800.

(Signed) Joh. Rud. Lauffer.  
Fred. Watkins.  
W. Ridley, sec.

Here follows also a list of the existing guns, ammunition, &c. delivered in some months ago, and which were really existing before the present siege, viz. two brass 24-pounders and two brass 18-pounders, with four defective, five iron 24-pounders, ninety-eight iron 18-pounders, forty-six 12-pounders, forty-four 8-pounders, twenty-four 6-pounders, two 4-pounders, twenty 3-pounders, and two 2-pounders, besides thirty-eight of different calibre defective. On the batteries, not including Fort Piscadera, Fort St. Michael, the Hill St. Michael, and False Bay, five 24-pounders, sixty-three 18-pounders, many of their ships' guns, twenty-eight 12-pounders, twenty-six 8-pounders, and twenty-seven of less calibre; upwards of 26,000lb. of powder, besides a powder magazine at the Creek.

## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

Creek-Battery, and a variety of other stores.

*His Majesty's Ship Nereide,  
Curaçao Harbour, 23d  
September.*

My lord,

I have now the satisfaction to inform your lordship that the English colours are flying in this island, and that I have entered this harbour in consequence of the total evacuation of the French forces last night. I am now arranging affairs in such a manner as to tranquillize the minds of the inhabitants, and restore perfect peace in the name of his majesty in this valuable island. I have been received with great faith, and will do my utmost in establishing the security of the principal fortresses till I receive your lordship's answer for my farther conduct. Enclosed I have the honour of transmitting to you an inventory of warlike stores, ammunition, &c. in the garrison, except those lately in possession of the enemy; which I have not yet received the regular returns of, but have given the necessary orders. It was my intention to have sent any farther dispatch to your lordship by the remaining lieutenant, Mr. James Hodgson; but, as I do not exactly conceive myself in a perfect state of safety, without having perfect possession of the principal fortresses which commands the town, I have appointed him, with a party of my own men, to that command; his zeal, bravery, and universal steady conduct in any service he is ordered on, makes my mind perfectly easy in doing so: he has been of the utmost service in a new-erected battery in annoying the enemy, and indeed may be considered the principal cause of their retreat. Lieutenant Fitton, commanding the

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Active tender, I have much pleasure in recommending to your lordship's notice, from his active and spirited conduct since he has joined me. From him, my lord, you will receive material information as to all situations of the island and its valuable harbour.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) F. Watkins.

The right hon. lord Hugh

Seymour, &c. &c.

Here follows a list of the vessels lying in the harbour of Curaçao, 44 in number; consisting of 8 Dutch, 8 Danes, 7 American, 11 French, 7 Spanish, and 3 English prize ships.

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*Articles of Capitulation agreed upon between General Vaubois, Commander-in-Chief of the Isles of Malta and of Goza, and Rear-Admiral Villeneuve, commanding the Navy at Malta, on the one Part, and Major-General Pigot, Commander of the Troops of his Britannic Majesty and his Allies, and Captain Martin, commanding the Ships of his Britannic Majesty, and his Allies, before Malta, of the other Part.*

Art. I. The garrison of Malta, and of the forts depending upon it, shall march out to be embarked and carried to Marseilles, at the day and time agreed upon, with all the honours of war; that is to say, drums beating, colours flying, matches lighted, with two four-pounders before them, with their covered waggon, and a covered waggon of infantry. The civil and military officers of the navy, and every thing relative to that department, shall be also carried to the port of Toulon.

Ans. The garrison shall receive the honours of war required; but

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## ANNUAL REGISTER, 1800.

as it is impossible that they should all be embarked immediately, the following arrangement shall be resorted to instead. As soon as the capitulation shall be signed, the forts Ricafoli and Tigni shall be delivered up to the troops of his Britannic majesty, and the ships shall be suffered to enter the port. The national gate shall be occupied by a guard composed of French and English in equal numbers, until the ships shall be ready to receive the first embarkation: the whole garrison shall then march out with the honours of war, to the ships, where they shall lay down their arms.—Those who cannot form part of the first embarkation, shall occupy the isle and the fort Mannel, having an armed guard over them, to prevent them from escaping into the adjoining country. The garrison shall be considered as prisoners of war, and are not to serve against his Britannic majesty until they shall be exchanged, for which the officers respectively shall give their parole. All the artillery, the ammunition, and public magazines, of whatever kind, shall be given up to officers appointed for that purpose, as well as public papers.

II. The general of brigade Chanez, commander of the place and the forts, the general of brigade d'Hennezel, commander of artillery and engineers; the officers, inferior officers, and soldiers, by land; the officers, crews, and men, employed in the navy; citizen Pierre Alphonso Guys, commissary-general of commercial connections with the French republic in Syria and Palestine, now at Malta by accident, the civil and military agents, ordinaries, and commissaries of war and navy, civil administrators, members of any of the constituted authorities, shall

carry off their arms, their personal property, and their other effects of every kind.

Ans. Granted—with the exception of the arms laid down by the soldiers, in conformity with what is provided by the first article.

III. All persons of every country, who have borne arms for the republic, during the siege, shall be considered as part of the garrison.

Ans. Granted.

IV. The division shall be embarked at the expense of his Britannic majesty. Every officer or person employed shall in the passage receive the same rations as are by the laws and regulations of the French allotted to them. The officers who are members of the civil administrations shall be put on the same footing, both with respect to themselves and family, as military men of a correspondent rank.

Ans. Granted, in conformity with the customs of the English navy, which allot the same ration to all ranks and conditions whatever.

V. The necessary number of waggons and sloops shall be provided, in order to transport and to remove on board ship the private property of the generals, their aid-de-camps, the ordinaries and commissaries, chiefs of corps, officers civil and military, &c. Their property and their papers shall not be subject to any search or inspection, upon the promise of the generals stipulating that there shall be no public property among them.

Ans. Granted.

VI. Some vessels belonging to the republic, able to keep the sea, shall depart at the same time with the division, to go to a part of France, after being provided with the necessary provisions.

Ans.

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Ans. Refused.

VII. The sick who are able to be transported shall be embarked with the division; and provided with provisions, medicines, surgeons' chests, and officers of health; necessary for their care during the passage. Those who are not able to be transported shall be treated with the necessary care; the general-in-chief leaving at Malta a physician and a surgeon in the service of France, who shall attend to them. They shall be furnished with lodgings gratis, if they come out of the hospital, and they shall be sent to France as soon as their situation will permit, with all that belongs to them; and in the same manner as the garrison. The general-in-chief of the sea and land forces evacuating Malta intrust them to the honour and humanity of the English general.

Ans. Granted.

VIII. Every individual, of whatever nation; inhabiting the island of Malta, or the others; shall neither be troubled, nor disturbed; not molested; on account of their political opinions, nor for any part of their conduct during the time that Malta has been in the power of the French government.—This article applies principally; and in its full extent, to those who have taken arms, or have filled civil, administrative, or military employments. They shall not be called to an account for any thing; much less prosecuted for acts of their commission.

Ans. This article does not appear capable of being made the object of a military capitulation; but all the inhabitants who shall desire to remain may be assured of being treated with justice and humanity,

and shall enjoy the full protection of the laws.

IX. The French who inhabit Malta, and all the Maltese, of whatever state they may be, who wish to follow the French army, and to go into France with their property, shall be at liberty to do so. Those who have moveables or immoveables, which cannot be immediately sold, and who may have the intention of going to reside in France, shall be allowed six months from the date of the signing of the present capitulation, to sell their landed or moveable property. These proprietors shall be respected. They shall act for themselves, if they remain, or by their authorized agent, if they follow the division. When they shall have finished their affairs in the time agreed on, they shall be furnished with passports to go to France, transporting, or causing to be transported, the moveables which may remain to them, as well as their capitals in money or bills of exchange, according as it may so happen.

Ans. Granted, in the sense of the reply to the preceding article.

X. As soon as the capitulation is signed, the English general shall leave entirely to the disposition of the general commanding the French troops, to cause a felucca to depart, with the necessary equipage, and an officer charged to carry the capitulation to the French government. The necessary safe conduct shall be granted to him.

Ans. Granted.

XI. The articles of the capitulation being signed, there shall be given up to the English general the forts called *des Bombes*, which shall be occupied by an equal guard of English and French troops. It shall

be consigned to this guard not to suffer to pass into the city, either any soldiers of the besieging troops, or any inhabitants of the islands, till the French troops shall be embarked, and out of sight of the port. In proportion as the embarkation goes on, the English troops shall occupy the posts by which the places may be entered. The English general will perceive that these precautions are indispensable, that no dispute may arise on the subject, and that the articles of the capitulation may be religiously observed.

Answ. Granted, conformably to what is provided by the reply to the first article; and all precautions shall be taken to prevent the Maltese troops from approaching the posts occupied by the French troops.

XII. All alienations or sales of moveables or immoveables by the French government, during the time it has remained in possession of Malta, and all transactions between individuals, shall remain inviolable.

Answ. Granted, so far as they shall be just and lawful.

XIII. The agents of the allied powers, who shall be in Valetta after the surrender of the place, shall not be disturbed in any thing, and their persons and property shall be secured by the present capitulation.

Answ. Granted.

XIV. All ships coming from France, whether of war or of commerce, which shall enter this port, shall not be considered as prizes, nor the crews made prisoners, for the first twenty days after the date of this capitulation, but they shall be sent back to France.

Answ. Refused.

XV. The commander-in-chief, and the other generals, shall be embarked with their aides-de-camp, and the officers attached to their suite, without being separated.

Answ. Granted.

XVI. The prisoners made during the siege, including the crews of the William Tell and the Diana, shall be considered as part of the garrison; and the same regulation to extend to the crew of la Justice, if she should be taken before she reaches any of the ports of the republic.

Answ. The crew of the William Tell is already exchanged, and that of the Diana will be taken to Minorca, in order to be exchanged immediately.

XVII. All the property which belongs to the republic shall not be subject to reprisal of any sort, under any pretext whatsoever.

Answ. Granted.

XVIII. If any difficulty shall arise upon the conditions of this capitulation, they shall be interpreted in the most favourable manner for the garrison.

Answ. Granted, according to justice.

Executed at Malta on the 5th September, 1800.

(Signed) Vaubois, general of division.

Rear-admiral Villeneuve.

Pigot, major-general.

Captain Martin, commander of the ships of his Britannic majesty and those of his allies, before Malta.

Report



*Report from the select Committee of the House of Commons on the Expense of and Mode of obtaining Bills of Enclosure.*

The select committee appointed to consider of the most effectual means of facilitating, under the authority of parliament, the enclosure and improvement of the waste, unenclosed, and unproductive lands, commons, common arable fields, common meadows, and common of pasture in this kingdom, and to report the same, with their opinion thereupon, to the house;—have, pursuant to the order of the house, considered the matter to them referred, and agreed upon the following report:

Your committee, in considering the subject referred to them, have principally had in view the impediments to enclosures under the authority of parliament, arising from the expenses incurred in such procedure; and have consequently endeavoured to trace the nature and amount of those expenses, as far as the various and complicated circumstances attending them would admit, through the several stages of the transaction; the result of which they shall, in the first place, proceed to lay before the house.

Your committee find that a meeting is frequently convened, by public advertisement, for the purpose of considering the propriety of applying to parliament for an intended enclosure, at which it sometimes happens, that persons not interested in the business attend; and that the expenses of such meetings, usually held at some inn, as well as that of the advertisements, are often charged in the solicitor's bill.

A petition to parliament is then pre-

pared, the expense attending which rarely exceeds the sum of two guineas.

Notices of the intended application are then, in pursuance of the standing orders of this house, to be affixed to the church-door of each parish in which the lands to be enclosed are situated, for three Sundays in the months of August or September, the expense of which naturally varies according to the number of parishes, and the distance of the churches from the residence of the solicitor or agent concerned; it being usual for only one person, if possible, to be employed for this purpose, in consequence of the necessity of his attending afterwards in town, to prove the fact before the committee on the petition. The charge in general appears to be from one to three guineas for each parish.

The draft of the bill itself is either copied by the solicitor in the country from some former act, as far as circumstances will admit, or prepared originally by the parliamentary solicitor; in both which cases it is obvious that a number of similar clauses, either required by the orders of the house, or authorized by general practice, are constantly inserted. The proportion of these general clauses to the provisions of a local and peculiar nature cannot be precisely ascertained; but your committee have reason to suppose that they may, in some instances, amount to two-thirds, and in others not to more than two-fifths of the whole. The expense of preparing and copying this draft, being charged by the sheet, must depend upon the length of it, which must in all cases be increased by these general clauses.

The practice of the legislature requiring proof of the consent of a certain number of the parties interested,

rested, by their actually signing the bill; it is necessary to employ a proper person, and sometimes more than one, to procure this, and afterwards to attend in London to prove it before the committees of both houses. As it is occasionally necessary to travel to a considerable distance, and into different parts of the kingdom, for this purpose, the expense attending it is in such cases considerable; and in one instance it appears to have amounted to between seventy and eighty pounds, to procure the consent of one individual. It is also stated to your committee, that the great number of consents supposed to be necessary, according to the present practice of parliament, whether three-fourths, according to the ideas of some, or four-fifths, according to those of others (for there is no fixed rule), is a great bar to enclosure. Your committee are thence led to submit it to the wisdom of the house, whether it may not be expedient in future to allow the proof of a less number of consents, provided they amount to a decided preponderance, to be sufficient for obtaining a bill.

The bill having been brought in, read a first and second time, and committed, it is necessary to bring witnesses to town, to prove that the orders of the house have been complied with in the foregoing particulars, and to verify the allegations in the preamble. All this is attended with different degrees of expense, according to the number of persons employed, the distance of their residence from the metropolis, and the accidental delays which may retard the progress of the bill to the house of peers; when the same persons must again attend to be sworn at the bar of the house, and afterwards

examined before the committee. In cases where the bill meets with opposition, this must necessarily be considerable; and in all it is sufficient to deserve attention.

The subsequent progress of the bill through parliament is subject to the payment of the several fees, particularly specified in the table annexed to this report. The amount of these, it is evident, must vary according to the size of the bill, the number of interests affected by it, and the opposition it may happen to meet with. The length of the bill chiefly operates as an increase to the expense in this stage of the proceeding, by the additional charge of engrossing and printing. The only other incidental expense, not yet noticed in this part of the transaction, is that of a town or parliamentary solicitor, usually some person whose experience in such business, and acquaintance with the forms of parliament, render his assistance particularly desirable; and that of a country solicitor, whose local knowledge, and immediate connection with the parties interested, in many cases make his attendance also material. The charge of the former, for his whole service, is usually twenty guineas; but in controverted, or any complicated cases, considerably more; that of the latter is subject to necessary variations, according to the length of attendance and other circumstances, but must in most cases be considerable.

When the bill has received the sanction of the legislature, the usual mode of carrying it into effect, through the intervention of commissioners, gives rise to charges and expenses of a different nature. The necessity of peculiar qualifications, as well as a reputation for experience and integrity,

tegrity, in persons employed for this purpose, has usually confined the choice of them within no very enlarged limits; and the expediency of dispatch, without the additional expense of multiplied litigation, has suggested the necessity of investing them with a summary, and in most cases uncontrollable jurisdiction; unless where any flagrant instance of misbehaviour, of which no instance has been stated to your committee, might subject them to the animadversion of a criminal court. This latitude of confidence, however necessary for some of their functions, may in some cases lead to abuse, particularly in the charges which may be occasioned by neglect in not proceeding regularly, and with as little interruption as possible, in the dispatch of the business intrusted to them.

Your committee find that it is usual to appoint three commissioners, the attendance of two of whom is requisite to give effect to their acts; and that the sum allowed to each for his trouble and expenses is generally about two guineas for each day of necessary attendance, exclusive of charges for his journey, in some cases not only from their residence to the place of meeting, but from considerable distances, to which their other avocations may have carried them.

It appears to have been the practice of late years for the commissioners to appoint a clerk to draw up the minutes of their proceedings, which he may thus be prepared to authenticate in case of litigation, to which the commissioners themselves are a party, and to assist them with his advice in legal questions. The country solicitor employed to prepare the bill is generally appoint-

ed the clerk, which seems now to be recognised by the late standing orders of the house, requiring books of account in all cases to be left at his office. It appears to your committee, that the clerk receives, in general, emoluments equal to the commissioners, besides his legal perquisites for business done as a solicitor, for which his charges are separately made. The expenses incurred, both on his account, and that of the commissioners, for attendance at the regular meetings, necessarily depend on the number of such meetings; but it has been stated to your committee, that these are sometimes rendered more frequent than is necessary by the practice of the same commissioners transacting the business of two enclosures on the same day, which must necessarily interfere with the dispatch of one or both of them; that meetings are sometimes held, at which little or nothing is done, and that charges are sometimes made for the attendance of all the commissioners where one or more may not actually have been present, though they may afterwards have signed the minutes of the proceedings.

Acts of enclosure commonly require a survey to be made either by the commissioners, or by some person employed by them, and a map to be prepared from it: both which are generally done by a surveyor specially appointed for the purpose, who also frequently makes all the calculations for the commissioners, and stakes out the several allotments; for all which the charge made is one shilling and sixpence per acre, besides a guinea and a half per day for attending the commissioners, and an allowance for making a reduced plan. It also appears to your committee,

mittee, that the clause in the act above-mentioned; is usually construed so literally, that a fresh survey and map are often ordered, though there may have been one of each in existence fully or nearly adequate to the purpose; and that in some counties a practice has prevailed of employing two surveyors, one to take a general, the other a particular survey. In some instances another description of persons is appointed by the act, called quality men, whose business it is to value the land.

Other expenses incidental to an enclosure are the setting out, forming, and putting in repair the necessary roads, and fencing the several allotments, according to the direction of the commissioners. The former being kept for a certain time under their particular controul, are often, in consequence, the occasion of delaying the execution of the award to a much later period than would otherwise be necessary. The expenses of the latter, particularly the public fencing, have in some instances been very considerable.

The last procedure of the commissioners is the making and enrolling their award, which is required by the several acts to be written on parchment, and of which one copy is sometimes required to be deposited in the parish church. This being subject to considerable stamp-duties, and often of great length, is consequently attended with a proportionate expense. Your committee find, however, that it has been the practice of late years to reduce the size of the award as much as possible, by omitting the recital of the principal clauses of the act, and the proceedings of the commis-

sioners, formerly inserted, and by referring to schedules annexed. Yet, even under these restrictions, it has been stated to your committee, that they have sometimes extended to the length of sixty-seven skins of parchment.

The last possible proceeding provided by the act, is the appeal given to the quarter sessions against such acts of the commissioners as are not thereby declared to be final and conclusive, and particularly against the rates they are empowered to make for the payment of the expenses. The delay and expenses attending this part of the proceeding must of course be casual and uncertain.

Your committee having thus laid before the house the several charges incidental to the present mode of procuring and carrying into effect bills of enclosure, proceed, in the next place, to state such observations as have occurred to them in the course of the inquiry; and to suggest such alterations as may, in their opinion, by diminishing those charges, tend to facilitate the enclosure and improvement of the wastes, commons, common fields, and other unproductive lands of the kingdom.

The first head of expenses which appears to them capable of retrenchment, is that which arises from the practice of proving by parole evidence the requisite notices, the consents to the bill, and the allegations of the preamble. If the wisdom of parliament should see fit, for the sake of facilitating the means of general improvement, to depart in this respect from their accustomed usages, your committee conceive that it might be provided by an act,

to be passed for that purpose, that affidavits of the truth of these facts might be taken, under the penalties of perjury, before one or more neighbouring justices of the peace; which being properly authenticated by them, might be admitted as sufficient *prima-facie* evidence before both houses, without precluding either, if circumstances should appear to require it, from adopting the present mode of investigation by *viva voce* testimony. Your committee apprehend that forms of such affidavits, adapted to the several objects which they may be designed to prove, might be annexed to the act, so as to enable not only the agents to substantiate the facts within their knowledge, but distant proprietors, at the same time that they signify their assent, to authenticate their having done so.

The form of the bill itself necessarily comprising, as before stated, many provisions of a general nature, has next attracted the attention of your committee; and they are of opinion that it would tend much to reduce the expense both of drawing and copying the bill, and of printing and engrossing it, if all such clauses as should appear from the general practice to be necessary and usual in all bills of enclosure were to be incorporated in one general act, and be thereby declared to be applicable (*mutatis mutandis*) to all future enclosures to be made under the authority of parliament, as to all such matters as should not be otherwise specially provided for by the particular bill.

The next general object that has occurred to your committee is the charges of the solicitor, whether acting as such, in the necessary

conduct of the bill through parliament, or, after it has passed, in the additional capacity of clerk to the commissioners. Should the alterations before suggested, as to the mode of proof before the two houses, be adopted, your committee are led to hope that these charges would necessarily be considerably reduced; and, that in many cases where the measure met with no opposition, the attendance of the solicitor or any other person from the country might be dispensed with: but while the existing charges, whatever they may be, are undefined in their nature, and subject to no control but through the medium of an expensive litigation, abuses will in many instances exist. Your committee see no remedy for these, unless it should be found practicable to ascertain the nature of such charges with some degree of precision, and then to subject them to taxation in the same manner as costs in the courts below, either by some officer of those courts, or by officers of the two houses of parliament, or others specially appointed for that purpose. The particular duty and charges of the clerk to the commissioners might, as appears to your committee, be prescribed by the general or particular act, and like that of the commissioners and surveyor, controlled by the sanction of an oath of office.

With respect to the commissioners themselves, upon whose ability and integrity so much depend, it might not perhaps be expedient to subject them to similar controul, lest men of respectability should be deterred from engaging in so laborious and useful an employment; but the abuses above noticed might perhaps be

be remedied by defining, in some degree, the number of hours which ought actually and *bonâ fide* to be devoted to each meeting, and requiring that it should not be occupied by attention to any other business; and also by regulating, according to the place of residence of each commissioner, the charges to be allowed for travelling expenses. With a view to ascertain how far the former of these regulations had been complied with, it might be desirable that the clerk should be required to keep a register of all the days and times employed in the business of the enclosure; which, as well as the books of account, should be open to the inspection of all persons concerned.

On a full consideration of the subject of parliamentary fees, properly so called, which has occupied much of the attention of your committee, they see no ground to recommend to the house any general regulations on that head. As a suitable recompence for the time, attention, and abilities of the several persons to whom they are payable, they find no reason to object to their usual amount: and from a comparison of it to that of the other expenses necessarily incidental to this procedure, they are not inclined to think it can in general operate as a discouragement to this mode of improvement. In particular instances, however, which are not unfrequent, of small wastes and commons, it is obvious that the whole expense of conducting an enclosure, under the authority of parliament, must always bear so large a proportion to the value of the land to be divided, as to preclude the possibility of improvement in that mode. It seems

to your committee worthy the consideration of the house, how far it might be advisable, in certain cases of such a description, to be ascertained either by the number of acres, or value of the land (in addition to the general regulations above suggested), to remove such part of the impediment as is more immediately under its control, by providing that such bills should only be considered, in the payment of fees, as single bills, and be entitled to any other indulgence which parliament in its wisdom should see fit. Your committee ground this recommendation on the supposition that such portions of land could by no possibility be brought into cultivation in the ordinary mode, and that therefore the reduction proposed is not so much to be considered as a diminution of probable and accustomed perquisites to the officers of the two houses, as the means of making that productive of emolument to a certain amount which would otherwise never be at all available to that effect.

On the whole, your committee have thought they should best fulfil the intentions of the house in referring to them to consider of the most effectual means of facilitating, under the authority of parliament, the enclosure and improvement of the waste and other unproductive lands of the kingdom, by confining the regulations they might suggest to such points as appeared to them simple and of easy attainment; by which the expense attending enclosure, under the present system, would be considerably diminished, and the plan would in other respects be improved. And if the suggestions they have ventured to recommend



mend should have the good fortune of meeting with the approbation of parliament, they flatter themselves that such expenses, instead of being great and undefined, would be so moderate, and in general so capable of being estimated, that, in so far as regards large enclosures, the principal objection to the present system would be done away, and a

great encouragement would be given to improvement.

For the farther information of the house, upon the several matters before suggested, your committee have thought proper to annex to their report, by way of appendix, the evidence taken by them, in so far as respects the particular points above alluded to.

Table of Fees payable in the Two Houses, on Bills of Enclosure.

	Fees paid on a single bill.		Fees paid on a double bill.		Fees paid on a 3-single bill.		Fees paid on a 2-double bill.		Fees paid on a 5-single bill.		Fees paid on a 3-double bill.		Fees paid on a 4-double bill.	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
<b>HOUSE OF COMMONS.</b>														
Bill fee and small fees	15	2 0	28	15 4	43	6 0	58	17 4	82	13 4	86	6 0	125	14 8
Committee fees	8	3 8	9	19 2	7	11 10	16	7 4	25	9 6	39	12 10	60	11 2
Messengers' fees	2	8 6	2	16 0	3	11 0	4	6 0	7	8 6	6	12 0	10	6 0
Engrossing fees	7	2 0	48	3 0	24	16 0	42	14 6	41	13 6	55	8 6	44	3 6
<b>Total fees in the Commons</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>16 2</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>13 6</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>4 10</b>	<b>122</b>	<b>5 2</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>4 10</b>	<b>187</b>	<b>19 4</b>	<b>240</b>	<b>15 4</b>
<b>HOUSE OF LORDS.</b>														
Bill fees	27	0 0	54	0 0	81	0 0	108	0 0	135	0 0	162	0 0	216	0 0
Yeoman usher and door-keepers	5	5 0	5	5 0	8	8 0	8	8 0	11	11 0	12	12 0	14	14 0
Order of committee	1	1 0	1	1 0	1	1 0	1	1 0	1	1 0	1	1 0	1	1 0
Committee fees	4	4 0	4	4 0	6	6 0	6	6 0	8	8 0	8	8 0	10	10 0
<b>Total fees in the Lords</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>10 0</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>10 0</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>15 0</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>15 0</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>0 0</b>	<b>184</b>	<b>1 0</b>	<b>242</b>	<b>5 0</b>
<b>Total fees in the two Houses</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>6 2</b>	<b>154</b>	<b>3 6</b>	<b>175</b>	<b>19 10</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>0 2</b>	<b>313</b>	<b>4 10</b>	<b>372</b>	<b>0 4</b>	<b>483</b>	<b>0 4</b>

*Account of Fees received in the House of Commons on Bills of Enclosure, for Fourteen Years, ending 1799.*

Year.	Number of Bills.	Bill fee and small fees.	Committee fees.	Housekeeper's and Messenger's fees.	Engrossing fees.	Total Fees.
1786	25	£ 761 4 4	£ 368 6 4	£ 90 0 0	£ 745 0 0	£ 1,964 10 8
1787	21	£ 631 6 0	£ 306 7 8	£ 70 12 0	£ 665 7 6	£ 1,673 13 2
1788	32	£ 941 5 8	£ 476 17 10	£ 110 8 6	£ 1,055 12 6	£ 2,584 4 6
1789	36	£ 1,083 17 4	£ 430 12 2	£ 147 18 0	£ 1,101 5 0	£ 2,763 12 6
1790	26	£ 758 4 0	£ 322 17 6	£ 76 16 0	£ 841 5 0	£ 1,994 2 6
1791	40	£ 1,321 16 0	£ 567 6 4	£ 123 10 0	£ 1,306 17 6	£ 3,319 9 10
1792	41	£ 1,240 17 4	£ 781 11 6	£ 202 9 0	£ 1,470 0 0	£ 3,694 17 10
1793	60	£ 1,784 15 0	£ 988 1 6	£ 210 4 0	£ 2,249 7 6	£ 5,232 8 0
1794	74	£ 2,167 13 8	£ 905 0 10	£ 237 11 6	£ 2,476 17 6	£ 5,787 3 6
1795	77	£ 2,402 9 4	£ 1,077 5 8	£ 311 2 0	£ 2,985 0 0	£ 6,775 17 0
1796	72	£ 2,282 5 4	£ 1,175 6 2	£ 222 5 0	£ 2,853 15 0	£ 6,533 11 6
1797	87	£ 2,810 8 8	£ 1,317 16 2	£ 279 8 0	£ 3,272 10 0	£ 7,679 2 10
1798	49	£ 1,487 4 0	£ 711 16 8	£ 157 14 0	£ 1,832 10 0	£ 4,189 4 8
1799	67	£ 2,100 13 0	£ 1,039 8 10	£ 197 3 6	£ 2,338 2 6	£ 5,675 7 10
	707	£ 21,768 19 8	£ 10,468 15 2	£ 2,436 1 6	£ 25,193 16 0	£ 59,867 6 4

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*An Estimate of the Expenses of Housekeeping, between 1773 and 1800.  
By an Inhabitant of Bury St. Edmund's.*

	1773			1793			1799			1800		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Comb of malt	0	12	0	1	3	0	1	3	0	2	0	0
Chaldron of coals	1	11	6	2	0	6	2	6	0	2	11	0
Comb of oats	0	5	0	0	13	0	0	16	0	1	1	0
Load of hay	2	2	0	4	10	0	5	5	0	7	0	0
Meat - - -	0	0	4	0	0	5	0	0	7	0	0	9
Butter - - -	0	0	6	0	0	11	0	0	11	0	1	4
Sugar (loaf) -	0	0	8	0	1	0	0	1	3	0	1	4
Soap - - -	0	0	6	0	0	8	0	0	2½	0	0	10
Window lights, 30 windows	3	10	0	7	10	0	12	12	0	12	12	0
Candles - - -	0	0	6	0	0	8	0	0	9½	0	0	10½
Poor rates per qr.	0	1	0	0	2	6	0	3	0	0	5	0
Income tax on 200l.	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	0	0	20	0	0
	8	4	0	16	2	8	42	9	4	45	14	1½

## *Report of the Committee of the House of Commons respecting Bread, Corn, &c. &c.*

The committee appointed to consider of means for rendering more effectual the provisions of an act, made in the thirteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An Act for better regulating the Affize and -making- of Bread;" and who were instructed to consider of the most effectual means of remedying any inconveniences which may arise from the deficiency of the last crop of grain: and empowered to report their proceedings, from time to time, to the house:

Have proceeded, in pursuance of the orders of the house, to consider of the provisions of the said act; and are decidedly of opinion, that the act in its present state is completely ineffectual for the purposes for which it was intended; that the regulations contained in it are in

many respects defective; and that the execution of it would be totally incompatible with the present mode of setting the affize of bread by law, and would answer no object, unless, at the time when bakers are prohibited from making, according to the demand of their customers, different kinds of bread, millers should be prohibited from manufacturing different sorts of flour.

Your committee proceeded next to consider, how far it might be proper to recommend to the house to adopt such farther regulations and restrictions; and as they understood a prejudice existed in some parts of the country against any coarser sort of bread than that which is at present known by the name of the "Fine Household Bread," on the ground that the former was less wholesome and nutritious than the latter, they thought it important to obtain the opinions of some eminent and respectable physicians on this

this point. The result of their evidence appears to be, that although a change of any sort of food, which forms so great a part of the sustenance of man, might, for a time, affect some constitutions, that as soon as persons were habituated to it, the standard wheaten bread, or even bread of a coarser sort, would be equally wholesome with the fine wheaten bread which is now generally used in the metropolis; but that in their opinion, the fine wheaten bread would go farther with persons who have no other food, than the same quantity of bread of a coarser sort.

Your committee were next desirous of ascertaining, whether a standard bread was likely to be acceptable to the people of this metropolis; they have examined for this purpose several considerable bakers, who agree in stating, that scarcely any bread is consumed in the metropolis but that which is made from the fine wheaten flour; that attempts have been formerly made in times of scarcity to introduce a coarser species of bread into use, but without success; and that in their opinion, the high price of bread would be considered, by the lower classes of people, as a small evil, when compared with any measures which would have the effect of compelling them to consume a bread to which they have not been accustomed.

Your committee then proceeded to inquire, whether a measure, which compelled the millers to manufacture only one sort of flour, would be likely to increase the quantity of sustenance for man. It has been stated to your committee, that, according to the mode of manufacturing flour for London and its

neighbourhood, a bushel of wheat, weighing sixty pounds, produced forty-seven pounds of flour, of all descriptions, which were applied in various ways directly to the sustenance of man; that about one pound was the waste in grinding, and the remaining twelve pounds consisted of bran and pollards, which were made use of for feeding poultry, swine, and cattle. It has, however, been suggested, that if only one sort of flour was permitted to be made, and a different mode of dressing it was adopted, so as to leave in it the finer pollards, fifty-two pounds of flour might be extracted from a bushel of wheat, of the before-mentioned weight, instead of forty-seven pounds; that this proportion of the wheat would afford a wholesome and nutritious food, and would add to the quantity, for the sustenance of man, in places where the fine household bread is now used, five pounds on every bushel, or somewhat more than one ninth. But as this saving is computed on a finer wheat, and of greater weight per bushel than the average of the last crop may produce, and can only apply to those places which have been stated, and as a coarser bread is actually in use in many parts of the country, the saving on the whole consumption would, according to this calculation, be very considerably reduced.

Your committee have considered how far other circumstances might operate, or the saving likely to be made of flour by adopting this proposition: they beg leave in the first place to observe, that if the physicians are well founded in their opinion, that bread of a coarser quality will not go equally far with the fine wheaten bread, an increased consumption

sumption of bread would be the consequence of the measure, and this increased consumption might in a considerable degree make up for any saving which might result from the use of the finer pollards: in the second place, if the millers were permitted to make only one sort of flour, it is to be apprehended, that sieves would be introduced into many private families for the purpose of sifting the flour to different degrees of fineness: such a practice might, in times of scarcity, increase the evils which it would be the intention of parliament to remedy. The quantity of flour extracted from a bushel of wheat, depends very much on the skill of the miller, and the perfection of his machinery. The extent of his concern, and his interest in his trade, is a security that he will endeavour to draw from the grain whatever it will produce; but the comparative want of skill, and want of attention to the nicer parts of the operation, in private families, might lead upon the whole to a very great and unnecessary expenditure and waste of flour.

Your committee are of opinion, that to change by law the food of a large part of the community, is a measure of the greatest delicacy, and on the face of it highly objectionable. If a considerable benefit could be proved to arise from it to the community at large, your committee might be induced to recommend it, notwithstanding any inconveniences which might for a time result from it; but from all the consideration your committee have been able to give to this subject, and from the evidence which has appeared before them, they are not satisfied that any saving would arise proportionate to the disadvantages

that would, in the first instance, necessarily attend upon it.

Your committee have hitherto confined their observations to the idea of compelling the people, by law, to consume a particular sort of bread. They are sorry, however, to be under the necessity of stating, that, in consequence of the last wet and unfavourable season, crops have been unusually deficient; and although a considerable importation of wheat from foreign countries has already taken place, and more may be expected, yet they feel, that they should not discharge their duty, unless they strongly recommended to all individuals to use every means in their power to reduce the consumption of wheaten flour in their families, and encourage in the district in which they live, by their example, influence, and authority, every possible economy of this article.

Impressed with the idea of the importance of such economy at the present moment, your committee earnestly recommend the adoption of a measure, which, from the unanimous opinion of those who have appeared in evidence before them, would lead to a very considerable saving of wheat flour. The evidence of the bakers who have been examined before your committee, cannot fail to convince the house, that in families where bread which has been baked for some hours is used, the consumption is far less considerable, than in those where it is the custom to eat it new. They differ in the proportion of this saving, some have stated it as amounting to one-third, some as amounting to one-fifth, and others only to one-eighth; but when it is considered, that one-half of the bread in London is consumed the day on which it



It is baked, there can be no doubt that a great saving would ensue (perhaps one-tenth or twelfth part of the whole consumption in London) if the bakers were prohibited from selling it, until twenty-four hours after it was baked. Your committee are strongly induced to recommend this measure, from the consideration that a very respectable physician has given it as his decided opinion, that new bread is far less wholesome than that which has been baked a certain number of hours; and they think it important to add, that in the opinion of the bakers in the metropolis, no material inconvenience or detriment to their trade would arise from adopting this regulation.

Your committee have heard, with very great concern, that from the mistaken application of the charity of individuals, in some parts of the country, flour and bread have been delivered to the poor at a reduced price; a practice which may contribute very considerably to increase the inconveniences arising from the deficiency of the last crop: and they recommend that all charity and parochial relief should be given, as far as is practicable, in any other articles except bread, flour, and money, and that the part of it which is necessary for the sustenance of the poor, should be distributed in soups, rice, potatoes, or other substitutes. Your committee are of opinion, that if this regulation was generally adopted, it would not only, in a very great degree, contribute to economize at this time the consumption of flour, but that it might have the effect of gradually introducing into use, a more wholesome and nutritious species of

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food than that to which the poor are at present accustomed.

Your committee think it important to state, before they conclude, that government, in conformity to the declaration of the chancellor of the exchequer, in the last session of parliament, have abstained from all interference in the purchases of corn in the foreign markets; and, as they conceive the speculations of individuals are more likely to produce an adequate supply of foreign wheat at this crisis, than any other measures that could be adopted, the policy of government in this respect meets with the decided approbation of your committee.

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*Second Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, respecting Bread, Corn, &c.*

The committee appointed to consider of means for rendering more effectual the provisions of an act, made in the thirteenth year of the reign of his present majesty, intitled, "An Act for better regulating the Assize and making of Bread;" and who were instructed to consider of the most effectual means of remedying any inconveniencies which may arise from the deficiency of the last crop of grain; and empowered to report their proceedings from time to time to the house;

Have, since their last report, received additional information respecting the deficiency of the late crops in many parts of the country, particularly in Scotland; the result of which has impressed your committee with the propriety of suggesting such methods as appear to them most likely to be effectual for

H. . . . . diminishing

diminishing the consumption of corn, for encouraging the importation from abroad, and for bringing into extensive use such substitutes as may supply the place of it; and for this purpose they are desirous of calling the attention of the house to the following points:

First.—The expediency of giving a bounty to encourage the importation of corn from the Mediterranean and from America.

Second.—The propriety of individuals reducing the consumption of flour in their families.

Third.—The propriety of subjecting millers to some new regulations.

Fourth.—The adoption of a new table of affize.

Fifth.—The encouragement of the use of rice and Indian corn.

Sixth.—The encouragement of the growth of potatoes and other nutritive vegetables.

Seventh.—The expediency of procuring a considerable supply of food from the fisheries.

Eighth.—The expediency of stopping the distilleries.

1. Your committee have received information that considerable supplies of wheat may probably be obtained from the countries in the Mediterranean, and from America; which, at the present prices, would be imported to very great profit; but as several months would elapse before such supplies could be brought to this country, and as it is possible that during that period the prices of all sorts of grain may fall considerably, particularly if there should be a prospect of a very abundant harvest; and as such a fall of prices might occasion great loss to the importers, such as took place in the year 1796, your committee

are apprehensive that merchants will not be induced to speculate, unless they receive some encouragement from parliament; they therefore suggest how far it may be proper to offer such a conditional bounty as may be likely to secure the merchants against any probable losses they might incur in importing wheat or flour from the Mediterranean or from America before the month of October. The prices of wheat in the Mediterranean are stated to be from about 50s. to 60s. per quarter, the prices of flour in America are about 60s. the English sack; the insurance, freight, and other mercantile charges, may, in either case, amount to about 33s. per quarter, or 30s. per sack. If parliament should therefore think proper to provide, that in case the average price of wheat throughout the kingdom, as stated in the Gazette, should fall below 90s. per quarter, and the average price of flour should fall below 90s. per sack, the difference between the market price and 90s. should be made by a bounty to the importer, it might afford a very considerable encouragement to foreign supply, consistent with the reduction of the prices in the home market.

2. Your committee have great satisfaction in being able to state, that many individuals, in different classes of life, have already effectually reduced the consumption of bread and flour in their families; and that the saving which has been made in consequence is very considerable; in many instances amounting to one-fourth, and in some even to one-third of their usual consumption. If such a practice should become general, it would produce

the most beneficial effects. Your committee recommend, therefore, to every housekeeper, to reduce the quantity of bread used in his family to one quartern loaf per week for each person, which has been found, by experiment, to be sufficient; and likewise to abstain, as far as possible, from the use of flour for all other purposes.

3. Your committee have been informed that considerable inconvenience has been felt from millers refusing to grind the sorts of flour necessary for making the brown bread; and they are of opinion, that, to remedy this inconvenience, it may be expedient to subject millers to some new regulations.

4. For reasons given in their former report, your committee cannot recommend any compulsory law for the use of only one sort of bread, or the grinding of only one sort of flour; but, strongly impressed with the advantage that might result from the use and consumption of bread made of the whole meal, or of a great proportion thereof, they think proper to observe, that, by the manner in which the assize is now set, the profit of the baker is far more considerable on the fine wheaten bread than on that of a coarser quality; and your committee recommend, therefore, that a new table of assize should be framed to remedy this inconvenience, and to promote the use of coarser meal.

5. Your committee have great satisfaction in stating, that a considerable supply of rice and Indian corn may be obtained from America; that, mixed in a certain proportion with wheat, they make a most wholesome and nutritious bread; and that the most damaged wheat may not only be used, but rendered

palatable by a mixture of rice, which, by repeated experiments, has been found to correct the defects of it. This consideration, that much damaged wheat and grain, otherwise unserviceable, may be made into wholesome and palatable bread, by being mixed with rice, suggests the importance of extending to this latter article the same economy as that which is recommended in the use of wheat, and of reserving it as much as possible for the above important purpose.

Your committee, sensible of the important use of rice at the present moment, are induced to recommend, upon a comparative view of the prices of that article in this country and the other countries in Europe, that a bounty should be given, on the same principle as that with respect to corn, on the importation of rice, which should secure to the importer the price of 17. 15s. per cwt. if the market price should fall below that sum. And your committee likewise submit, whether it may not be expedient that some bounty should also be given, on the same principle, on the importation of Indian corn.

6. Your committee are of opinion, that it is probable that considerable relief may be afforded, if proper encouragement is given to the growth of potatoes and other nutritive vegetables; and they recommend therefore to landlords, to permit and encourage their tenants to break up a limited quantity of land, according to the circumstances of the estate, for the cultivation of potatoes and pease. And your committee suggest, that it may be expedient that provision should be made by law, for a given time, to enable lords of manors or individuals, or parish officers on behalf of the parish,

with the consent of the lord of the manor, to break up a quantity of common land, and to cultivate it with potatoes.

7. It has appeared in evidence before your committee, that in some parts of Scotland and in Cornwall the lower orders of people are consuming at this time great quantities of fish, which make no inconsiderable part of their sustenance; and your committee understand that a large quantity of Swedish herrings may be obtained from Gottenburgh and the neighbouring ports, at a very reasonable price; they recommend, therefore, that the Swedish herrings should, for a limited time, be imported duty free. And as an encouragement to our own fisheries, and to increase the supply at the present moment, they suggest the propriety of giving a bounty equivalent to 2s. 8d. per barrel, (if proper regulations can be adopted to provide against fraud) on the cure of mackerel, or of other fish caught in the mackerel fishery, for home consumption; and your committee, under the present circumstances, strongly recommend the distribution of fish as an article of parochial relief, which may be obtained in many parts of the country, in great quantities, at a very moderate price.

8. An opinion being prevalent in many parts of the country, and particularly in Scotland and Wales, that a great increase of food for man might be obtained from stopping the distilleries in England, your committee thought it their duty thoroughly to investigate this subject. The quantity of barley consumed in the distilleries has been stated by several persons engaged in the trade, whose evidence is completely corroborated by that of one of the commit-

sioners of excise, who has delivered into your committee calculations on the subject so nearly agreeing with the accounts given by the distillers, as to satisfy your committee that they are sufficiently accurate for the purpose of forming their opinion.

It appears that the whole quantity of barley consumed in the English distilleries amounts only to between two hundred and twenty, and two hundred and fifty thousand quarters annually; that in consequence of the distillers having been allowed the use of sugar at the low duties, the consumption of grain has been very much diminished; that the distillers continue working from the month of November until the middle or end of May; that all that can be wanting to complete their works in the present year cannot exceed fifty-three or fifty-five thousand quarters; that the distillers were prohibited the use of wheat, the only grain used in the English distilleries besides barley, by an act passed in the month of October last; and that in consequence of the deficiency of the crops in the last harvest, and to remove all dissatisfaction on account of their trade, they entered into an agreement to make use of no barley in their distilleries but what was damaged, or of inferior quality; to which agreement, by the evidence before your committee, they appear to have strictly adhered. It appears, likewise, that very large numbers of swine and cattle are actually fed from the refuse of the distilleries; and that if they were prohibited from working, the supply of meat would be diminished; or the feeders of cattle and distillers in the neighbourhood of the metropolis would be under the necessity of using, at a great expense, a quantity

city of grain in feeding their swine and cattle, which, perhaps, would not fall very far short of that which would in the first instance be consumed in the distilleries; and your committee cannot avoid observing, that in either of these cases the price of meat must be expected to rise considerably, so as very materially to affect the lower orders of the people, who are now deriving extensive relief in the metropolis, and in many parts of the country, from the establishment of soup-shops, and to bear with still greater pressure upon those classes of the community which are immediately above them.

Your committee have purposely avoided stating the effect which the stopping of the distillery might produce on the revenue, being anxious that no consideration of revenue should interfere, provided the expected relief could really be obtained; but when they consider how small would be the quantity, and how inferior the quality of the barley that could be saved, and the effect likely to be produced on the prices of other articles, and the course of other trades, they cannot see any advantage that would result from it sufficient to justify your committee in recommending it to the house.

Your committee have omitted to subjoin any proposal for prohibiting the use of wheat in the manufacture of starch, conceiving it to be a very inconsiderable object; and being farther informed that measures have been taken to procure a supply of this article by importation from abroad, and that the principal manufacturers have voluntarily relinquished the use of it. They, however, think, that, in justice to them,

the disuse should be made general by a prohibition.

Your committee have great satisfaction in stating, that the measure adopted by the legislature, for prohibiting the sale of any bread which had not been baked twenty-four hours, has already produced the most beneficial effects. By the declaration of the master, wardens, and court of assistants of the company of bakers, annexed to this report, it appears that the consumption of bread in the metropolis is reduced, in consequence of it, at least one sixth part.

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*First Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, on the present Scarcity of Corn.*

The committee appointed to consider of the present high price of provisions, and to whom so much of his majesty's most gracious speech from the throne, to both houses of parliament, as relates thereto, and also the several petitions presented to the house, complaining of the high price of provisions, were referred:—

Have, in proceeding to the consideration of the important and extensive subject referred to them, thought it their duty to direct their attention, in the first instance, to such measures as might be proposed, for alleviating, as speedily as possible, the present pressure; without entering at this moment into a detailed inquiry respecting the various causes which may have concurred in producing it. Your committee conceive that, by so doing, they shall best execute the intentions of the house, which has already shown, by





its proceedings, that it considers the deficiency of the stock of grain at the commencement of the late harvest, and the high price which now prevails, as sufficient inducements for adopting, without loss of time, the most obvious remedies. With this view, laws have already been brought forward for encouraging the importation of grain; for empowering his majesty to prohibit the exportation of every article of provision; for permitting the importation thereof free from duty; for prohibiting all distillation from grain, and the use of wheat in starch; for permitting the barley, which was damaged by wet, to be made into malt, without being steeped during the time now required by law; for allowing sugar to be used, instead of malt, in the brewery; and for lowering the duty upon the importation of hops.

Your committee were confirmed in their opinion of the propriety of this order of proceeding, by considering that no minute inquiry into the state of the crop, or the stock now in hand, could be made without great delay, even supposing that any mode had been suggested for conducting such an inquiry, which afforded a reasonable prospect of sufficient accuracy in the result, and which would not be attended with great, if not insurmountable objections in the execution. Your committee also see no ground for believing that any result, attainable by the most detailed inquiry, could lead to any practical conclusion, applicable to the present emergency. At the same time having many documents before them which could be examined without much delay, and which,

checked by the very extensive information of members from different parts of the country, appeared likely to enable them to form a general estimate of the crop, your committee have thought it right to avail themselves of those materials for that purpose.

These documents consist of very numerous returns to those inquiries which different departments of government have directed to be made by the receivers of the land-tax; by various officers under the boards of taxes, stamps and excise; and by those amongst the clergy to whom circular letters for that purpose had been addressed by the bishops in each diocese. Though the returns are not complete from every county, yet the omissions, on the whole, are neither numerous nor important.

Your committee are sensible, that upon the accuracy of accounts of this nature, taken separately, no positive reliance can be placed; or, at least, that the weight to be given to them must vary in each instance, according to the opinion entertained of the diligence and information of the persons by whom they are made. Your committee observe, however, that the general result of the returns made by each description of persons is nearly the same; that result is strongly confirmed, upon the whole, by the information of members from almost every part of England, founded upon their local inquiries, observation, and correspondence. Whether the average is struck from the statements of the crop in the several counties, without regard to their size, population, and productiveness, or by throwing them into different classes with a view to those important



important points, still the general conclusion is not materially affected. Your committee have not had the same means of inquiry respecting the produce of Scotland; but their information, as far as it reaches, is by no means less favourable. Your committee, therefore, think themselves justified in taking this general result as a sufficient ground for those opinions and measures which they propose to submit, without delay, to the judgement of the house.

There appears, upon the whole of this information, reason to believe, that the general deficiency of the crop of wheat, in England and Wales, below an average crop, does not amount to quite so much as one fourth: and that the crops of barley and oats (though by no means uniformly good) have been very productive in many of those counties from which the principal supply is ordinarily furnished; and therefore that the produce of the kingdom, in those articles, cannot, upon the whole, be considered as materially inferior to an average crop. It is also probable, that in forming an average under such circumstances as the present, where the harvest has been so uncommonly various in different districts, and even in different parts of the same district, greater weight may have been given to instances of deficiency than to those of abundance, and that the produce is more likely to be stated below than above the truth. It is also very material to observe, that by all the accounts there is reason to think, that the quality of every description of grain is, upon the whole, greatly superior to that of the last year; and that, therefore, the increased quantity, and superior quality of flour to

be derived from a given quantity of grain, may be expected to compensate, in some degree, for the deficiency of the produce below the average, estimated by the acre. The accounts of the stock in hand, furnished by these returns, are necessarily more uncertain; they are in some degree various; but they do not, upon the whole, furnish any ground for doubting the prevailing opinion, confirmed by the general information of the members who have attended your committee, that the stock of British corn, at the harvest, was reduced far below its usual amount, and was in most places nearly, in many absolutely, exhausted.

In addition to what has been stated, respecting the produce of the crop and the stock in hand, it is to be observed, with a view to the state of the markets, in the time which has elapsed since the harvest, that the farmers during that period have had a double demand to supply out of the new crop for consumption and seed, and this at a season when most of their hands were employed in the ordinary labours of the field. The quantity of grain used for seed corn is generally estimated at about six weeks' consumption; and the increase of this quantity in the present year, from much more land being sown with wheat than usual, during a season particularly favourable (though it gives an encouraging prospect of future plenty) must have added for the time, to the difficulty of furnishing sufficient supplies for the market, and thereby have contributed to increase the temporary distress. This unusual demand for wheat, and other circumstances also peculiar to the season, have contributed,

buted; in many places, to delay the thrashing out barley and oats, and may have had a similar temporary effect on the price of these articles.

It appears to your committee, that these circumstances might be expected to have produced a very high price at this season, even if the late harvest had been abundant; that the degree in which it has been deficient must naturally have added to such price, whether with or without the concurrence of any other causes, the existence and effects of which your committee propose to investigate in a farther stage of their proceedings. Your committee, therefore, think it may reasonably be expected, that the price, produced in some degree by temporary circumstances, will, when those circumstances have ceased to operate, experience a reduction; especially when it is generally known, that, on the result of all the information that has been collected from every part of the kingdom, there is no ground to suppose that the deficiency in the crop, below the usual average, is greater than what your committee have already stated; and when it is also seen to how considerable an extent we may confidently expect that deficiency to be remedied by the double operation of importation and economy.

With respect to the former of these objects, your committee observe, that within twelve months, from September 26, 1799, to September 27, 1800, there have been imported into Great Britain no less than

1,261,932 quarters of wheat and flour	
67,988	barley,
479,320	oats,
800,693 cwt,	rice,

This happened under the unfavourable circumstances of a harvest abroad uncommonly deficient in quality, and not abundant in quantity, and of the late period of the season when the bounty was granted by parliament.

It has been stated to your committee by several of the principal importers of corn, that the wheat of the present year, in the north of Europe, is, by all accounts, far superior in quality to that of last year; in Germany, it is represented as abundant; and though some less favourable accounts of later dates have been received from other parts, yet it is stated, that little reliance is to be placed upon them, as they have only become less favourable since the deficiency of the crop in this country has been the subject of speculation abroad. All other grain (except rice) has been uncommonly abundant on most parts of the continent of Europe. The harvest in America, both of wheat and rice, has been unusually plentiful. The indemnifying bounty, now proposed to be given, is considered, by those importers whom your committee have examined, as much more satisfactory than what was granted in the last session, and as likely to afford still more effectual encouragement.

There seems therefore no reason to doubt, as far as depends upon the state of the harvest abroad, and the probable exertions of foreign and British importers, that the supply may be fully equal to that of last year in wheat and flour, and in oats and rice will considerably exceed it; and that in other articles to which encouragement may now be extended, particularly in barley and Indian corn, a large additional supply.

ply may be expected. Amongst these, your committee wish particularly to direct the attention of the house, and the country, to the article of rice. The quantity of food to be derived from equal quantities of rice and wheat is, in a very great proportion, in favour of the former; the quality of this species of grain is undoubtedly excellent; and wherever it has been introduced it appears to have been highly acceptable; the encouragement now held out to the importation of it will probably bring into Great Britain all that can be spared from every part of America; and considerable supplies may be expected from our East-India possessions, in consequence of orders sent over land, in August and September, and of the liberal terms which parliament, with the concurrence of the East India company, appears disposed to grant to adventurers now fitting out ships from hence.

Of the remaining stock of the preceding harvest of rice in America, some will arrive before Christmas, in consequence of orders already given; and the produce of the last crop may begin to reach this country in January and the succeeding months. The supply from the East Indies will undoubtedly be later, but may be expected in part at a period of the summer when it must be eminently useful, and the remainder previous to the time when the harvest of 1801, according to the ordinary course of things, can be brought into general use.

There are also other articles of wholesome food, to which the attention of your committee has been directed; and they entertain considerable hopes that arrangements may be made, by which

large quantities of fish and other salted provisions may be added to the supply of the market, at such reasonable rates as may afford a material source of relief. Your committee mean to proceed immediately in this part of their inquiry, and will as early as possible state the result to the house.

The stoppage of the distilleries in England, at this early season, will prove equivalent to the importation of at least two hundred and fifty thousand quarters of barley. In Scotland, it is stated as likely to be productive of a saving of the same article to a still greater amount; and the prohibition of the use of wheat in starch may save about forty thousand quarters. By these measures large quantities of grain are left applicable to the food of man which have not in other years been so employed; and your committee have therefore thought proper to class them under the same head with importation.

Your committee think themselves authorised to place a considerable reliance upon the effect of the various measures above referred to, in increasing the general supply. Of these, the encouragement offered by parliament for the importation of foreign grain is undoubtedly the most important: but whatever expectations may be reasonably formed of the great extent to which that encouragement, combined with the high price in this country, may carry it, your committee think it their duty to state their decided opinion, and to endeavour to impress that opinion in the strongest manner upon the house, that it would be unwise and unsafe to place their sole reliance upon resources of this description. Allowing for the probability

probability that the accounts before stated respecting the produce of the last harvest may be rather below than above the truth; yet the exhausted state of the old stock, and the unusually early period at which the late crop came into consumption, make it not only highly advisable, but indispensably necessary, as the most effectual means of securing an adequate supply at a reasonable rate, to have recourse to the greatest economy, in every part of the country, in the use of those articles of grain upon which the subsistence of each respective district principally depends.

Your committee entertain the strongest expectation, that a recommendation from the highest authority, pointing out the advantages which would be derived, under the present circumstances, from the general practice of economy and frugality in these articles, could not fail to produce extensive and beneficial effects. In order to give the greatest weight and solemnity to such a recommendation, your committee submit to the house whether it may not be proper to desire the concurrence of the other house of parliament in an humble address to his majesty, requesting that his majesty would be graciously pleased to issue a proclamation for this purpose. The effect of such a proclamation might undoubtedly be extended by the universal circulation which might be given to it, through the magistracy and clergy, in every district and in every parish; and associations might be entered into by every description of persons to whom it might be addressed for carrying it into execution in their respective neighbourhoods. The general adoption of such a measure,

by diminishing the consumption of grain, and particularly of wheat, amongst those who are able to procure other articles of food, would leave for the use of those who are unable to procure them a larger proportion of what is necessary for their support; by decreasing the demand the price would probably be reduced, and it may well be expected from the past conduct of the more opulent classes, that much of what might be saved by the reduction of their own consumption, would be applied to the relief of their indigent neighbours.

Your committee having thus suggested the means by which they conceive that a great reduction in the consumption of corn, and particularly of wheat, may be produced by the practice of economy among a large proportion of the community, proceed to call the attention of the house to another measure, by which a similar effect may be produced, to a great extent, among the laborious classes, without in any degree diminishing their necessary subsistence; for which, on the contrary, it is the great object of the plans proposed effectually to provide. It is evident that, under the present high price, a very large proportion of the poorer classes derive, from parish relief, a considerable part of the subsistence necessary for their families; extraordinary relief, under such circumstances, to a great amount, is indispensable: and it is hoped that it has been generally extended through most parts of the kingdom, on the most liberal principle, in due proportion to the extra cost of food, to the number of a family, the quantity necessary for their subsistence, and the fair amount of their earnings.

ings. But it is evident that if the whole of this relief be given in money, it will be applied to the purchase of bread to the usual amount, and will thereby counteract that economy which it is so essential, for the interest of the poor particularly, to introduce. It seems, therefore, of the utmost importance to provide, that as large a portion as possible of this relief should be given neither in money, nor in the sort of bread usually consumed in each parish, but in some other wholesome substitutes, such as your committee have before enumerated. They have, indeed, the satisfaction of knowing, that this practice, through the voluntary attention of magistrates, has already prevailed in many instances; and that, wherever it has been adopted, its consequences have been most beneficial: but partly from want of sufficient authority in the magistrates for this particular purpose, partly from the use of the substitutes being less generally known than at present, and from the supply of them not being as abundant as may now be expected, the practice has been less general than the interest of the country requires. Your committee, however, are aware that these measures may not even now be indiscriminately applicable to every parish; from local circumstances, it may be at first difficult to procure the necessary articles in sufficient quantity, or it may require some time to introduce them into general use. Your committee, therefore, do not wish that a peremptory rule should be laid down (without exception) for the conduct of the magistrates in all cases, in carrying into effect the general principle here stated, but they conceive that where-

ever the exception is made, the grounds of it should be specially stated and allowed; and that in all other cases the rule should be enforced. For this purpose they would recommend that an act should be passed, requiring the magistrates in each district, within a certain time, to take into consideration the circumstances of each parish, and, at the application of the overseer, or at their own discretion, to make an order for giving a certain portion of relief in articles to be fixed, and to direct the application of so much of the rates as may be necessary for providing such articles; or, if they shall be satisfied that circumstances will not then admit of such articles being provided, that they shall state their reasons, and report them to a special sessions to be directed by the act to meet for that purpose.

That the magistrates assembled at such sessions shall make such order thereupon as they shall think fit, either authorising farther delay in the execution of the measure, if they shall be satisfied that the circumstances justify and require it; or, if not, directing it to be enforced in such a manner as they shall judge expedient. The first advantage to be procured by this measure, evidently is that of rendering the supply more equal to the necessary demand; but this advantage, though the greatest, is not the only one: the labourer, by receiving the proportion of relief in some other article than bread corn, will receive the benefit of the reduction of price, which the diminished consumption must tend to produce, in purchasing cheaper what he provides out of his own earnings, and will be less dependent on the parish for his subsistence.

sistence. Every description of persons paying to the poor-rates (particularly the least opulent house-keepers, who feel the most heavily the increased burden of that rate, and the addition to their own necessary expenses, from the present high price of provisions), will be materially benefited in three ways: first, in the diminution of the rate, from a large proportion of the relief being given in articles cheaper than bread, on the price of which the relief, if given wholly in money, must be calculated. Secondly, in a diminution in the amount of that part of the relief which may still be given in money, corresponding to the reduction which, as before stated, the measure has a tendency to produce in the article of bread.— Thirdly, in the immediate effect of such reduction of price (as far as it may take place) in diminishing the expense of the necessary consumption of their own families.

On all these grounds your committee venture earnestly to recommend this measure to the early and favourable consideration of the house.

Your committee have thus submitted to the wisdom of the house those measures which appear to them to claim the most immediate attention with a view to relief.— They have, upon the whole, the satisfaction of being persuaded, after a deliberate review of the deficiency in the supply (arising both from the exhausted state of the stock of the former harvest and the partial failure of the last crop) compared with the various resources which have been already pointed out, that if the measures of economy which they have so strongly recommended are generally adopt-

ed, the saving thereby produced, together with the extensive supply expected from abroad, will be fully sufficient to compensate for such deficiency and to provide for the necessary demand of the year.

Amongst the subjects which press upon the consideration of your committee, is the state of the law respecting the commerce of grain. It is evidently a matter of the greatest delicacy and difficulty; and your committee think they cannot better discharge their duty than by taking it up in the temper recommended to parliament by that part of his majesty's speech which has been referred to them by the house.

In their farther proceedings your committee will give their most earnest attention to the discussion of every proposal which has for its object the relief of the present pressure, or the prevention (as far as possible) of its recurrence; and will submit, from time to time, to the judgement of the house, whatever appears to them most likely to attain those desirable ends.

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*Second Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on the present Scarcity of Corn.*

The committee appointed to consider of the present high price of provisions, and to whom so much of his majesty's most gracious speech from the throne to both houses of parliament as relates thereto; and also the several petitions presented to the house complaining of the high price of provisions; were referred:

Have, in conformity with the principles stated in their former report, continued to employ themselves



selves in the investigation of such farther measures as might tend to produce either an increase in quantity or an economy in the consumption of food.

Among measures of this nature the supply to be derived from the fisheries on the coast of Great Britain, and especially the herring fishery, appeared the most considerable in point of extent, and the most pressing in point of time; which reasons have induced your committee to make it the subject of a separate report.

The attention which has been paid to the herring fishery by several committees appointed in former sessions of parliament has collected a very considerable mass of information on the subject; in addition to which your committee have called for such evidence as appeared to them necessary.

Their first inquiry was directed to ascertain the places from whence a supply may be obtained during the present season, and the extent to which it may be carried.

With respect to the first point, it appears, both from the evidence given to former committees, and from recent information, that the herring fishery carried on during the winter on the north-western coasts of Scotland is neither considerable in its present extent nor capable of any very immediate addition, being nearly concluded for the present year, except in Loch Roag, in the isle of Lewis, a remote and thinly-peopled district, to which the navigation in winter is difficult and dangerous. With respect to the herring fisheries on the English coast, it also appears that the season is nearly terminated, and the high price at which their produce has been sold

may reasonably be supposed to have encouraged the adventurers to give them the greatest extension of which they were capable; but for the last six or seven years a great and increasing winter fishery has been carried on in the Firth of Forth, which in the present season has commenced with very considerable success: This fishery, which begins at the end of October and continues in full season till February, produces such an abundant supply that, in the opinion of every person who has been examined, it may be considered as inexhaustible.

It is stated to your committee, that in each of the two last seasons not less than one thousand two hundred boats were employed in the fishery; and the total quantity taken has, by the best judges, been supposed equal to five hundred thousand barrels, each containing about one thousand herrings. On a supposition that, by any exertions, this quantity could be doubled in the present season, an additional supply of animal food would be obtained nearly equal to the consumption of two millions of persons in three months, allowing three herrings daily to each person; and none of the witnesses examined, either before former committees or recently, appear to entertain any doubt of the possibility of an extension as great, or even greater, than is supposed, except what arises from the difficulty of suddenly collecting a great additional number of fishermen, provided with proper boats, nets, salt, and other materials for taking and curing the fish. On this point it is material to observe, that the Firth of Forth running into the richest and most populous part of Scotland, and being accessible by

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an easy navigation both by the eastern and (by means of the great canal) from the western coasts of the kingdom, there is no spot where the advantage of a high price would more readily attract numerous adventurers, or where any unusual encouragement held out by the legislature, in a case of particular emergency, might be expected to operate with greater effect. Accordingly it is stated, that in the three last seasons the Firth of Forth was frequented by vessels from Ireland, from the western coast of England, and from the whole eastern coast of the kingdom, as well as from the ports in its immediate vicinity. Your committee being informed that the resort of purchasers to the Forth is in this present season great beyond example, and that there is every appearance of as large a supply of fish as ever has been known, think there is reason to hope that the quantity taken will much exceed that in any former season, especially if the legislature should think it expedient to adopt extraordinary measures to encourage and facilitate the efforts of the adventurers.

With respect to the duration of the supply, it must be observed, that herrings sprinkled (or, as it is termed, "rouled or corned") with a moderate quantity of salt, will continue perfectly good at least two months, and are much superior in flavour and in nutritive qualities to those which are prepared for exportation to distant countries with a greater quantity of salt. If, therefore, the herrings in the Forth continue in full season till towards the middle of February, (beyond which time it is represented, by the best judges, as injurious to the fishery to

permit them to be taken) they will be preserved till the middle of April by the ordinary method of curing in bulk; but it requires only a small addition of salt, and somewhat greater attention to make them fit for keeping a much more considerable length of time.

The ordinary price of herrings in the Forth, when fresh out of the water, has not in former years exceeded 5s. or 6s. per cran, a measure containing about two gallons more than a barrel (i. e. about thirty-four gallons); but in the beginning of this season an unusual competition among the buyers raised the price to 12s. and even to 15s. and 16s. per cran. This extraordinary price was not expected to continue after the principal shoals set into the Forth, which appears to have taken place towards the end of November; and it has in the mean time an obvious tendency both to attract the greatest possible number of fishers, and to excite them to the utmost industry; and it should be farther observed, that, at the very highest price, it has been found that the Forth herrings could be retailed in London (in the state of roasted or sprinkled herrings), with a moderate allowance to the persons employed in retailing them, at the rate of two for one penny, a price greatly below what fish of much inferior quality have usually been sold for.

Your committee are persuaded, that the circumstances which they have stated will point out the essential importance of insuring the full benefit of a supply so well calculated to afford the most immediate and most extensive relief under the present temporary pressure, as well as to prevent the danger of its recurrence; and they derive great additional

tional satisfaction from reflecting that these advantages will be combined with many other national objects of the greatest magnitude. They, therefore, proceed to recommend those measures which in their judgement appear best adapted to produce an immediate extension of the fishery, and to provide for the supply being generally distributed as expeditiously as possible over different parts of the kingdom.

A very material advantage will be secured to the adventurers by allowing them the use of duty-free salt, for curing herrings in bulk as well as in barrel, in such limited quantities as not to occasion the danger of considerable fraud on the revenue.

With respect to the quantity proper to be allowed, your committee have examined some of the officers of revenue most conversant with the subject, and from their testimony, supported by the evidence given to former committees, it results, that sixty-five pounds of salt are sufficient to preserve a cran of herrings during the voyage from the Forth to any part of the coast of England, and for some weeks after their arrival, and to allow in ordinary cases for such waste as is unavoidable. This allowance your committee therefore recommend as proper to be granted by the express provisions of an act of parliament.

An additional encouragement will be given, by relieving persons disposed to engage in this adventure, from the apprehension of being pressed into his majesty's naval service.

Your committee therefore think it highly expedient that persons willing to proceed to the Firth of Forth should be protected against the im-

press during their passage to the Forth, their employment in the fishery, and their return, if effected within a reasonable time. An order to this effect has been already given by the board of admiralty, but your committee think it may be advisable to establish this protection by act of parliament. In order to encourage the greatest number of adventurers to repair to the Forth, directions have been given by the treasury to the officers of the customs on the eastern coast of the island, to give notice to all fishers, or other persons owning boats capable of being so employed, of the great profit to be derived from that fishery, and of the indulgencies proposed to be granted to them, and to procure conveyance to Leith for such as are willing to engage in it; and two officers in the revenue, particularly conversant in this business, have been dispatched to those parts of the coast for the same purposes, with directions to purchase and send to Leith the nets of such fishermen as they may not be able to induce to repair there.

But the obtaining from the sea as large a stock of fish as can by any means be procured, though an essential, is by no means the only object requiring the attention of parliament in this branch of the inquiries of your committee. The most abundant supply may, to a great degree, be rendered useless, so far as the internal provision of the country is concerned, unless proper means are employed to regulate its distribution and arrangement, and to remove the prejudices which at first usually oppose the introduction of a new article of food.

This your committee think will be best effected by the activity of voluntary associations of individuals, who

who may provide a supply suited to the wants of their respective districts, and promote its consumption by their persuasion and example. In all considerable towns a weekly supply may be provided and retailed to the inhabitants in general, as well as distributed to the poor by the overseers, in a certain proportion to their parochial relief. It is more peculiarly desirable that such societies should be formed in the metropolis, and such other places as are situated at the mouths of great rivers, and form the centres of extensive inland navigations, such as Liverpool, Bristol, Hull, and Lynn.

By forming considerable stores in each of those places, and such others as may be found most convenient for general communication, and by a correspondence established between the societies at each of those central places, and those of the surrounding district, the demands of every part of the country may be regularly supplied. And your committee have the satisfaction to find that, even previous to their inquiries into this subject, an association formed for other useful purposes, the "Society for bettering the Condition of the Poor," had undertaken in London the execution of a plan similar to what is here recommended; and that as far as their operations have yet extended, they have met with all the success which could be reasonably hoped for, and have obtained a degree of public countenance and approbation which strongly marks a general disposition to forward designs of this nature, as well as others of active benevolence. But as the execution of such plans on the extensive scale here pointed out will necessarily in the first instance require an advance of capital beyond

what can reasonably be expected from the voluntary efforts of individuals, even where they have a fair prospect of being ultimately repaid, your committee think it essential, in order that the public may reap from them all the advantages which they appear capable of affording, that public aid, by a temporary advance of money, should be furnished in such places as are most convenient for the formation of large deposits.

There is also a fishery carried on in the western parts of the kingdom, from which some supply of pilchards may be expected to a limited extent. The season for this fishery is at present over; and your committee are informed that about ten thousand barrels of this fish are now cured, and ready for exportation. As they have been prepared in expectation of the bounties granted by former acts of parliament, your committee do not think it would be just to the adventurers, to deprive them of this bounty, by prohibiting the exportation; but in order to remove the temptation of carrying to a foreign market such proportion of the fish so cured as may find any demand at home, they beg leave to recommend to the house, that the bounty to which the adventurers are now entitled, upon the exportation of the pilchards actually prepared for that purpose, should be paid to them, notwithstanding such pilchards should not be exported. This measure will bring no additional charge upon the public, as the money is already due; but it may operate in retaining for the subsistence of those parts of the kingdom which are farthest removed from the herring fishery a supply of cheap and wholesome food of the same nature.

Your

Your committee have received information, that at the period when the herring fishery must be expected to end, the mackerel fishery begins on the western and southern coasts of England; and they have every reason to believe that a very considerable supply of mackerel may be obtained in succession to the herrings.

Your committee will proceed to investigate the subject more particularly; and if their present expectation shall appear to be well founded, they will suggest to the house the expediency of affording the same encouragement and advantage to this fishery as they propose to the house now to give to the herring fishery.

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*Third Report of the Committee appointed to consider of the present high Price of Provisions.*

They have farther proceeded in the matters to them referred, and have come to the following resolutions:

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that an act made in the 36th year of his present majesty, intituled, "An Act to permit Bakers to make and sell certain Sorts of Bread," should be repealed.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that, in order to make more effectual provision for that purpose, it is expedient to allow mixed bread, and every species of wheaten bread, except the bread made of fine household flour, to be made and sold without assize.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the provisions of an act made in the last session of parliament, intituled, "An

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Act to prohibit, until the Expiration of six Weeks after the Commencement of the next Session of Parliament, any Person or Persons from selling any Bread which shall not have been baked a certain Time," should be continued with such amendments as may make the same more effectual.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is expedient to allow the use of salt duty-free, for the purpose of preserving pilchards, mackerel, and every other kind and species of wholesome fish, either in bulk or in barrels, for a limited time.

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*Fourth Report of the same Committee.*

They have farther proceeded in the matters to them referred, and have agreed upon the following report, viz.

One of the most important objects which has engaged the attention of your committee, has been the consideration of the different modes of dressing wheat, with a view to ascertain whether, by any alteration in the same, any considerable addition could be made to that proportion of the produce which is now applied to the immediate subsistence of the people. This subject has been at various times under the consideration of committees of this house, and of the legislature.

An act was passed in the 13th year of his majesty's reign, by which magistrates were empowered, at their discretion, to set the assize upon standard wheaten bread alone, and thereby to prohibit the making of all other sorts of bread; but as the assize-tables contained in that act were so drawn that the profit to  
the

the baker was far more considerable upon the fine wheaten bread than upon that of a coarser sort, the act has proved ineffectual. The use of bread made of wheat, from which only 5lbs. of the bran had been excluded, was one of the means of reducing the consumption of wheat specified in the engagement which was entered into by the house in December, 1793, for that purpose; and an act was then passed for allowing bakers to make such bread (as well as bread made of different species of grain) without being subject to the regulations of assize. The committee, which sat in the beginning of the present year, employed much time and labour in the investigation of this matter. But although the result of their deliberations, as stated in their first report, was, that they were not satisfied that any saving would arise proportionate to the disadvantages which would in the first instance attend prohibiting the millers from making any sort of flour, except one which contained a larger proportion of the grain than is now in use; yet they state, in a subsequent report, that they are strongly impressed with the advantage which might result from the consumption of bread made of the whole meal, and recommend that an assize should be framed so as to promote the use thereof. A bill was brought in for that and other purposes in the last session; but as the subject required great length of examination, and as many difficulties occurred in parts of it, the bill was at that time relinquished.

From the failure of the measures of permission and recommendation which have been adopted upon former occasions, in order to introduce the consumption of a more econo-

mical species of bread, it appears evident to your committee, that no sufficient reliance can be placed upon the repetition of similar measures, as adequate to afford material relief in the present emergency; and they are deeply impressed with the persuasion, that a degree of advantage which was, not thought upon those occasions a sufficient inducement to adopt any particular measure, may become so upon the present; and that difficulties, which then deserved to have considerable weight, are now entitled to much less attention. This observation applies still more forcibly to the species of bread which your committee now propose to recommend; as the degree of advantage to be derived from it, is much greater than could be expected from adopting that species of bread, of which the last-mentioned committee declined to recommend that the consumption should be enforced by any positive law.

Your committee, under these circumstances, have thought it their duty both to refer to the evidence collected by former committees, and to institute such farther inquiries as the time would allow, and as appeared necessary to enable them to form such an opinion as they could presume to submit to the judgement of the house.

The advantage to be procured by dressing wheat in a manner different from that which is practised for the supply of London, and of other places where the fine household bread is consumed, appears to be of two kinds. It arises from the production of a greater quantity of materials for bread from a given measure of wheat, and of a greater quantity of bread from a given weight of materials.

Both



Both these causes operate most powerfully in the coarsest of all wheaten bread, that which is made of the whole produce of the grain without any separation. Specimens of this bread have been produced to your committee, and appeared palatable, wholesome, and nutritious. But though bread of this sort may be introduced with great advantage, where the wheat is well harvested and of good quality, and in such cases the saving may be computed at not less than one-third, yet your committee are induced, by several considerations, not to recommend this as the only mode of preparing that species of grain. They are informed, that in some cases where wheat has been very ill harvested, or is much damaged, it can only be made fit for use by a separation of the outward coat or husk; the coarse bran which is retained in this kind of bread, contains less nutriment than the other parts of the grain, and may render the food not only less palatable, but less likely to agree for a time with persons unaccustomed to it, than the bread now recommended, from which the coarse bran is excluded. It may also be apprehended, that if no flour or meal of a finer sort than the whole meal were allowed to be made, it would prove a considerable discouragement to one of the most useful methods of economy, the use of bread made of other kinds of grain mixed in different proportions with wheat; such mixtures, though capable of producing excellent bread when the grain has been so dressed as to exclude the broad bran only, are rendered less palatable by the introduction of that article. It is, however, of the greatest importance, that as large a portion of the

grain should be introduced into food, as is consistent with the use of wheat of different qualities, and with the mixture of wheat with other grain. This appears to be effected by the use of what is called an 8s. 6d. seamed cloth, or a patent cloth No. 2, which excludes only the broad bran, weighing about 5lbs. or 6lbs. in a bushel of wheat. Bread of this description includes all the finer parts of the wheat, and excludes the outward husk. It is little inferior, except in colour, to the white bread, and is far superior in every respect to the bread containing none of the finer parts, which forms the food of those countries from whence London is supplied with flour. In point of economy, this species of bread comes nearest to that which is made of the whole meal, producing an addition of somewhat more than one-fifth to the bread which would be made in the ordinary mode from an equal quantity of wheat. This calculation is made on a supposition, that, in the ordinary mode of dividing the grain, the whole of what is called weighing stuff, comprising the seconds, thirds, and middlings, as well as the fine flour, is made into bread or biscuit. Supposing the quantity of various kinds of grain consumed in bread in England to amount to nine millions of quarters, and that one-third of this quantity is made into fine bread, the saving which will be made in nine months, by the use of the kind of bread here proposed, will be no less than 450,000 quarters, or about three weeks consumption of that part of the kingdom. When the reality as well as the necessity of this saving is made apparent to the people, it may be expected that their good sense will easily reconcile

them to the use of a species of bread, which long experience, in a great part of the country, has proved to be wholesome and nutritious, especially when they understand how great a reduction must be produced by this regulation in the price of the quartern loaf. By a general prohibition of the use of finer flour unmixed, all ranks and orders of society will be called upon to sacrifice to the public good any reluctance or prejudice, and to make an united effort to relieve the general pressure: and it will be in the power of individuals, or associations of the community, to facilitate the execution of this measure, as well as to anticipate its benefits in some degree, by adopting, as soon as it can be procured, the use of such bread as is here recommended in their own families, and introducing it, by their example and influence, into their respective neighbourhoods.

Your committee have not thought it necessary to state the saving which might arise from the use of the standard wheaten or any other species of bread, finer than that which is here recommended, because they consider the necessity of the case to be such as calls for strong and effectual remedies, and because they think the introduction of the other sorts into general use would be in no respect easier than that of the bread here recommended, and would not be attended with the same degree of advantage.

Your committee are of opinion, that, under the present circumstances, it is necessary that an assize-table should be formed for this species of bread, previous to requiring its introduction, and the exclusion of all bread made of a finer meal. The shortness of the time for which

this session of parliament can continue would not admit of completing such a table with perfect accuracy. But although farther experiments may be necessary for ultimately attaining that object, your committee are satisfied, from the evidence they have received, that no considerable difficulty will attend the forming immediately a table sufficiently correct to prevent any material inconvenience. They are desirous that such table should be so constructed as to ensure at least as large a profit to the baker, for the manufacture of each sack of meal into bread, as he now receives. Your committee have also the satisfaction of finding, from the evidence of several respectable millers, that this alteration will be productive of no inconvenience to their trade, but will tend to make their process easier and cheaper; that the wires or cloths necessary for the proposed mode of dressing wheat and other grain are either now in use, or may be readily prepared; and that the period necessary for enabling the millers to dispose of their present stock, and to arrange their machinery for the new mode of working, will not require a notice of many weeks previous to the proposed measure being enforced.

Your committee are strongly of opinion, that it will be expedient, without delay, to prohibit, from a day to be fixed, the manufacture of flour or meal from wheat or any other grain finer than that which is dressed through an 8s. 6d. seamed cloth, or a patent cloth, No. 2, or such wire machine as produces the same effect; and to prohibit also, from a day to be fixed, the use of any bread finer than what is made of such meal: and that in the mean time

time it is expedient, as your committee have already represented to the house, to permit all kinds of bread, except such fine bread as that upon which the assize is at present set, to be made and sold without being subject to the regulation of assize.

It also appears expedient, that when the new assize shall be established, and the use of fine bread prohibited, permission should still be given to make any bread of inferior price, either from the whole meal of wheat, or with a mixture of wheat and rye, barley, oats, rice, or any other wholesome grain, without assize. By this means a still farther economy of wheat may be produced in such parts of the country as may adopt the use of such mixed bread; and from different specimens produced to your committee, it appears, as before stated, that wheaten meal, of the same quality as is here recommended, will make excellent bread, with a mixture of other species of grain. The use of such mixed bread will also afford the means of bringing into consumption such fine flour as may be obtained by importation, as well as any small quantities which may be left in the hands of the millers, subsequent to the time when the use of fine bread will be prohibited.

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*Fifth Report of the same Committee.*

They have, in proceeding in the matters to them referred, received, from certain parishes in the immediate neighbourhood of the city of London, representations of the extreme difficulties under which they at this time labour, through the very great number of poor, who are

induced to reside in those parishes by the cheapness of lodging, occasioned by the general smallness of the tenements, and by the impossibility of finding suitable accommodations in the richer and more central parts of the metropolis. The parishes from which these representations have come to your committee, are those of St. Matthew, Bethnal-Green, Mile End New Town, and Christ Church, Spital-Fields, which are contiguous to each other.

The poor rates in this district, which stand now, subject to abatements as to some of the smaller houses, at between four and six shillings in the pound, appear to be not materially higher than those of several other parishes; but though the rates are not higher, it is evident to your committee, from the fact laid before them, that the pressure on the inhabitants must be much more than commonly severe, since they consist very generally of persons in either low or very moderate circumstances, a great proportion of whom, if residing in other parts of the town, would be wholly excused.

It is stated to your committee, that in Mile End New Town, out of 630 houses which are assessed to the poor rates, no less than 529 are supposed to pay a yearly rent of only 11*l.* and under, and 73 others to pay a rent of only 19*l.* and under; it is also stated, that of the remaining 28 houses in that parish, 20 pay a rent of less than 28*l.* five of 35*l.* and under, two (of which the Spital-Fields workhouse is one) a rent of about 70*l.* and one only, being a warehouse, a rent of 280*l.* The whole annual rental of this parish, charged to the poor-rates, amounts to no more than 6,167*l.*: among these

these houses, nevertheless, are included many which pay a rent of less than 3*l.* per annum.

The proportion of small houses, or of houses divided into small lodgings, in the two other parishes, is represented as also great; and the deficiencies in the collection of the present poor-rates of all the three are large and increasing, and the debt of each is considerable.

The point however to which your committee would more particularly call the immediate attention of the house, is the very great distress to which the poor of these parishes, who are obliged to make application for parochial relief, are necessarily reduced, through the inadequacy of the funds provided for them. The officers have given in statements to your committee, by which it appears that they are not able to grant pecuniary aid to so much as one-tenth part of those persons, who would be likely now to receive it, if they resided in other parishes; and also that to the few whom they relieve, on account of their being entirely out of work, they give only about one-fifth or one-sixth part of the sum commonly granted in London to persons in like circumstances. It is also stated, that the work-houses are at this time exceedingly crowded.

The rental of all these parishes charged to the poor-rates, which it is usual to do according to the rack rent, is about 60,000*l.*; the rental of the metropolis (if by that term is understood the district lying within the bills of mortality, together with the parishes of St. Pancras and St. Mary-la-Bonne) may be estimated at about fifty times that sum, or at about three millions. The number of persons in the three parishes, who

are of the poorer class, and are not now relieved, are computed at between 16 and 17,000, forming unquestionably a large portion of the poorer labourers and manufacturers of various descriptions, who work both for the city and for other parts of the town.

In order to relieve the peculiar pressure on this body of persons, arising from the circumstances which have been represented, it is obvious that a considerable sum will be necessary; and it is also certain, that this necessary sum cannot be obtained by additional burdens on the parishes themselves, since it has been lately found that every advancement of the rates causes an almost proportionate deficiency in the receipts, by producing in a short time an absolute necessity for allowing a very material increase in the exemptions.

Your committee, in proceeding to consider the remedy for the evil which they have stated, have adverted to a clause in the act of the 43d year of the reign of queen Elizabeth, intitled, "An Act for the Relief of the Poor," by which it is enacted, that "if the justices charged with the execution of that act shall perceive that the inhabitants of any parish are not able to levy among themselves sufficient sums of money for the purposes of the act, that then two justices may tax, rate, and assess, as aforesaid, any other of other parishes, or out of any parish within the hundred where the said parish is, to pay such sum and sums of money to the churchwardens and overseers of the said poor parish, for the said purposes, as the said justices shall think fit; and if the said hundred shall not be thought by the said justices, able and fit to relieve the said several parishes not able

able to provide for themselves as aforesaid, then the justices of peace, at their general quarter sessions, or the greater number of them, shall rate and assess as aforesaid, any other of other parishes, or out of any parish within the said county, for the purposes aforesaid, as in their discretion shall seem fit."

This clause, when acted upon as it has been in some instances, is understood to have led to great litigation between parishes, and to have failed of much of its intended effect; and the mode of carrying it into execution appears to your committee to be particularly ill calculated to provide a remedy for the evil which they have described. Though it affords a clear proof of the general intention of the legislature in this respect, it shews, that it was not the purpose of parliament, that parishes burdened in a particular manner with poor, should be so far insulated from all others, as never to call upon them for relief; and that even whole counties were considered as liable, if necessary, to be charged with additional poor rates, in order to ease contiguous parishes which were alike burdened. But in respect to the manner of appointing the new burden, it gives much more discretion to the magistrates than they can be supposed desirous of exercising, while also (leaving evidently out of its contemplation the case of a few adjacent parishes, all equally disabled from supporting their poor, through their contiguity to the metropolis), it directs the levying of the auxiliary rate only in a part of that particular hundred which comprehends the parish or parishes in distress; except indeed that when such whole hun-

dred shall have been rendered in the same degree incapable of affording farther support to the poor, direction is then given to raise the whole sum that is necessary, arbitrarily, in any part of the same county. But however defective this clause in the act of Elizabeth may be, the general principle of it is so equitable in itself, and is so easily rendered applicable to the case of over-burdened parishes adjoining to London, that your committee are induced to express their very clear opinion of the expediency of so far following it, as to authorise the raising of some local fund for the purpose of easing the three parishes of whose distress complaints have been made. The sum wanted, in order both to discharge a chief part of their present very oppressive debts, to relieve some of the more indigent housekeepers now charged to the rates, and to provide, until the season of the next harvest, a fund for the support of the poor, that shall bear some proportion to the funds for that purpose, which are within the power of other parishes, will probably be between 20,000*l.* and 30,000*l.*; a sum so light, when levied on the whole metropolis, and so evidently called for by the necessity of the case, that your committee trust the propriety of such a measure as they now propose will be generally felt. Whether this sum may best be raised by a small addition to the present poor-rates, subject possibly to some general as well as particular exemptions, or by a per centage calculated on certain of the assessed taxes paid by persons in the metropolis, or by any other local fund, must be a subject for the consideration of the house.

Your committee, in the mean time, from the pressing exigency of the case, think it necessary to recommend, that, with a view to the immediate ease of the parishes in question, the house should address his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to advance, for their use, out of the civil list, such sum as may be deemed necessary, assuring his majesty that the house will proceed to make good the same; and your committee beg leave to express their opinion, that it ought to be made good out of such local fund as shall be provided by parliament for that purpose.

Your committee have only farther to observe, that they trust the levying of a local tax through the metropolis, with the view which has been stated, will not be considered as opening the way to any invasion of that general principle of the poor laws, by which parishes, which have sufficient means of maintaining their poor, are exclusively charged with their support; a principle which they deem highly conducive to the good management of the poor, and respecting the preservation of which the house can scarcely be too jealous.

Your committee conceive that the measure now proposed, being founded on the principle laid down in one of the clauses of that act from which the poor laws of this country took their rise; and being also called for by the singular circumstances of the district which they have described, as well as by the extraordinary pressure of the present time, will form no precedent that can be pleaded, except in some case of similar emergency, and in a like period of dearness of provisions and consequent distress.

*Sixth Report of the same Committee.*

They have proceeded farther in the matters to them referred; and have agreed upon the following Report:

Your committee having stated, in their first report, the reasons which induced them to direct their attention, in the first instance, to such measures as appeared best calculated to alleviate the present pressure, and as were capable of being carried into execution during the existence of this parliament, have submitted to the wisdom of the house, in that and their subsequent reports, such suggestions as have appeared to them to fall within that description. They have been anxious to discharge with diligence the task which was imposed upon them, and had continued their sittings without intermission from day to day, from the period of their appointment to the present moment, when their proceedings are interrupted by the necessary termination of this session, in consequence of the union with Ireland. Notwithstanding their best exertions, so much time has been unavoidably occupied by the consideration and discussion of matters connected with the different measures above alluded to, which appeared to your committee, in every point of view, the most important as well as the most urgent, that they have found it impossible to enter, so fully as they could wish, upon other parts of the extensive and complicated subject which the house has thought proper to refer to them.

The manner in which the commerce of grain is carried on, has however engaged no small proportion of their attention; but even upon this branch of the subject, the information which they have hitherto



to obtained, is far from being sufficient to enable your committee to lay before the house any correct statement of facts, much less any well-considered opinion resulting from them. To form such an opinion, requires the attentive consideration of a great body of existing laws, and a minute acquaintance with an extensive system of trade; together with all the variations which have taken place, either by the authority of the legislature, or by changes of practice arising from an alteration in the habits of the people, or from the growth of commerce, and the increase of wealth. The subject also is of a nature which requires peculiar caution, from the danger which might attend an erroneous judgement, misled on the one hand by popular prejudice, or on the other by plausible theories, formed without sufficient examination of facts.

Your committee have also considered, that the interval will be very short between the conclusion of the present session and the meeting of the parliament of the united kingdom, when the inquiry into this, and other parts of the subject, may, and (as they humbly conceive) ought to be immediately resumed. They think it therefore more consistent with their duty, to leave whatever information they have collected as the groundwork of future and more complete investigation, rather than to hazard any hasty suggestions or statements upon a matter of so much delicacy and difficulty; and they are persuaded that the delay which may be thus occasioned, will be amply compensated by more mature discussion, and a more deliberate decision.

Your committee, upon review-

ing the different measures which have been adopted during the present session, have thought that it might be satisfactory to the house, if, before they conclude, they were to take some general view of the probable amount of the supply or saving which may be obtained from the various sources which they have pointed out, compared with the deficiency of the crop of wheat. It is unnecessary to observe, that such a statement must be in many respects conjectural, and deficient in precision; but it may perhaps furnish a general estimate, capable in some degree of guiding the expectations, and of relieving the anxiety of the public.

The quantity of wheat consumed in an ordinary year cannot be ascertained with any accuracy; but your committee conceive, that, after allowing for the proportion of the population commonly subsisting upon other grain, the usual consumption of wheat cannot be supposed to exceed 7,000,000 quarters per annum. Upon an average of ten years, including the very deficient harvests of 1795 and 1799, about 125,000 quarters of this quantity have been furnished by importation from foreign parts. The produce of an average crop may therefore have amounted to about 6,700,000 quarters; and the produce of the late harvest would, upon this supposition, have been about 5,000,000 quarters. The deficiency to be covered in order to ensure the supply of the country for twelve months, from the 1st of October, 1800, to the 1st of October, 1801, may be about 2,000,000 quarters; of which, according to the average importation above stated, about 300,000 quarters might be expedied

expected to be drawn from abroad. It is also to be observed, that, in this mode of stating the account, whatever part of the last harvest may have been consumed before the beginning of October, is supposed to be compensated by the proportion of the next harvest which may come into use before the corresponding period of the ensuing year, and that the estimate is formed upon the consumption of twelve months only.

A considerable proportion of the grain imported some time previous to the 1st of October, must undoubtedly have contributed to the subsistence of the country since that period: but, in the point of view in which your committee have considered the subject, credit is taken only for the subsequent importation. The accounts are complete to the 20th of December; but adding thereto what has been since received in London and Hull, up to the 31st of December inclusive, the amount of wheat imported, exclusive of flour, is near 170,000 quarters, besides 60,000 quarters of barley, and 126,000 quarters of oats, 4,400 cwt. of rice, and between 14 and 15,000 quarters of other grain and pulse.

Setting aside, for the present, the consideration of the farther supply of grain which may be received from Europe, the first object to which your committee will advert is, the importation from the United States of America. There is a peculiar advantage attending the supply from this quarter, that some part of it may be expected to arrive during the next month, and will continue during that period of the year when the importation from Europe is usually interrupted by the

frost. According to the latest information, the crop in the United States has been uncommonly productive, and has been nearly free from the ravages occasioned in former years by the Hessian fly. The greatest quantity ever exported from that country (except in 1793, when it is said to have amounted to near 1,500,000 barrels) is stated to be between 1,200,000 and 1,300,000 barrels of flour, each weighing 196lbs. and considered as equal to about five bushels of wheat. This exportation took place during the time when that insect continued to do considerable mischief: it may therefore reasonably be expected that the surplus of American produce may now be greater than it was at that period; and that the high price of flour in England, together with the encouragement held out by parliament, may bring to this country much the greatest proportion of that surplus. Supposing however, the surplus to be no greater than the quantity before stated, and that only three-fourths of it should be sent to the British market, the supply derived from this quarter would be about 940,000 barrels, which, according to the usual estimate, is equal to about 580,000 quarters.

The harvest in Canada is stated to have been abundant, and an importation may be expected from that country amounting at least to 30,000 quarters.

In addition, to this supply of wheat and flour, a considerable quantity of rice may be drawn from different parts of the world.

From the southern states of north America, your committee are informed that a supply may be obtained of 70,000 barrels, (each weighing

weighing 5 cwt.) of which a part will probably arrive in January, and the remainder successively in the ensuing months.

From India a much larger quantity may ultimately be expected; but, as little, if any, of what may be obtained from thence by the means of ships which have sailed from this country, can arrive before the beginning of October, 1801, your committee have confined their estimate, in this view of the subject, to that part which may be sent from India in country or neutral ships, in consequence of orders dispatched from hence in September last; this has been stated at from 7,000 to 10,000 tons, (equal to from 28,000 to 40,000 barrels of 5 cwt. each.) The latter quantity is represented as the most probable of the two; and if sufficient shipping should be disengaged in India, it may arise to a much greater amount. It seems, therefore, not unreasonable to expect from that quarter, in the months of August and September, about 35,000 barrels; which, added to the importation from America, will amount to 105,000 barrels. Each barrel may be considered as more than equal, in point of weight, to the flour of all descriptions extracted from 12 bushels of wheat, but in point of nutriment, to a much larger quantity. On this subject your committee have already submitted to the house the result of various experiments. From the experience of five years, at the foundling-hospital, it appears, that when applied to the food of children in the manner in which it has been there prepared, one pound of rice will go as far as eight pounds of flour. Many other instances have been stated to

your committee, where this article has been extensively used, and where the increase has been nearly in as large a proportion; and even when mixed with flour, in making bread, the produce of rice appears to be more than three times the produce of an equal quantity of flour. Your committee, therefore, think themselves fully justified in stating, that the quantity of rice above mentioned will (by adopting proper modes of preparation, which are now very generally known and practised,) afford more food, especially for children of all ages, than four times the same quantity of wheat; and may therefore be considered as fully equivalent to a supply of 630,000 quarters of wheat.

The importation of Indian corn has also been encouraged by the prospect of a liberal bounty. The excellence of that grain, as the food of man, cannot be doubted, as it forms the chief subsistence of the southern part of the united states of America. The use of it here has, however, been hitherto so little known, that it is difficult to estimate either what quantity may be expected, or in what proportion it may be introduced into the consumption of this country; but, as it is also applicable, with the greatest advantage, to the food of cattle, hogs, and poultry, it cannot fail to operate, either directly or indirectly, as a valuable addition to the general stock of grain.

The quantity of wheat which will be saved for food by the prohibition of the manufacture of starch from that grain, will be about 40,000 quarters.

In consequence of the stoppage of the distilleries, at least 500,000 quarters of barley, which would have

have been consumed in that manufacture, will remain applicable to the subsistence of the people: but as it may be supposed that eleven bushels of barley are not more than equivalent to one quarter of wheat, this can only be stated at about 360,000 quarters.

Having stated to the house the best estimate they have been able to form, of the direct supply which may be derived from the sources to which they have here adverted, (of which the supply from past importation, and from the stoppage of the manufactures of spirits and starch, may be considered as actually realized,) your committee will proceed to take some view of that important and extensive resource, which may be furnished by the most economical use and application of the produce of the country.

The saving to be derived from the introduction of a larger proportion of the produce of grain into bread than is at present used, was stated by your committee, in a former report, as equal to an addition of 450,000 quarters. This was calculated upon a consumption of nine months in that part of the country which at present consumes either bread made of the fine flour, or of the remaining produce of the grain after the fine flour has been extracted. As this measure will not take full effect till the beginning of February, the saving must now be calculated upon eight months only. Your committee have not thought the experiments, which it was possible in so short a time to make upon that subject, sufficiently exact to justify an alteration in the table of assize, and were desirous, for obvious reasons, to afford, in the first instance, an en-

couragement to the bakers, at least equal, if not superior to the profit they could make in manufacturing bread from fine flour: yet they see no reason for departing from their former opinion, that a larger quantity of bread will be produced from coarse meal than from fine flour; and they have, therefore, continued to estimate the saving upon that principle. By this mode of dressing, a larger quantity of materials for bread will be produced from all other species of grain as well as wheat; and it is also probable, that in many parts of the country where the wheat has been of good quality and well harvested, the whole meal, including the bran, will be made into bread. Your committee will not, however, attempt to estimate the additional saving which may be produced by these circumstances, and will only state the increased supply of food which may be derived from the adoption of the measure above referred to, as equal to about 400,000 quarters.

It is still more difficult to estimate the advantages to be expected from the economy introduced into the consumption of private families, in consequence of the high price of grain, and of his majesty's proclamation. Your committee have seen with satisfaction, the zeal and activity with which the execution of the salutary system therein recommended, appears to have been undertaken by various classes of the community. Even if the operation of this measure should extend only to persons in some degree of affluence, the diminished consumption of their families could not fail to produce considerable effect. Supposing this reduction to take place only in 120,000 families, containing  
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ten persons in each family, and supposing that each person consumed in ordinary times the large allowance of a quarter of wheat annually, the saving, by the reduction of one-third of their consumption, (which has been practised with the greatest facility by families where other food is used,) would, in nine months, amount to 300,000 quarters.

The prohibition of the use of new bread, which parliament has thought proper to enforce by additional regulations, must also be productive of some farther economy. Although it cannot be expected to make any difference in the consumption of those families whose means of obtaining other food may enable them to stint their allowance of bread; yet amongst those numerous classes of the community, whose principal subsistence is derived from this article, and who can therefore make no direct retrenchment, its effects must still be considerable.

The saving to be expected in the consumption of oats, is equally conjectural! but it may reasonably be hoped, that the same motives which will induce his majesty's subjects to restrict the consumption of wheat in their families, will operate still more forcibly in reducing the expenditure of oats for the subsistence of horses; and that no small quantity of this species of grain will in consequence be applicable to more useful purposes. It has been farther stated to your committee, that, by bruising oats, a greater quantity of food for horses, in the proportion of at least 4 to 3, may be produced from a given quantity of grain. By this, and by other economical expedients, such as mixing oats with chaff and bran,

beans, or chopped straw, the consumption of that article may be much diminished.

It should be farther observed, that the crop of barley this year has been upon the whole good, and that more of it than usual may, from the excellence of its quality, be applicable to bread; some proportion of that grain may therefore probably be transferred to the use of those parts of the kingdom which usually subsisted upon wheat alone, but which have of late returned to the consumption of barley. Your committee have no means of estimating the extent to which this resource may be carried; but it must evidently afford, in addition to the quantity above stated, some farther assistance towards supplying the deficiency of wheat.

Your committee have, in their former reports, directed the attention of the house to the great supply of excellent food which may be derived from the fisheries, and may render practicable a still farther saving in the consumption of grain, as well as of other articles of subsistence; every encouragement which has been suggested by those best acquainted with the subject, has been granted by the liberality of parliament, and the most beneficial effects may be expected from the exertions which that encouragement is likely to excite. From the eagerness with which the small supply of herrings which has hitherto reached the metropolis has been sought after, and from the number of orders which have been received from different parts of the country, your committee entertain no doubt, that, as soon as that supply can be increased in quantity, and more widely diffused, this species of food will

will be rapidly introduced into general consumption.

In order to accelerate and facilitate this supply, advances have been made by government to persons at the different ports of deposit, such as Liverpool, Bristol, Hull, Lynn, Southampton, and Exeter, in addition to the amount of private subscriptions at these places; and directions have been given to the respective collectors of the customs to attend to such applications as they may receive from other places, which may be desirous of procuring consignments of fish.

The extent and importance of the herring fishery has been already fully detailed to the house; and there seems no reason to doubt that it will answer, in a very considerable degree, the expectations which were formed of it.

The fisheries of mackerel and pilchards, which follow in succession, appear capable of almost equal extension; and the cod and haddock fisheries, which continue during the greatest part of the year, may also furnish an additional supply of food, to an extent which cannot be calculated, and (since the use of salt duty free has been permitted) at a price not exceeding even in London for some articles one penny, and for others two-pence per pound.

The price of such fish is not only so much lower than that of meat, as to recommend it as an useful substitute for that article; but as three or even five pounds of this wholesome and nutritious food can be afforded at a less rate than one pound of bread at its present price, it can hardly fail to meet with an extensive demand, wherever it can be obtained in sufficient quantity; and

it will both cheapen and improve the subsistence of those classes of the community, who, from finding the whole of their earnings not more than adequate to procure the necessary supply of bread, have been reduced to subsist upon that article alone.

Your committee are sensible, that even if any calculation could be formed of the amount of this resource, it would not be easy to ascertain the proportion which it might be supposed to bear to any given quantity of grain. But whether it is introduced into consumption as a substitute for vegetable or animal food, it is equally an addition of the utmost importance to the means of subsistence.

Your committee have omitted to take notice of the act passed for diminishing the consumption of bread, and for making better provision for the poor: because, whatever benefits may result from that measure, the diminution which it may occasion in the use of bread, chiefly depends upon the introduction (as substitutes) of other articles, for most of which credit has been already taken.

The amount of these resources to which your committee have adverted, which appeared in any degree capable of estimate, (subject to the observation with which they were at first introduced as being in many points conjectural, and necessarily deficient in precision,) would stand as follows:

	Quarters.
Importation of wheat since the beginning of October, above . . . .	170,000
Importation of flour from the United States equal to . . . .	580,000
	Impor-



Importation of wheat from	
Canada . . . . .	30,000
Rice . . . equivalent to	630,000
Stoppage of starch manu-	
factory . . . . .	40,000
Stoppage of distilleries .	360,000
Use of coarse meal . . .	400,000
Retrenchment . . . . .	300,000
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	2,510,000
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In this enumeration no credit is taken for any quantity of barley which may be imported, exceeding the usual importation of 50,000 quarters, (although more than 60,000 quarters are already arrived;) for such proportion of the crop of barley as may be transferred to the use of the consumers of wheat; for any importation of Indian corn; for any retrenchment in the article of oats; for the reduction of consumption by the use of stale bread; nor for the great supplies to be expected from the fisheries.

It will also be observed, that your committee have taken no credit, in the preceeding statement, for any farther importation of wheat from the continent of Europe. They see, however, no ground for departing from the opinion expressed in their first report, that, as far as depends upon the exertions of individual merchants, both British and foreign, the supply of wheat to be drawn from thence may equal that of last year, and that the crops of barley and oats may furnish more than they did during that period; and the quantity already imported affords a strong confirmation of this opinion. What circumstances, of a different nature, may interfere with the effect of those exertions, it is not within the province of your

committee to consider: but, supposing the supply from those quarters to be, from any causes, diminished or suspended, or even (which seems under any circumstances impossible) completely stopped; yet your committee have the satisfaction of being persuaded, that the resources enumerated in the preceding statement are adequate, upon a moderate calculation, to furnish a sufficient supply for that period to which your committee has considered them as applicable, and to relieve, by their gradual operation, the present exigency. Whatever may be drawn from the continent of Europe is an addition to those resources, certainly important, but by no means of absolute necessity, and, together with the great quantity of rice which may be expected from the East Indies subsequent to the next harvest, may be considered as supplying not our immediate wants, but that diminution of the ordinary stock of the country which took place previous to the harvest of 1801, in consequence of the great deficiency of the preceding year; a diminution, which is one of the main causes of the present insufficient supply and high prices, and which must retard in its consequences, (whatever may be the abundance of the next harvest,) the return of cheapness and of plenty.

Your committee think it, however, highly important to observe, that although the resources above mentioned, if fully brought forward, appear adequate to produce the effects which they look to with hope and expectation; yet a large proportion of them depends upon the voluntary exertions of the people; and they can be rendered effectual for

for general relief, only by the uninterrupted circulation and unchecked activity of commerce, and by the zeal and energy which may be employed, by different classes of the community, in promoting, according to their respective means, an object of such general concern.

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*First Report from the Lords' Committee on the present Scarcity of Corn.*

The lords' committees to whom it was referred to consider so much of his majesty's speech, at the opening of the present session, as relates to the high price of provisions, and to whom has since been referred the consideration of a message from the house of commons, relative to the same subject:—

Have agreed to report to the house, that since their appointment they have proceeded with all possible diligence to inquire into such particulars as they judged might be most worthy of the attention and consideration of the house, with respect to the matter referred to them.

They have more particularly applied themselves to ascertain the actual state of the kingdom in respect to the productiveness of the late harvest, and to the stock of grain which may be supposed to be now in hand; which inquiry they have pursued by the examination of persons best acquainted with the situation of different parts of the country in this respect; being satisfied that any attempt at more minute investigation, or actual survey, would be inconvenient in practice, and probably in its result very little satisfactory.

As this course of inquiry is as yet

by no means completed, the lords' committees do not think it right for them to offer to the house any precise opinions as to the probable amount of the deficiency, grounded on such information as they have hitherto received.

But the lords' committees do by no means think it advisable to delay any measures of immediate relief for the purpose of previously completing the inquiry in which they are engaged.

Whatever judgement may ultimately be formed respecting the amount of the deficiency of the last harvest, it is certain that the stock of old grain was almost entirely exhausted at the beginning of the autumn, and that the produce of the present year was therefore begun to be consumed almost as soon as it was harvested, and at least two or three months earlier than is usual.

This view of the subject has therefore already sufficiently convinced the committee of the pressing necessity both of giving due encouragement to early importation, and of adopting all practicable economy in the consumption of grain during the present year; and they have unanimously agreed to recommend to this house, that, in addition to the bills which have already passed, or are now in the course of passing through the house, for restraining the export, and encouraging the import of the different sorts of grain, and for preventing their being applied to other purposes than those of food, this house should also concur with the other house in their proposed address to his majesty.

The lords' committees trust that the proclamation which his majesty is there requested to issue, may probably engage the serious attention of

of the various classes of their fellow-subjects to this most important object, and may induce them to adopt such detailed regulations respecting the consumption of their families in the different sorts of grain and other articles of provisions as may not merely produce a general resolution to economize as much as possible in those articles, but may also ensure the full execution of this laudable disposition, by such particular measures as may be most practicable for that purpose in the different districts of the kingdom.

With this view the lords' committees think it right here to add, that as the use of pure wheaten bread, and of other articles made of pure wheaten flour, ought in their judgment to be wholly discontinued by all persons whose means and circumstances enable them to have recourse to other articles of subsistence, it appears to them extremely desirable, that every practicable encouragement should be given by parliament, if necessary, and by the magistrates in the different districts of the county, under the now-existing laws, to the grinding wheaten flour (mixed in such proportions as may be found most advantageous) with barley, oats, pease, or rye; and although it is the intention of the committee to pursue a more detailed inquiry into the whole of this part of the subject, they are induced to mention this point more particularly in the present instance, from their having been informed that misapprehension has prevailed in some parts of the kingdom respecting the present state of the laws on this subject, and that it has not been universally understood by the millers and other persons engaged in those concerns that the grinding mixed

flour, compounded of any or all the different articles above enumerated, is not only legal, where the article is openly sold as being so mixed, but is highly commendable in those who at the present period endeavour to introduce such mixtures into more general consumption.

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*Second Report, by the Lords' Committees on the present Scarcity of Corn.*

Ordered to report, that the lords' committees have, since their first report to your lordships, proceeded with all the diligence in their power to investigate the several matters referred to them by the house.

They have thought, in an inquiry so interesting and important as that which was referred to them, that it became them to endeavour to inform themselves upon the subjects connected with it, both extensively and in detail; and, although they have hitherto principally confined their inquiries to the actual state of the harvest of this year, the stock of old corn in hand, the probability of importation, and the means of procuring substitutes, as well as of introducing them into more general use, they have also endeavoured to inform themselves upon other matters connected with a still more extensive view of this important subject.

*Part First.—Deficiency of Crop, &c.*

The lords' committees think it their duty to call the attention of the house, in the first place, to the actual state of the late harvest.

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The report of the committee of the house of commons, referred to them by this house, and the various papers and documents which have been laid before them, contained much important information on this part of the subject; but the lords' committees were farther desirous of ascertaining still more particularly the correctness of those statements.

They have, therefore, endeavoured to procure, from respectable and well informed persons in different counties of this kingdom, (where it was possible for them, within a reasonable time to attend the committee) the most exact reports upon the subjects above alluded to; and where it has been impossible to obtain this information by personal attendance (particularly in the case of some parts both of Scotland and Wales, and the more remote districts of England), they have received from those best capable of affording it, the most detailed and precise communications in writing; which deviation from the usual practice of this house and its committees, they trust your lordships (under the particular circumstances of the case) will not disapprove.

The lords' committees endeavoured, first, to inform themselves of the amount of an average crop in ordinary years, throughout the kingdom, in the different sorts of grain; they then proceeded to inquire respecting the actual crop of the last harvest, as compared with an average crop, and also respecting the stock of old corn in hand at the beginning of harvest, as compared with the usual stock; and likewise as to the result of such experiments as have been made with respect to the yield of flour from

grain, and of grain from straw, since the last harvest. The result for each county of the actual information so received has been, under their direction, reduced into tables, and is subjoined to this report in the appendix thereto. It may be material to observe, that the variations, which will frequently be found in the accounts from the same county, are to be explained by the following circumstance: that the persons from whom the information is derived often speak to different districts of the same county, which differ much from each other, both in soil and produce.

The reports which have been laid before your committee from the receivers' general of the land-tax, from officers employed under the boards of taxes, stamps, and excise, together with the returns which have been received in consequence of the circular letters of the bishops of the different dioceses to their clergy, appear fully to justify the conclusion stated in the report of the committee of the house of commons, that the crop of wheat of the last year was deficient by one-fourth of the average produce.

It is difficult to state with precision any average deficiency for the whole kingdom, as collected from those local informations, as to particular districts, which have been furnished by the persons who have been summoned to attend. Your lordships' committees, on the fullest consideration of the subject, are confident that the deficiency of the wheat of the last harvest amounted to at least one-fourth: and the committee are inclined to believe, that it may have been greater, as it has been almost universally stated to them, that although the yield of the flour from

from grain harvested before the rains has been, for the most part, abundant; yet that great quantities of corn were damaged by the rains, and, in consequence thereof, furnished a deficient return of flour; and that, on the other hand, the yield of grain from straw has been generally deficient. They have the satisfaction, however, of being able to inform your lordships, that the crops of barley may, upon the whole, be considered as approaching nearer to an average crop, and the crop of oats as equal, on the whole, to an average; but it is necessary to state, that in many parts of the kingdom these crops have also been much damaged by the rains; although in others they have been well harvested, and the flour from the barley of the present year so harvested is stated to be of the finest quality ever remembered.

The committee have likewise the satisfaction to add, that the crops of pease are, in general, good; and that those of potatoes, although inferior in produce by the acre to the crops of former years, and although the quality of that root is less nutritious, from its having sprouted in consequence of the rains succeeding the hot weather; yet, from the additional number of acres planted, the lords' committees think themselves justified in stating the whole quantity produced not to be much less than the usual average; but they think it necessary to subjoin, that it has been found, from the above cause, that the potatoes of this year are more liable than usual to spoil in the keeping.

The committee think it proper to make some observations relating to Scotland in particular; and are happy to observe, the grain which is prin-

cipally deficient in England, is not that which is most necessary for the support of the labouring classes in Scotland.

The result of the information received represents the western side (for every part of Scotland, from its narrowness, speaking generally, may be considered as belonging to the eastern or western division of the island) as having had nearly an average crop of all sorts of grain; but the eastern side, from England to Edinburgh, has not produced more than two-thirds of the ordinary quantity of wheat, or more than three-fourths of oats and barley. From Edinburgh to Caithness inclusive, notwithstanding the productiveness of that country this season, the committee cannot estimate the crops of wheat, oats, and barley, at more than two-thirds of an usual produce, though the last-mentioned grain must be understood as rather more productive than oats, north from Dundee.

The committee, in summing up what they think it necessary to state concerning Scotland, are sorry to observe, taking the whole of the country, that the crops of hay and straw must be considered as considerably defective.

The lords' committees have been informed, with scarcely an exception, that the stock of old corn was very nearly exhausted at the period of the late harvest; and, instead of the usual stock in the possession of the farmers, millers, and bakers, at that time, which is almost universally stated to be from two to three months consumption, and even sometimes more, they have been invariably informed, that the stock of this year was not in any place more than the consumption

of about three weeks, and that many parts of the kingdom were at that period wholly supplied with foreign grain.

*Part Second.—Means of economizing Consumption.*

In their first report, the lords' committees advised your lordships to concur in an address to his majesty, as proposed by the house of commons, humbly requesting that his majesty would be graciously pleased to issue a proclamation, strictly enjoining and requiring the utmost economy in the consumption of all articles of grain. The lords' committees can entertain no doubt of the disposition of their fellow-subjects to concur in carrying into the fullest effect the solemn call which his majesty has, in consequence thereof, been pleased to make on all classes of the community. But they take the liberty to repeat to your lordships their decided opinion, that this can only be done by the adoption of detailed measures for the purpose, grounded on a deliberate conviction of that necessity, the existence of which has, on the fullest investigation, been clearly proved to the committees of both houses of parliament.

With a view to bring more particularly before your lordships the consideration of the different resources to which recourse may be had on this occasion, to economize the consumption of wheat, the lords' committees have entered very extensively into this branch of the subject referred to them.

The most natural and obvious substitutes for wheat are the other grains of the growth of this kingdom, barley, oats, and rye.

With respect to these, the lords'

committees have been informed that a much larger proportion than is perhaps generally understood, of the northern parts of England, has always continued in the habit of consuming oatmeal bread, and that in the midland and western counties, barley enters largely into the food of the labouring classes; and they trust that these facts, strongly urged and impressed upon the public mind, will tend to remove an ill-founded prejudice which your committee are informed still exists in this metropolis, and in its neighbourhood, against the use of any other bread than that made from the finest wheaten flour.

The lords' committees have found, that in most parts of the kingdom, where the inhabitants had formerly been accustomed to the use of bread made with a mixture of barley, or with barley alone, and where, within a few years, that diet had been partially changed for wheaten bread, recourse had almost universally been had to their former food; and that, in some parts of this kingdom, where mixed bread had not before been brought into general use, this mode (which your committee conceive to be far the best) of economizing of wheat, has recently been adopted.

*Barley.*

The testimonies from all the persons from the different counties, who have been examined on this point, are uniformly in favour of barley, as the most nourishing and cheapest article of food, whether as an entire substitute for the use of wheaten bread, or in mixtures with wheaten or other flour.

It is stated to your committee, that in a considerable part of Devonshire little else is used among the poorer



poorer classes than bread made entirely of barley; that in ordinary years one-eighth part of the consumption of the county of Dorset is in barley, and that this year it has been one-fourth; that on the hills, in Gloucestershire, it has been used with wheat, in the proportion of one-half, and in the vale part of the same county, in that of one-third. That in some parishes of Nottinghamshire, the subsistence of the poorer classes has been confined to barley alone; that in many parts of Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire, and other of the midland counties, they use bread made entirely of barley; that the use of mixed bread has become general in parts of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire; that in Lincolnshire the poorer classes who (within the memory of the person from whom this testimony was received) had exchanged the use of barley bread for wheaten, returned last year to barley bread; that in Yorkshire and Lancashire the use of it has been much extended; and that in Scotland a considerable quantity of barley meal was substituted for oats during the last season, and has given satisfaction.

The information thus received of the great increase of the use of this grain is the more satisfactory to the committee, from the circumstance of the knowledge they had already acquired of the superior quality of the flour produced from it in the present year; and the increased demand appears to them to afford a sufficient reason for the high price of this article, notwithstanding the crop has been proportionably much more productive than that of wheat.

That an article now of such general use is, in no degree, prejudi-

cial to health, it is hardly necessary to state. But least any doubt should be entertained on this subject by those who have not been in the habit of seeing its effects, the committee think it right to mention, that on information, respecting places where it has been used exclusively through the whole year, it appears in evidence, that the inhabitants have been at least as healthy as with the use of any other food; and the committee are informed, that one of the best proportions in which it can be mixed with wheat, where it is not used alone, is one half barley to a like quantity of wheat.

#### *Oats.*

With respect to oats, the crop of which, in England, appears to have been equal to an average crop, the committee find, that the consumption of this article, which is used almost universally in Scotland and some of the bordering countries of England, has also been considerably extended in Lancashire and in other parts of the kingdom; and as no race of men is more hardy than that of the inhabitants of those counties where this article is the general food, the committee think, that it must be considered as a valuable substitute for wheat in those parts of the kingdom where it is not yet brought into general use.

It may be ground in equal proportions with wheat or with barley; and either of these mixtures will, as the committee are informed, make a palatable and nutritious bread.

#### *Rye.*

Rye is an article less generally consumed in this kingdom than either of the preceding grains; but it is used alone in bread amongst the

pitmen and other labourers of the counties of Durham and Northumberland. It is mixed with wheat in some parts of the north, and experiments have been successfully made by mixing it with other grain for bread.

*Pease and Potatoes.*

The lords' committees also call the attention of your lordships to the use of pease in various methods, particularly in soups for the labouring classes, and in mixed breads, and also that of potatoes, which have, by rapid degrees, within the last twenty years, been introduced as a very general food among all descriptions of persons.

*Rice.*

Your lordships' committees next proceed to call your attention to the article of rice. They have great satisfaction in confirming to your lordships the information contained in the report of the committee of the house of commons, of the expectation of a large importation of this excellent and nutritious food. They have heard from all parts of the country where this substitute has been introduced, that the utmost satisfaction has arisen whenever its advantages, and the use to which it should be applied, have been understood; and as your committee are aware, that the most detailed instructions are necessary in order to bring into general use a substitute of the nature of rice, which can only be rendered fully advantageous as a food of man, by attention to some circumstances in the modes of preparing it, the knowledge of which (notwithstanding the highly-commendable endeavours used for that purpose, parti-

cularly by the society for bettering the condition of the poor) is not yet universally diffused, they have thought it necessary in this case, and in others which they have submitted, and proposed to submit to your lordships, to enter into a minute detail in the appendix of this report, confident that by such means they are most likely to further the great end of economy in the consumption of grain, and especially of wheat.

The use of rice is very beneficial where it is mixed with wheat and other grain, for the purpose of making bread.

Such bread is stated to your committee to have been made, and readily purchased by the poorer classes in the neighbourhood of Gloucester, and also in part of Sussex. And bread made of four parts wheat and one part rice is now made in London, and sold in considerable quantities, at a price below that of the wheaten loaf. It has also been successfully tried for a considerable period in private families.

But the committee do not consider the use of rice in bread as the most economical or advantageous way of applying this article to the food of the labouring classes. A great variety of information has satisfied them, that more food is produced from it, by some of the other methods, of which particular accounts are stated in the appendix, and they are enabled to add, from the concurrent testimony of persons from almost every part of the kingdom, that wherever this article has been introduced, it has been found to afford both a palatable and nutritious food. In Rutlandshire, particularly, they have been informed, that it is now generally

nerally used, by full two-thirds of the inhabitants.

#### *Indian Corn.*

Your committee have received very satisfactory information of the great advantages which have accrued from the use of Indian corn, where it had been tried, both as food for man and for horses, and they have also the satisfaction to inform the house, that the importation of this grain, which has formerly been inconsiderable, may in future be much enlarged.

They have not learned that the use of this article has, as yet, become general in any part of the kingdom; but on trials that have been made of it in different parts of the kingdom, it has been found to answer perfectly well, and to afford a peculiarly cheap and nutritious food; and it is well known, that in America it constitutes a considerable part of the food of all classes of the inhabitants, who are so attached to it, that, when in this country, they frequently procure it by importation for their own consumption. It may be ground into meal by the ordinary process, or may be used when only broken, according to the modes stated in the appendix.

As food for horses it is very nourishing and healthy; it is in general use for this purpose also in America, and is considered as more strengthening than oats, being given only in the proportion of one-half of that grain.

Its ordinary price in America is stated to your committee to be one-third less than wheat; and there appears reason to believe, that even in the present year considerable quantities may be imported.

To the consideration of these articles of grain your committee thought it necessary to add that of fish, of meat, and of soups, in so far as these appeared to afford the means of food for the more numerous classes of their fellow subjects.

#### *Fish.*

On the first of these points all they could have stated to the house has been anticipated by the second report of the committee of the house of commons, which has been communicated to your lordships and referred to this committee. They highly approve the measures already taken on this subject, and if sufficient encouragement be given by parliament to the plan there detailed, and if the zeal of individuals, and of those with whom rests the management of the parishes, particularly in the metropolis, be directed to it, the committee are sanguine in their expectation of its being productive of the most extensive advantages.

#### *Meat.*

With respect to meat, it has been stated to the committee, that the cheaper parts of beef and mutton may be applied with great advantage, in point of expense, to the food of labourers, particularly if mixed with rice.

But there is another resource which might be resorted to, and that to a considerable extent.

Your committee have learnt that there is a large quantity of salt beef now in the London markets, and that more is daily expected from Ireland, where the price is considerably lower than last year. This beef is now sold at such a price, as that it may be applied with very

great

great advantage to the food of the poorer classes, especially if mixed with rice. In Scotland it is used in broth and mixed with vegetables; but it has not yet been brought into any general use in England, though upon the trials hitherto made by mixing it with rice and with pease, it has been received as a very acceptable article of food, particularly as a substitute for bacon, the price of which is now unusually high.

#### *Soups.*

Soups were last winter distributed in considerable quantities, particularly in the metropolis; and it is stated that two-thirds of the expense that would have been incurred in the usual mode of parish relief, has thus been saved, and that greatly to the advantage of the persons receiving this aid.

Your committee cannot too strongly express their sense of the infinite advantages that have been derived from these excellent institutions, which they have the satisfaction to know have been imitated in various parts of the country, both by the benevolence of individuals, and also by the well-applied zeal and discretion of parochial officers. Every degree of encouragement should, in the opinion of the committee, be given to the continuance of this system, which is peculiarly beneficial, not only to those persons who actually receive parochial relief, but also to those, who not receiving such relief, yet nevertheless feel most severely the pressure from the present dearth of provisions. And your committee has been informed, that one of the most useful ways of giving this encouragement, would be the disuse of soup or gravy meats in opulent fa-

milies, by which means the coarser, but not less nourishing pieces, would be sold at a reduced price to these establishments, or for the consumption of poorer families.

The lords' committees having thus called your lordships' attention to the modes in which these substitutes of our own growth, and of importation can be used, proceed to give your lordships their humble opinion with respect to the economical consumption of them; but before they proceed to observe on this subject, they think proper to state, with respect to wheat, although the deficiency of the crop may be calculated at not much more than a fourth of the average growth, they cannot but most earnestly recommend an endeavour to reduce their consumption of that grain in the proportion of at least one-third, as required by his majesty's royal proclamation, such reduction appearing to them absolute necessary, taking into consideration the want of stock in hand, the deficiency above stated, and the expenditure of a sixth of the crop, which may be taken as the quantity already used for seed. They are unanimously of opinion, that the entire use of pure wheaten flour, and the use of pure wheaten bread, other than such as shall be made of the whole meal (the broad bran only being excluded), should be wholly discontinued; that a mixture of at least of one-third of other grain should be used where it can be procured; and farther, that such reduction in the consumption even of bread so mixed, should be made from the usual allowance in families (where other articles of food can be provided) as may bring it to one quartern loaf per head per week,

week, or even to less, as your committee are of opinion, from information which they have received, that less will be sufficient in such families. With respect to barley, which your committee have stated as the first substitute to be resorted to in a scarcity of wheat, they see, with great satisfaction, that laws have been passed to prevent the use of barley in the distilleries, and to allow of such alterations in the method of making malt from such barley as is not fit for the food of man, as to introduce so much larger a proportion of this grain to be used as bread. The lords' committees have, for a similar reason, great satisfaction in observing, that the attention of all persons is called by his majesty's proclamation to the utmost saving in the use of oats by horses, as they are informed that a saving may be made of at least one-fourth, in the ordinary method of feeding horses not used for the hardest work, particularly by the mode lately adopted with the best effect in this metropolis (as given in evidence before your committee), namely, by mixing chopped hay and straw with oats so given.

*Part third.—Freedom of Circulation.*

Your committee feel themselves strongly called upon to point out the great importance of preserving the commerce and circulation of grain in the interior of this kingdom perfectly free and open, as the only method of preserving any degree of level through the different markets of the kingdom, and as the most efficient means of securing to the consumer bread at the cheapest rate.

It has clearly appeared to your

committee, by the evidence of the witnesses examined, that all obstructions to the purchase or removal of grain, and every event which created apprehensions in the minds either of the farmers or of the dealers in corn, as to the security and freedom of their trade, have uniformly tended to raise the price, and have, in many instances, proved highly injurious to the community at large, particularly by rendering difficult in one place, as stated to your committee, the circulation of seed-corn, and absolutely, in some instances, preventing the baking of a sufficient quantity of bread for the usual consumption.

As far as has appeared to your committee (and they have not neglected to examine, extensively, as to the existence of the supposed combinations and fraudulent practices of unfair dealers), they have not been able to trace, in any one instance, any thing more than such suspicious and vague reports as usually prevail in times of scarcity; and they are of opinion, that what have been represented as deep schemes and fraudulent practices to raise the market, have been only the common and usual proceedings of dealers in all articles of commerce where there is a great demand, and where great capitals and great activity are employed.

Your committee do not take upon them to determine that no abuses have been in any instance committed by individuals; but in the trade at large they have hitherto perceived no injurious system to prevail; and they are confident the fullest and most ample protection ought to be afforded to all dealers in corn by the legislature and by the magistrates, not only from attention to that

that general principle of security and freedom of commerce which is conformable to the system of our laws and government, but also because persons engaged in this branch of trade are highly useful, and even necessary for the due and regular supply of the markets, and may, therefore, be considered as rendering an important service to the people at large.

#### *Conclusion.*

In adverting to the matter referred to them upon the extensive scale on which the lords' committees thought it their duty to consider it, they are desirous of touching upon some of the other points connected with it, to which they alluded in the commencement of their report, although they do not feel themselves sufficiently informed to report any detailed opinion to the house. The means of preventing the recurrence of such difficulties as are now experienced, are naturally connected with the consideration of the mode of relieving the present pressure.

Your committee have every reason to believe, that although from the recency of many of the enclosures, the full advantage which may be expected from them has not yet been derived, they have unquestionably contributed to the improvement of agriculture, and an increased quantity of human food. Your committee, therefore, entertain no doubt, that infinite benefit will result from a still farther encouragement to enclosures in general, and particularly of waste and uncultivated lands; a measure that they deem themselves bound to recommend in the strongest manner, in the full expectation that the

enclosure of those lands would, in itself, afford the most effectual means to prevent the recurrence of the deficiency of grain, from which the present inconveniences are experienced. It has farther appeared to your committee in the course of their inquiry, that the inundations of the fens, which took place in the year 1795, and in the years 1799 and 1800, have considerably diminished the ordinary supply of oats of our own growth, of which a proportion equal to one-third is calculated to be the produce of that district of country which includes the fens of Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Huntingdonshire, and Northamptonshire. They have also been assured on the same authorities, that if the drainage of the fens were rendered more secure by an improvement of the outfall to the sea, a very considerable addition may be expected to the national produce of every description.

They are farther of opinion, that it may be expedient to examine the effects of the present laws, as well such as affect importation and exportation, as those which regulate the internal commerce of grain; to remove what has almost universally been stated to your lordships' committee as a very great and material inconvenience, viz. the difference of the measures for the sale of corn throughout the kingdom; and to investigate whether the sale of corn by weight, or the sale by weight and measure combined, would not be more advantageous than by measure alone.

The lords' committees had entertained an anxious wish to connect with this report some more detailed opinions upon subjects of this extreme importance. They have found



found it impossible, consistently with the more pressing subjects of this report, to enter at large upon these topics; but they conceive, and humbly suggest, that an inquiry into them may be pursued with advantage in a future session of parliament.

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*Import of Wheat in the Port of London, laid on the Table of the House of Lords, July 10, 1800.*

	Quarters.
1781 —	98,270
1782 —	4,635
1783 —	240,134
1784 —	36,966
1785 —	605
1786 —	—
1787 —	—
1788 —	4
1789 —	5,908
1790 —	67,032
1791 —	49,504
1792 —	7,065
1793 —	170,971
1794 —	19,654
1795 —	198,011
1796 —	477,877
1797 —	195,462
1798 —	152,449
1799 —	238,208
To June 21, 1800 —	222,757
John Glover, pro. inspector.	

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*Resolutions of the Grand Jury of the County of York, respecting the Scarcity.*

York, March 15, 1800.

We, the grand jury of the county of York, impressed with a conviction, that at this crisis it is the duty of all, not only individually but collectively, to stand forward in the

cause of their country, think it becoming, to offer our sentiments to the public in the following resolutions:

Resolved, That it is melancholy to observe that corn has risen twice within the last five years, not only to double its usual price, but to double the price that, in the opinion of the legislature, it ought to bear, since there is a law to allow the importation of wheat from foreign countries, with the trifling duty of 6d. per quarter, whenever it rises above the price of 52s. per quarter.

Resolved, That although two severe visitations, succeeding each other very rapidly and recently, may seem to account for the present deficiency of corn, yet that a deeper investigation of the subject will bring forth a conviction, that even the present scarcity is more truly attributable to a general deficiency of the annual produce of the country, as compared with its consumption, and that, in process of time, the evil is likely to become worse and worse.

Resolved, That the produce of grain in this country falling short of the consumption must be more strikingly evident, if we attend to the importation of corn in any given number of years last past, and particularly of the years 1794, 1795, and 1796, which, by the report of the committee of waste lands, amounted in value to about eight millions sterling.

Resolved, That it having been stated by the privy council, so long ago as the year 1790, that the value of corn imported, on an average of eighteen years preceding, was not even one-eighth of what it appears to have been since, in the years 1794,

1794, 1795, and 1796, is a proof that we are in a state of increasing demand upon other countries, and that to expect so great a deficiency as has been stated in the foregoing resolution, to be constantly supplied from foreign countries must be delusive, if we consider that it is generally believed that, in a common year, the produce of corn in Europe is very little, if any thing, more than equal to the consumption of its inhabitants, and that in any scarcity recourse must be had to America; and that since the year 1790, it has been proved by experience that America has not, in any one year, furnished much more corn and flour than was sufficient for seven days' consumption of this country.

Resolved, That this country being in such a state of inability to provide, by its annual produce, grain for the annual consumption of its inhabitants, and having so scanty and precarious a resource in foreign countries, it is become a matter of most imperious necessity to consider of its future amelioration in this important respect.

Resolved, That it appeared from the report of the committee of waste lands, that there remained in England, in common, waste, and uncultivated land, the immense quantity of 7,800,000 acres.

Resolved, That, without asserting or imagining that all these are convertible into a more productive state, it is evident that, in attention to this mine, lie the only true, permanent, effectual, and wise means of redressing our present, or securing against future wants, and of obviating the necessity of a precarious dependance upon foreign assistance.

Resolved, That this country,

happily possessing within itself the means of its own salvation, it seems a matter of clear, urgent, and necessary policy to call them into effect; and it is hoped that the wisdom of the legislature will take into its serious consideration the framing of such laws and regulations as may best promote the immediate bringing into the best cultivation all such parts, as may be capable of it, of the great tracts of land that are now lying in the state above referred to.

Resolved, That it seems a very well-founded opinion, that was given by the persons appointed to examine into and report upon the general state of agriculture in this country, when they almost unanimously and uniformly declared, that the want of a fair and permanent compensation to the proprietors, in lieu of tithes in kind, is one of the greatest obstacles not only to enclosure, but to the due improvement of agriculture.

Resolved, That, amongst other means which will doubtless occur upon a due investigation of the subject, it will be useful to facilitate enclosure, by lessening its expenses, not merely by reducing certain fees that have been talked of, but by moderating the charges of solicitors, commissioners, and public meetings; by removing obstacles between party and party (of which fair and adequate commutation for tithes is a principal); and by giving encouragement to the more spirited management of land, and to agriculture in general that respectability and importance in the scale of the public consideration, that it so pre-eminently deserves.

(Signed) George Armitage, barr. Foreman; and the rest of the grand jury.

*Official*

*Official Letter from the Duke of Portland to the Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Oxford.*

*Whitehall, Sept. 29, 1800.*

My lord,

I have had the honour to receive your grace's letter of the 25th instant, and am very glad to find that the disposition to riot at Witney has been suppressed, and that all is quiet there for the present. I cannot, however, advert to the cause to which your grace is of opinion that this event may be ascribed, and to the consequence which you seem to think would follow the removal of the troops which have been sent into Oxfordshire, without participating in your apprehensions, so far as to assure your grace, that none of them will be withdrawn, until you are entirely satisfied that no part either of the county or city of Oxford is any longer exposed to the risk of suffering from the effect of popular tumult. But notwithstanding these precautions, and all the extent of the military and civil power which is now placed at your grace's disposal, considering the state of the county, your grace will give me leave to represent to you the necessity, which I am persuaded there must be, for the exertion of all your great influence and authority to combat and counteract the prejudices which have operated no less powerfully than unfortunately, in disposing a very large part of the community to believe that the late scarcity was artificial, and has been owing to the views and speculations of certain interested and rapacious men, who take advantage of the difficulties and distresses of the times to enrich themselves at the expense of the public. Your grace

need not be reminded of the circumstances of the last year's harvest, and of the unfavourable state of the ground at the time of sowing wheat, to account for the dearness of that article, and indeed of every other sort of grain, and of all provisions in general; and although the quantity of corn which has been imported has far exceeded the most sanguine expectations, neither in that respect, nor in quality, does it, or can it ever compensate for the deficiency which was and will be occasioned by such a season as that of last year; nor would it have the effect which must be hoped to be derived from it, was it to be brought without reserve to market, in the same quantities in which it is landed; for, from the best information that can be obtained of the state of this year's crop throughout the kingdom, I am sorry to say, that, according to the most sanguine estimation, the produce of it is not likely to amount to more than three-fourths of an average crop; and it is thought by many that it will not exceed three-fifths. But be the amount what it may, it is, I fear, but too well ascertained, that the whole produce of the grain, in the best of years, is not equal to the annual consumption of the country. I need not ask your grace what must be the consequence of suffering the doctrines which have of late been so unhappily received against the growers of corn, and dealers in that commodity, to prevail, or of their not being discountenanced by every possible means that can be employed for that purpose; and it must be too evident, that it is indispensably necessary, without loss of time, or being influenced by any other consideration, to counteract and expose the  
the

the folly and injustice of this false policy, to which is to be attributed the assumption of a right to set prices on commodities brought to market, of fixing a maximum for the articles of daily consumption, of entering into associations (which is much the same thing) not to give more than a certain price for any of those articles, of obliging the growers of corn, or dealers in other articles of provision, to sell at a given price, and, what is worst of all, going in bands to the houses of farmers, and forcing them by threats, and various other modes of intimidation, to enter into engagements to bring and dispose of their commodities at a given price; a proceeding which I cannot advert to without urging your grace to prosecute, without distinction, all persons concerned in it, in the most vigorous, exemplary, and impressive manner, which the power, military as well as civil, under your command, will most speedily and effectually enable you to do. It would be an unreasonable abuse of your grace's time to enumerate the evils which must unavoidably result from a continuance of the proceedings which I have taken the liberty of pointing out to you, as requiring to be immediately suppressed. But if any thing could contribute to realize the absurd notion of corn being destroyed for the purpose of keeping up the price of it, this would be more likely to effect it than any other mode that could be adopted, as the life of a person possessed of corn, or any other article of provision, is rendered no less insecure than his property, and it would consequently tend, as all other acts of violence do, to the concealment, much more than the production of the commodity; the

consequence of which must be obvious in the injury resulting to landed property, by discouraging tillage and every sort of agriculture, and by locking up, or diverting into another channel, that capital which it perhaps more beneficially employed in the improvement of land than in any other mode—it would so impede and obstruct the great source and means of the daily supplies of the country, that famine would soon be substituted in the place of scarcity, and that distress and confusion would soon ensue, which would debilitate its inhabitants, and enervate all its powers more fatally than any calamity with which it has been visited for centuries, or than is to be met with in the annals of its history. If the employment of property is not secure; if every man does not feel that he has power to retain what he possesses as long as he pleases, and dispose of it at the time, in the manner, and for the price he chooses to fix upon it, there must be an end of confidence, of industry, and of all valuable and virtuous exertions of every description; for there is no reason why a price may not be paid on the works of the handicraftsman, mechanic, or artist, as well as upon those of the farmer, grazier, gardener, &c. and thus the whole order of things would be overturned and destroyed. Your grace, therefore, will, I hope, excuse the earnestness with which I address myself to you to resist those attempts in their outset, and to maintain the principle of perfect freedom of property, upon which the prosperity of this country rests, and by which it has risen, under Providence, to the extraordinary state of wealth and power which it now enjoys. If this conclusion is as well

well founded as I believe it to be, the necessity of the protection I recommend cannot be disputed: and I am persuaded your grace will admit and feel the occasion to be worthy the exertion of the influence I solicit. The people will be made sensible that their own interest, as well as the law, requires that the markets should be free and open, and that every man should dispose of what he brings there at his own price, or be at liberty to withhold it, unless he is satisfied with what is offered him for it; and the person who brings his commodities to market, will go there with that confidence which can alone secure his attendance at it. I cannot but be fearful that I have trespassed very unreasonably upon your grace's time; but the situation in which I have the honour of standing, having brought before me the details of all the disturbances and outrages occasioned by the pressure of the times, and the opinions against which I have remonstrated, it may be possible that I may be more alive to the tendency of their effects than those who contemplate them at a greater distance, and more at their ease; but when I find reasons to infer that your grace entertained apprehensions not much inferior to those which I have described, I may, I think, refer myself to your candour, to excuse the liberty I have taken in opening my mind so fully upon a subject, in my conclusions on which I shall feel myself as fully justified by your concurrence, as by the use you will make of your influence and power in restoring and securing the tranquillity and good order of the country, and that confidence which is as essential

to the transactions of individuals, as to those of a public nature.

I have the honour to be,

My lord,

Your grace's most obedient  
humble servant,

Portland.

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*Copy of a Letter from the Duke of  
Portland to the Town-clerk of Not-  
tingham.*

Sir, . . . *Whitehall, Sept. 10.*

I have received your letter of 6th instant, together with the several enclosures to which it refers, on the subject of the riotous proceedings which have disturbed the peace of the town of Nottingham and its neighbourhood. I learn, with great satisfaction, that the populace is beginning to testify a disposition to pay due obedience to the laws, and I trust I shall soon be able to congratulate the corporation and the respectable part of the inhabitants of Nottingham, upon the restoration of tranquillity and good order. It cannot have escaped their observation that wherever any reduction in the price of a commodity has been effected by intimidation, it has never been of any duration; and, besides, by throwing things out of their natural and orderly course, it almost necessarily happens that the evil, instead of being remedied, returns with increased violence. According to the best information I have been able to procure, and as far as my experience extends, I am satisfied, that whenever a scarcity of provisions exists, or is seriously to be apprehended, the only means which can tend effectually to obviate it, and to prevent

vent the grain from rising to an excessive price, consist in holding out full security and indemnification to all farmers and other lawful dealers, who shall bring their corn, or other commodities, regularly to market, and in giving early notice of a determined resolution to suppress at once, and by force, if it shall unhappily be necessary, every attempt to impede, by open acts of violence, or by intimidation, the regular business of the markets. I therefore most earnestly recommend this sub-

ject to the most serious attention and consideration of the magistrates, and desire to suggest to them the propriety of framing and publishing such additional resolutions as may be judged most conducive to the restoration of the confidence which is necessary to dispose the farmers and others concerned in the supply of the various articles of provision, to bring their commodities regularly to market. I am, &c.  
 Mr. G. Coldham,                      Portland.  
    town-clerk.

*Return of the Number of Men who have been raised for the Service of the Army since the Commencement of the present War, to the 24th December, 1800, presented to the House of Commons.*

Years.	Rank and File.	Years.	Rank and File.
1793 . . . . .	17,038	1797 . . . . .	16,096
1794 . . . . .	38,562	1798 . . . . .	21,457
1795 . . . . .	40,463	1799 . . . . .	41,316
1796 . . . . .	16,336	To Nov. 1800 . . . . .	17,124
Total 208,388.			

*Return of the Number of Men who have been discharged from the Service of the Army, on Account of Wounds or bodily Infirmary, since the Commencement of the present War.*

Years.	Rank and File.	Years.	Rank and File.
1793 . . . . .	2,234	1797 . . . . .	7,981
1794 . . . . .	4,229	1798 . . . . .	7,772
1795 . . . . .	26,005	1799 . . . . .	8,784
1796 . . . . .	14,634	To Nov. 1800 . . . . .	4,321
Total 75,910			

*Return of the Number of Men who have been killed in Action, or who have died in the Service of the Army, since the Commencement of the present War.*

Years.	Rank and File.	Years.	Rank and File.
1793 . . . . .	2,059	1797 . . . . .	5,967
1794 . . . . .	18,596	1798 . . . . .	4,008
1795 . . . . .	1,870	1799 . . . . .	5,071
1796 . . . . .	9,858	To Nov. 1800 . . . . .	1,542
Total 48,971.			

*Return of the Total Number of effective Rank and File actually serving in the Pay of Great Britain, 24th of December, 1800.*  
 Total 168,082 Rank and File.



## *Irish Parliament Annuitants.*

The following is the list of the annuities voted by the parliament of Ireland to the several persons under-named, "for their respective lives, to the amount affixed to their respective names," net, without any deduction or abatement whatsoever, as a compensation for their respective losses by reason of the discontinuance of their emoluments or offices as officers or attendants of the two houses of parliament:

John, earl of Clare, lord chancellor, speaker	£.3973	3	4
John, earl of Mayo, chairman of the committees	1448	6	0
Edmond Henry, lord Glentworth, clerk of the crown in chancery	379	10	0
William Meek, esq. clerk of the parliament	2705	16	0
Thomas Lindsay, esq. usher of the black rod	964	9	9
Edward Westby, Thomas Walker, William Horn, and S. King, esqrs. masters in chancery	each 104	4	2
Joseph Gayer, esq. deputy clerk of the parliament	631	13	4
Thomas Bouchier, esq. deputy clerk of the crown in chancery	101	2	1
Joseph Gregg, esq. clerk assistant	786	12	4
Joseph Griffith, esq. reading clerk	293	3	1
Henry Minchin, esq. serjeant-at-arms	314	2	2
Richard Cr. Smith, jun. esq. committee clerk	231	6	0
Edward Fenner, esq. journal clerk	287	7	6
B. Connor, esq. yeoman usher	243	16	6
W. Walker, esq. additional clerk	70	0	0
T. R. O'Flaherty, clerk in the parliament office	74	10	8
W. Corbet, door-keeper to the speaker's chamber	105	0	4
C. W. Jolly, J. Polden, P. Martin, W. Graham, P. Thompson, and G. Payn, door-keepers	each 92	2	8
P. Lord, W. Cavendish, M. Quinan, and J. Tobin, messengers	each 91	13	9
Mrs. Albini Taylor, keeper of the parliament-house	877	18	9
Mary Foster, house-keeper	472	18	11
Mary Ann Foster, house-maid	30	9	6
Sir Chichester Fortescue, Ulster king at arms	290	19	5
Philip O'Brien, gate-keeper	42	6	8
Richard Taylor, keeper of the speaker's chamber	50	0	0
Henry Welbore, viscount Clifden, clerk of the council	181	13	4
Henry Upton, esq. dep. ditto	104	8	12
Jo. Patrickson, esq. dep. clerk of the council, usher of the council chamber, and solicitor for turnpike bills	421	9	5
Mr. Wm. M'Kay, assistant clerk of the council	100	17	0
John Ebbs and Elizabeth Grant, door-keeper and council-office keeper	14	8	2
John Dwyer, esq. sec. to the lord chancellor	29	2	8

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John Beresford, esq. purse-bearer to the lord chancellor	£14	11	4
Andrew Bowen, water-porter	4	11	0
Right honourable John Foster, speaker of the house of commons	5083	3	4
Henry Alexander, esq. chairman of the committees of supply and ways and means	500	0	0
Sir G. Fitzgerald Hill, bart. clerk of the house	2263	13	2½
Edward Cooke, esq. clerk of the house in reversion	500	0	0
John M'Clintock and Wm. F. M'Clintock, esqrs. serjeants at arms, including 100l. on the civil list	1200	0	0
Ed. Tresham, clerk assistant	594	6	10
G. F. Winstanley, and Jonath. Rogers, committee clerks, each	250	0	0
Dr. Ellis, superin. engrossing clerk	140	0	0
C. H. Tandy, engrossing clerk	398	7	0
T. Richardson, assist. ditto	150	0	0
Wm. Ratferry, clerk in the chief clerk's office, clerk of the minutes, and clerk of the fees	470	0	0
H. Coddington, esq. dep. serjeant at arms	350	0	0
James Corry, esq. clerk of the journals and records	660	0	0
John Smith, assistant ditto	230	0	0
R. Connor, attending clerk	60	0	0
Mr. Hume, clerk of the brief	100	0	0
John Judd, assist. clerk in the chief clerk's office	63	6	8
J. L. Foster, esq. speaker's sec.	10	0	5
G. Dunleavy, messenger	68	0	0
R. Burnside and R. Fleming, back door-keeper each	48	0	0
John Dogherty, and D. Smith, messengers each	46	0	0
L. Dunlevy, R. Grace, R. Garland, E. Byrne, D. Brennan, H. Gahan, J. Brown, A. Carlon, P. Ferrall, J. Morley, G. Shirley, M. Dalton, and J. King, each	36	0	0
J. Banen, ditto	51	18	6
W. Brown, distributor of votes	130	0	0
Sarah Connor, house-keeper	401	13	2
John Kennedy, and John Walker, front door-keepers, each	168	4	9½
Mary Connor, house attendant	4	11	0
T. Seavers, firelighter	11	7	6
R. Watham, ditto	6	16	6
Lord Viscount Glentworth, clerk of the crown, and hapener	131	8	6½
T. Bouchier, dep. ditto	52	5	6
John Beresford, esq. purse-bearer to the lord chancellor	33	18	9
Mrs. Albini Taylor, keeper of the parliament house	140	0	0

# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 147

*An Account of Gold coined at his Majesty's Mint, from Michaelmas 1796 to the present Time; distinguishing the Quantity coined in each year.*

YEAR.	Quantity coined in pounds weight.	Value.
1796—from Michaelmas . . . . .	3,480 . . . . .	£.162,603 0 0
1797 . . . . .	42,810 . . . . .	2,000,297 5 0
1798 . . . . .	63,510 . . . . .	2,967,504 15 0
1799 . . . . .	9,630 . . . . .	449,961 15 0
1800—to 20th November . . . . .	4,065 . . . . .	189,937 2 6
<b>Totals . . . . .</b>	<b>123,495</b>	<b>£.5,770,303 17 6</b>

Hawkesbury, Master.

Mint-office, 20th November 1800,

*Return to an Order of the House of Commons, for An Account of the Amount of the Public funded Debt of the Kingdom, at the following Periods: viz. at the Beginning of the Years 1700, 1710, 1720, 1730, 1740, 1750, 1760, 1765, 1770, 1775, 1780, 1785, 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, 1796, 1797, 1798, 1799, and 1800.*

	Funded debt.
1730 . . . . .	£. 47,705,122
1740 . . . . .	44,072,024
1750 . . . . .	72,178,898
1760 . . . . .	88,341,268
1765 . . . . .	127,564,821
1770 . . . . .	126,963,267
1775 . . . . .	122,963,267
1780 . . . . .	142,113,264
1785 . . . . .	226,260,805
At the beginning of the Years { 1790 . . . . .	238,231,248
1791 . . . . .	238,231,248
1792 . . . . .	233,831,248
1793 . . . . .	238,231,248
1794 . . . . .	244,481,248
1795 . . . . .	260,157,773
1796 . . . . .	285,767,670
1797 . . . . .	327,071,369
1798 . . . . .	394,159,046
1799 . . . . .	424,159,046
1800 . . . . .	451,699,919

## Memorandum:

The Books of the Exchequer not being found to contain Accounts of the public debt for the years 1700, 1710, or 1720, the above is therefore the best return that can be made to the order of the house of commons.

James Fisher,

Exchequer, 29th December, 1800.

*An Account of the Amount of Bank of England Notes in Circulation, on an Average of every three Months, from the 25th Day of March, 1797, in the Years 1797, 1798, 1799, and 1800; distinguishing the Amount of Notes below the Value of Five Pounds.*

*Amount of Bank of England Notes of Five Pounds each, and upwards:*

	1797.	1798.	1799.	1800.
From 25th December to 25th March	.	£. 11,385,180	£. 11,585,210	£. 13,433,420
25th March to 25th June	£. 10,113,030	11,290,610	12,118,690	13,490,720
25th June to 25th September	9,762,130	10,294,150	12,155,360	13,374,870
25th September to 25th December	10,411,700	10,711,690	12,335,920	13,388,670

*Amount of Bank of England Notes of Two Pounds and One Pound each.*

	1797.	1798.	1799.	1800.
From 25th December to 25th March	.	£. 1,658,300	£. 1,627,250	£. 1,686,640
25th March to 25th June	£. 990,850	1,933,830	1,601,570	1,722,800
25th June to 25th September	1,066,750	1,821,490	1,604,580	1,855,540
25th September to 25th December	1,230,700	1,730,380	1,671,040	2,062,900

N. B. The amount of notes for the last quarter, in the year 1800, can only be made out to the 6th instead of the 25th of December.

Bank of England, 15th December, 1800.

Wm. Walton, Acct. Gen.

*Resolutions moved by Mr. Pitt, and carried in the House of Commons, 28th July, 1800.*

1. That the amount of the public funded debt was, on the 5th of January, 1786, 238,231,248*l.* exclusive of long and short annuities, and annuities for lives, to the amount of 1,373,550*l.* That, on the 1st of February, 1793, stock to the amount of 10,242,100*l.* had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt; and annuities to the amount of 79,880*l.* had fallen in, and had been carried to their account; reducing the actual amount of the debt, on the 5th of January, 1793, to 227,989,148*l.* and the annuities to 1,293,670*l.*; and that on the 1st of February, 1800, stock to the amount of 32,404,845*l.* had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt; and annuities to the amount of 119,880*l.* had fallen in, and been carried to their account, reducing the actual amount of debt existing before the war, on 1st February, 1800, to 205,826,403*l.* and the annuities to 1,253,670*l.*

2. That the amount of the public funded debt created since the 1st of February, 1793, (including the amount to be created by sums borrowed in the present session of parliament, and exclusive of 7,502,633*l.* 3 per cent. stock, and 230,000*l.* per annum annuities, created by the advances to the emperor of Germany), was on the 1st of February, 1800, 257,787,792*l.* exclusive of long annuities to the amount of 283,206*l.* per annum; of which 15,315,000*l.* is on account of Ireland, and 56,445,000*l.* is provided for by the tax on income, leaving a permanent debt of 186,027,792*l.*

charged on Great Britain; and that on the 1st of February, 1800, 12,328,449*l.* had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt; reducing the said permanent debt created since the 5th of Jan. 1793, to 173,699,343*l.* exclusive of long annuities to the amount of 283,206*l.* per annum, after deducting the annuities payable by Ireland.

3. That the total amount of the permanent funded debt charged on Great Britain, after deducting the sum of 44,733,294*l.* redeemed by, and the annuities fallen into, the commissioners, was, on the 1st of February, 1800, 379,525,000*l.* together with short annuities to the amount of 549,130*l.* and long annuities to the amount of 987,947*l.* after deducting the annuities provided for by Ireland.

4. That the sum annually applicable to the reduction of the national debt, in pursuance of the act passed in 1786, was 1,000,000*l.* being about 1-238th part of the capital of the permanent debt then existing; and for 1793 was 1,427,145*l.* being about 1-160th part of the permanent debt existing in 1793, and may for the year 1800 be estimated at 4,730,000*l.* being about 1-82d part of the permanent debt existing in 1800.

5. That the annual charge incurred on account of the permanent debt, on the 5th of January, 1786, was 9,297,000*l.* before any fund was created applicable to the reduction of the debt, and on the 5th January, 1793, was 10,325,000*l.* including 1,000,000*l.* applicable to the reduction of the debt.

6. That the annual charge incurred on account of the permanent debt created since the 5th of January,

nuary, 1793, (including 314,000*l.* permanent interest and charge on loan of the present session), amounts to 8,582,429*l.* per annum, of which 6,684,469*l.* is for interest, annuity, and charges of management, and 1,897,960*l.* applicable to the reduction of debt; and that a farther charge of 497,735*l.* per annum is guaranteed by parliament, in default of payment of the interest of certain loans by his majesty the emperor of Germany.

7. That the outstanding demands on the 5th of January, 1793, amounted to 1,327,112*l.*; and on the 5th of January, 1800, to 2,890,791*l.*; the whole of which have been provided for, part thereof in the former session of parliament, and the remainder in the present session.

8. That the unfunded debt (exclusive of the anticipation in the usual form on certain duties annually voted) on the 5th of January, 1793, amounted to 8,925,422*l.* and on the 5th of January, 1800, to 14,406,288*l.*; of which 1,914,000*l.* was provided for in the present session of parliament, leaving an unfunded debt of 12,492,288*l.* which increase of 3,566,866*l.* beyond the amount of the unfunded debt on the 5th of January, 1793, is occasioned chiefly from an addition of 1,000,000*l.* exchequer bills, and of an additional navy debt arising from increased demands during the war, and bearing no interest.

9. That the net produce of the permanent taxes existing on the 5th of January, 1784, then amounted to 10,194,259*l.* and that taxes were afterwards imposed to defray the expenses of the war ending in 1783, amounting in 1786, to 938,000*l.* making together 11,132,000*l.*

10. That the net produce of the

permanent taxes existing previous to the year 1794, adding thereto about 938,000*l.* imposed, as above stated, in 1784 and 1785, and 137,000*l.* arising from the consolidation act, and from duties imposed in 1789, was, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1793, 14,284,000*l.*; on the 5th of January, 1794, 13,941,000*l.*; on the 5th of January, 1795, 13,858,000*l.*; on the 5th of Jan. 1796, 13,557,000*l.*; on the 5th of January, 1797, 14,292,000*l.*; on the 5th of January, 1798, 13,332,000*l.*; on the 5th of January, 1799, 14,275,000*l.*; and on the 5th of July, 1800, 15,482,254*l.*; which last sum, after deducting the duties arising from the consolidation act, and those imposed in 1789, exceeds the net produce of the permanent taxes on the 5th of January, 1784, together with that of the taxes imposed in 1784 and 1785, by 4,163,254*l.*

11. That the actual net produce of the taxes imposed since the 5th of January, 1793, amounted in the year ending the 5th of July, 1800, to 8,477,100*l.*; and that, on part of these taxes, the produce of one year has not yet been received, and only 113,770*l.* of those imposed in the present year, estimated at 350,000*l.*

12. That the total value of all imports into Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1784, was 13,122,235*l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of Jan. 1784, was 11,690,829*l.*; that the total value of all imports into Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1793, was 12,659,358*l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1793, was 18,685,390*l.*; that the total value of all imports into



into Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1800, (supposing the imports from the East Indies, of which no account has yet been made up, to be the same as in the preceding year), was 29,945,808*l* making an increase, as compared with 1789, of 16,823,573*l*. and with 1792, of 10,286,450*l*.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1800, was 24,407,000*l*. making an increase, as compared with the average to Jan. 5, 1784, of 12,717,000*l*. and with the average to January 5, 1793, of 5,722,000*l*.

13. That the total value of British manufactures exported from Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1784, was 10,409,713*l*.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1784, was 8,616,660*l*.; that the total value of British manufactures exported from Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1793, was 18,336,851*l*.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1793, 14,771,049*l*.; that the total value of British manufactures exported from Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1800, was 24,084,000*l*. making an increase, as compared with 1783, of 13,674,375*l*. and with

1792, of 5,748,000*l*.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1800, was 18,804,000*l*. making an increase, as compared with the average to January 5, 1784, of 10,188,000*l*. and with the average to January 5, 1793, of 4,033,000*l*.

14. That the total amount of foreign merchandize exported from Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1784, was 4,332,909*l*.; and on average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1784, was 4,263,930*l*.; that the total value of foreign merchandize exported from Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1793, was 6,568,000*l*.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1793, was 5,468,014*l*.; that the total value of foreign merchandize exported from Great Britain, ending the 5th of January, 1800, was 11,906,000*l*. making an increase, as compared with 1783, of 7,574,000*l*. and with 1792, of 5,338,000*l*.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1800, was 11,677,000*l*. making an increase, as compared with the average to Jan. 5, 1784, of 7,414,000*l*. and with the average to January 5, 1793, of 6,209,000*l*.

That the total sum to be raised in Great Britain, in the year 1800, may be estimated as follows, viz.

Interest of public funded debt, charges of management, and sinking fund, on the 5th of January, 1800, after deducting interest payable by Ireland	£19,307,000
Interest, &c. to be incurred and paid between the 5th of January, 1800, and 5th of January, 1801, on stock created by loans in the present session, to the amount of	962,000
Interest on exchequer bills, estimated to be the same as paid to the 5th of January, 1800	1,021,626
The civil list	898,000

L 4

Other

Other charges on consolidated fund, estimated to the same as incurred in the year ending 5th January, 1800 . . . . .	239,297	
Civil government of Scotland estimated as before—Pensions on hereditary revenue, ditto—Militia and deserters warrants, ditto—Bounties for promoting fisheries, linen manufactures, &c. estimated as before . . . . .	647,183	
Charges of management of the revenue, estimated as before, including the expense of collecting the income tax . . . . .	1,779,769	
Making the total permanent charges to be defrayed out of the gross receipt of permanent revenue . . . . .		£.24,854,875
Supplies voted for 1800, exclusive of 1,914,000 <i>l.</i> to defray vote of credit, 1799 . . . . .		35,686,552
Advance to Ireland . . . . .	2,000,000	
Vote of credit for probable contingencies . . . . .	1,400,000	
Interest payable for imperial loans . . . . .	497,000	
		3,897,000
Making in the the whole the sum of . . . . .		£.64,438,427

16. That the gross receipt of the permanent revenue (after deducting re-payments for over-entries, drawbacks, and bounties in the nature of drawbacks), amounted in the year ending the 5th of July, 1800 to . . . . .	£.28,238,000
That the tax on income is estimated to produce, for the year 1800, a sum of . . . . .	7,000,000
That the tax on imports and exports may be estimated to produce a sum of . . . . .	1,250,000
That farther sums are applicable to the service of the year 1800, as follows:	
Surplus of consolidated fund, after completing grants to the 5th of April, 1800 . . . . .	597,000
Re-payments from Grenada, imprests, and lottery . . . . .	826,000
And that the remainder of the supply for the year 1800, is provided for by a loan, on account of Great Britain, of . . . . .	18,500,000
And a loan for Ireland of . . . . .	2,000,000
And by exchequer bills to be charged on supplies, 1801 . . . . .	3,000,000
And a loan from the Bank of . . . . .	3,000,000
And expected additional produce of taxes, 1800 . . . . .	240,000
Making in the whole the sum of . . . . .	£.64,651,000

• 17. That estimating the gross receipt of the permanent revenue to continue the same as in the year ending the 5th of July, 1800, and adding thereto the additional expected produce of the permanent taxes imposed in

In this session of parliament, the total amount to be raised by permanent and temporary taxes, for the service of the year 1800, may be computed at the sum of 36,728,000*l*.

18. That it appears by a report of a committee of this house in 1791, that the actual expenditure (including the annual million for the reduction of the public debt), on an average of five years of peace, ending 5th of January, 1791, and including sundry extraordinary expenses for the armament of 1787, and for payments to American loyalists, and other articles of a temporary nature, amounted to £.16,816,985

But the peace establishment was estimated by the said committee at 15,969,178

And that the expense of the year 1792, amounted nearly to that sum.

That the additional permanent charge incurred by the debt created since 1793, exclusive of interest payable by Ireland, is 8,582,395

£.24,551,573

That the additional charge to be incurred for increased amount of exchequer bills outstanding, is 55,000

Interest on money for satisfying increased navy debt at 5 per cent. at 150,000

That the additional charge incurred on the consolidated fund, is 131,650

That the additional charge incurred for a sum annually voted for the redemption of debt, is 200,000

And that the future peace establishment (exclusive of any charge to be incurred by interest, on sums to be paid on winding up the expenses of the war; and of any augmentation which may take place in the naval or military establishments, but allowing for increase of pay and other expenses) 700,000

And also (exclusive of 497,000*l*. interest on loans due by the emperor of Germany, and guaranteed by parliament), may be estimated at £.25,788,223

19. That the produce of the tax on income, in the year ending the 5th of April, 1800, appears to be £.5,801,624

Voluntary contribution 255,000

Exports and imports may be calculated at 1,250,000

£.7,306,624

And that the produce of the permanent taxes imposed previous to the 5th of January, 1793, has, in the year ending the 5th of July, 1800, exceeded by above 2,000,000*l*. the sum estimated by the committee in 1791, as necessary for the peace establishment.

20. That during the continuance of the tax on income, after the conclusion

Other charges on consolidated fund, estimated the same as incurred in the year ending January, 1800.

Civil government of Scotland estimated as before—Pensions on hereditary revenue—Militia and deserters warrants, ditto for promoting fisheries, linen manufactures estimated as before.

Charges of management of the debt, estimated as before, including the interest on the income tax.

Making the total permanent charges defrayed out of the gross revenue.

Supplies voted for 1800 to defray vote of

Advance to Ireland.

Vote of credit for

Interest payable

to be defrayed, and redeemed by the sum of 56,445,000*l.* arising from the war of 1800, the sum on an average peace time.

Some, for the Year ending 1800, can be made up and estimated consequence of Assessments by the

as the same can be made up from complete Returns received, viz.

Making in

general purposes, and commissions

16. The deduction of

commissioners

<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
4,426,047	4	10
1,175,577	14	6½
5,601,624	19	4½

The

Amount of Assessments in Districts, from which complete Returns have not been received, may be estimated as follows, viz.

By commissioners for general purposes, and commissioners of appeal, from 140,000*l.* to 150,000*l.*

By commercial commissioners, from 40,000*l.* to 50,000*l.*

\* By amount of voluntary contributions received between the 1st of January, 1799, and the 1st of January, 1800, about 255,000*l.*

By order of the board,

Office for Taxes,

20th February, 1800.

H. Parker.

*An Account of the total nett Produce of the permanent Taxes for the Year ending the 5th of April, 1800.*

Totals of customs, excise, stamps, and incidents, prior to the year 1793

Proportionate part of duties on sugar now annually granted

<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
13,465,042	8	4½
1,286,119	8	2½

\* This is the amount of sums actually received within the year; but there is reason to believe it does not include the whole of the amount subscribed.

Additional duty on ma  
n tobacco, ann

from the decrease of the  
at home, is better to the

339,862

## HELENA.

1,073,607

220,022

853,585

54,248

62,235

7,987

uties pro anno 1798

1799

1800

861,572

ETS.

62,887

3,540

23,601,404

41

James Fisher.

Exchequer,  
9th day of June, 1800.

## INDIA BUDGET.

## GENERAL VIEW.

Result of the year 1798-9, collectively.

£

<b>Revenues</b> —Bengal		£ 6,153,615	
Madras		2,109,220	
Bombay		374,586	
			8,637,421
<b>Charges</b> —Bengal		4,124,291	
Madras		3,543,686	
Bombay		1,270,622	
			8,938,599
<b>Nett charges of the three Presidencies</b>			301,178
<b>Add supplies to Bencoolen</b>			120,668
<b>Total</b>			421,846
			Add

# 156 ANNUAL REGISTER, 1800.

	Add farther interest paid on debts.	£
Benture ya	£ 509,990	
Ma 10,000/.	160,488	
Bon te may be	57,107	
00,000/.		727,495
Defict ally (ove the revenues from the territories, &c.		1,149,311
Deduct the		
Amount sales of imports		542,951
Amount in which the charges incurred and the interest paid on the debts have exceeded the resources from the territorial revenues and from the sales of imports		606,400
Amount advanced for purchase of investments, payment of commercial charges, and in aid of China investments:		
At Bengal	877,684	
Madras	403,957	
Bombay	189,138	
Bencoolen	36,345	
		1,507,124
Total of difference of charges and interest, and of advances for investment		2,113,524
Cargoes invoiced to Europe in 1798-9 with charges		1,224,591

## GENERAL VIEW.

*Result of Estimates 1799-1800, collectively.*

Revenues—Bengal	£ 6,196,733	
Madras	2,507,594	
Bombay	368,366	
		9,072,693
Charges—Bengal	4,157,553	
Madras	2,759,230	
Bombay	1,450,476	
		8,347,259
Nett estimated revenue of the three Presidencies		725,432
Deduct		
Supplies to Bencoolen, &c.		100,920
Remainder		624,514
Deduct farther		
Interest on debts		915,687
		Nett



# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 157

Nett deficiency from the territorial revenues	£ 291,173
Deduct	
Estimated amount, sales of imports, &c.	624,727

The difference is the amount estimated to be applicable in the year 1799-1800 to the purchase of investments, payment of commercial charges, &c.	333,554
--	---------

## DEBTS IN INDIA.

Amount stated last year	11,032,645
Amount this year	12,995,526
Increase	1,256,880

Debts transferred	274,516
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### *Debts bearing interest.*

Amount last year	8,933,648
Amount this year	10,190,528

Increase of debt bearing interest	1,256,880
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Amount of interest payable by the accounts of last year	758,135
Amount of interest payable by the accounts of this year	915,687

Increase of interest payable annually	157,552
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## ASSETS IN INDIA.

Consisting of cash, goods, stores, &c. last year	9,922,903
Ditto by the present statements	10,259,107

Increase of assets	336,204
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Deduct	
Increase of assets from increase of debts, the state of the company's affairs in India is worse by	1,626,677

## HOME ACCOUNTS,

*Presented 24th April and 11th instant.*

Aggregate amount of sales, 1799-1800	10,160,610
Less than last year	154,646
Deficiency on Company's goods alone	969,339
Excess on private trade goods	707,021
Excess on sale of neutral property	107,672

The

The sales of the company's goods, estimated at	£ 7,863,000
Actually amounted to	7,367,727
Less than estimated	495,273
Receipts on the sales of the Company's goods, estimated at	7,840,528
Actually amounted to	7,209,849
Less than estimated	630,679
Charges and profit on private trade, estimated at	120,000
Actual amount	202,969
More than estimated	82,969

## GENERAL RESULT.

The balance was expected to be against the company at the close of the year 1799-1800, to the amount of	565,983
Whereas, notwithstanding the deficient receipt from the sale of the goods, and notwithstanding the aid afforded to India and China exceeded the estimate, by a small issue of bonds, by a less payment on customs and freight, and by the protraction of the intended payments to the bank, the actual balance proved to be in favour is	403,322
Making the balance of cash better than estimated	969,310

## ESTIMATES, 1800-1801.

Receipt for sales of company's goods	6,201,000
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## RESULT.

In consequence of large payments on account of India and China, and of the intention of liquidating the whole of the debts due to the bank, reckoning only on the produce of sales, on a receipt from government in part of claims, and on the sale of the loyalty loan, the balance is expected to be against the company on the 1st of March, 1801,

368,013

## DEBTS AT HOME.

On the 1st of March, 1799	7,103,762
On the 1st of March, 1800	5,830,222
Decrease	1,273,540
Assets at home and afloat on the 1st of March, 1799	17,119,628
Ditto on the 1st of March, 1800	16,185,950
Decrease	933,678

Deducting

# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 159

Deducting the increase of assets from the decrease of the debts, the state of the affairs at home, is better to the amount of 339,862

## CHINA AND ST. HELENA.

Balance at China last year against	1,078,607	
Ditto by present accounts ditto	220,022	
	<hr/>	
Better this year at China		853,585
Balance at St. Helena on the 30th September, 1797, as stated last year	54,248	
Ditto on 30th Sept. 1798, by present accounts	62,235	
	<hr/>	
Increase at St. Helena		7,987
		<hr/>
Total improvement at St. Helena and China		861,572
		<hr/>

## GENERAL COMPARISON OF DEBTS AND ASSETS.

Increase of debts in India		1,962,881
Decrease of debts at home		1,273,540
		<hr/>
Nett increase of debts		689,341
		<hr/>
Increase of assets in India	336,204	
Decrease of assets at home	933,678	
	<hr/>	
Decrease	597,474	
	<hr/>	
Deducted from balance at China, which was better by	853,585	
Ditto St. Helena, ditto	7,987	
	<hr/>	
Total	861,572	
	<hr/>	
Nett increase of assets		264,098
		<hr/>

Deducted from the above increase of debts shews the state of the company's affairs in a worse point of view than in last year by 425,243

To which add the amount of cargoes to India included in the home assets arrived India, so as to be included in the stock there 202,450

The total amount in which the general state of the company's concerns is worse than by the statements of the last year, is 627,693

SUPPLIES

# SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the Year 1800.

## NAVY.

£ s. d.

October 1, 1799.

That 120,000 seamen be employed for two lunar months, commencing 1st January, 1800, including 22,696 marines.

For wages for ditto	444,000	0	0
For victuals for ditto	456,000	0	0
For wear and tear of ships in which they are to serve	720,000	0	0
For ordnance sea service on board such ships	60,000	0	0

October 3.

For the ordinary establishment of the navy, for two lunar months, commencing 1st January, 1800

121,510 0 0

For the extraordinary establishment of ditto

116,625 0 0

February 10, 1800.

That 110,000 seamen be employed for eleven lunar months, commencing 26th February, 1800, including 22,696 marines:

For wages for ditto	2,238,500	0	0
For victuals for ditto	2,299,000	0	0
For wear and tear of ships in which they are to serve	3,630,000	0	0
For ordnance sea service on board such ships	302,500	0	0

February 13.

For the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to sea and marine officers, for eleven lunar months, commencing 26th February, 1800

685,429 13 11

For buildings and repairs of ships, and other extra works

656,515 0 0

For the probable expense of transport service, for one year, commencing 1st January, 1800

1,300,000 0 0

For the maintenance of prisoners of war in health

500,000 0 0

For the care and maintenance of sick prisoners of war

90,000 0 0

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£13,619,079 13 11

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ARMY.

## ARMY.

October 3, 1799.

That 90,047 men be employed for land-service, including 5,766 invalids, from 25th December, 1799, to 24th February, 1800:

	£.	s.	d.
For guards, garrisons, and other land-forces, in Great Britain, Jersey, Guernsey, and Alderney, and in Holland	510,596	0	0
For forces in the plantations, including Gibraltar, Minorca, the Cape of Good Hope, and New South Wales	166,480	0	0
For the increased rates of subsistence to be paid to innkeepers and others, on quartering soldiers	40,000	0	0
For expenses expected to be incurred in the barrack-master general's department	120,000	0	0

February 13, 1800.

That 80,275 men be employed for land-service, including 5,792 invalids, from 25th February, 1800:

For guards, garrisons, and other land-forces, in Great Britain, Jersey, Guernsey, and Alderney	2,337,159	8	8
For forces in the plantations, including Gibraltar, Portugal, Minorca, and other stations in the Mediterranean, the Cape of Good Hope, and New South Wales	1,004,480	13	6
For difference between the British and Irish pay of six regiments of foot for service abroad	42,901	19	0
For four troops of dragoons, and sixteen companies of foot, stationed in Great Britain for recruiting regiments serving in East India	24,558	3	8
For recruiting and contingencies for land-forces, and extra feed for the cavalry	530,000	0	0
For general and staff-officers, and officers of hospitals	105,054	7	11
For full pay to supernumerary officers	26,290	14	6
For allowance to the paymaster-general of the forces, commissary-general of the musters, &c. &c.	105,747	3	6
For the increased rates of subsistence to be paid to innkeepers and others, on quartering soldiers	140,000	0	0
For allowance to the non-commissioned officers and private men of the land-forces, in lieu of small beer	120,000	0	0
For reduced officers of land-forces and marines	138,979	7	1
For allowances to reduced horse-guards	20	12	11
On account of officers late in the service of the states-general	1,000	0	0
Ditto, of reduced officers of British American forces	52,500	0	0
For allowances to several reduced officers of ditto	7,500	0	0

# 162 ANNUAL REGISTER, 1800.

For the in and out-pensioners of Chelsea hospital, and the expenses of the hospital	£.	s.	d.
	143,310	7	3
For pensions to widows of officers of land-forces	20,231	12	0
For expenses incurred, and expected to be incurred in the barrack-master general's department	359,334	0	0
For foreign corps in the service of Great Britain	471,128	12	3

February 24.

To defray the extraordinary services of the army for 1800	2,500,000	0	0
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May 27.

For the troops of the elector of Bavaria, in the pay of Great Britain, pursuant to treaty	566,689	10	0
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July 16.

For the expense of a royal military asylum for the reception of the children of soldiers	25,000	0	0
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£. 9,558,951 12 3

## MILITIA AND FENCIBLE CORPS.

October 3, 1799.

For several corps of fencible cavalry, including the embodied provisional cavalry, from 25th December, 1799, to 24th February, 1800	92,635	0	0
For the embodied militia of Great Britain, the royal corps of miners of Cornwall and Devon, and several corps of fencible infantry, for ditto	232,998	0	0

February 13, 1800.

For the embodied militia of Great Britain, the royal corps of miners of Cornwall and Devon, two regiments of Irish militia, and several corps of fencible infantry, from 25th February, 1800, to 24th December following	1,306,121	16	5
For contingencies for the embodied militia, and corps of fencible infantry	50,000	0	0
For clothing for the embodied militia of Great Britain, the corps of miners, and regiments of Irish militia on the British establishment	127,061	13	2
For the volunteer corps of cavalry and infantry	574,000	0	0

**Making**



April 1.

Making provision for pay and clothing of the militia.  
Ditto, for allowances to adjutants, serjeant majors,  
and serjeants of the militia, disembodied in pursu-  
ance of act of this session.

June 17.

Ditto, for allowances to subaltern officers of the mi-  
litia; in time of peace.

£. 2,382,816 9 7

## ORDNANCE.

October 3, 1799.

For ordnance land-service, for the months of January  
and February, 1800

£. 350,000 0 0

February 18, 1800.

For ordnance land-service, for ten months, from 1st  
March to 31st December, 1800

£. 1,127,960 13 3

Ditto, not provided for in 1798

£. 33,671 11 5

Ditto, not provided for in 1799

£. 184,324 13 3

£. 1,695,956 17 11

## MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

February 13, 1800.

For the works and repairs of the military roads and  
bridges in North Britain

£. 4,500 0 0

February 18.

To enable his majesty to make such advances as may  
be necessary, in consequence of engagements which  
he is concerting with the emperor of Germany, the  
elector of Bavaria, and other princes of the empire

£. 500,000 0 0

February 4.

To make good the deficiency of the grants for 1799

£. 447,039 4 0½

For foreign and other secret services

£. 150,000 0 0

To make good money issued pursuant to addresses

£. 26,230 3 0

For relief of the suffering clergy and laity of France,

Toulonese and Corsican emigrants, certain Saint

Domingo sufferers, and American loyalists

£. 242,798 5 1

For relief of the suffering clergy and laity of France,

Toulonese emigrants, and American loyalists, for

1799, over and above the estimated sum

£. 7,574 6 3

M 2

For

	£.	s.	d.
Plantations. For the civil establishment of Upper Canada . . .	7,950	0	0
Ditto of Nova Scotia . . .	5,840	0	0
Ditto of New Brunswick . . .	4,650	0	0
Ditto of St. John's Island . . .	1,900	0	0
Ditto of the Island of Cape Breton . . .	1,840	0	0
Ditto of Newfoundland . . .	1,640	0	0
Ditto of the Bahama Islands . . .	4,100	0	0
Ditto of the Bermudas or Somers Islands . . .	580	0	0
Ditto of the Island of Dominica . . .	600	0	0
Ditto of New South Wales . . .	6,309	16	8
To discharge bills that may be drawn on the lords of the treasury for the service of the settlement at New South Wales . . .	24,074	0	0
For defraying the charge of the superintendence of aliens . . .	6,369	0	0
Ditto, the expenses of convicts at home. . .	32,353	16	11

## March 3.

To enable his majesty to make remittances, to be applied to his service in Ireland, on provision being made by the parliament of that kingdom, for defraying the interest and charges of a loan to that amount . . .	2,000,000	0	0
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## April 1.

To make good the sums paid for discount on prompt payments of the loan and lottery granted for 1799 . . .	163,368	13	10
For paying interest due to the bank on the sum of 561,303 <i>l.</i> 9 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i> . . .	39,675	13	10
To make good, money paid to the bank for receiving contributions to the loans and lottery for 1799. . .	15,907	2	11
For defraying the expenses incurred for prosecutions relating to the coin . . .	2,338	19	4
To make good the charges of preparing and drawing the lottery for 1799 . . .	12,000	0	0
Ditto, money paid for salaries of officers, and incidental expenses of the commission for reducing the national debt . . .	1,805	9	0
For his majesty's secret service abroad, for 1799, over and above the estimated sum . . .	13,779	0	0
Towards defraying the expense of repairs at the king's bench prison . . .	7,000	0	0
Ditto, for the police office in Wapping, for 1800 . . .	3,000	0	0
For printing the journals, &c. of the house of commons . . .	8,000	0	0
For defraying the expenses attending the purchase of a house for depositing the journals of the house of commons . . .	1,697	0	0
			For

# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 165

	£	s.	d.
For defraying the expense of the office of the commissioners for American awards	3,575	0	0
Ditto, incurred for repairs at the marshalsea prison	5,000	0	0
To make good money paid to the officers of the exchequer for extra trouble in making out exchequer bills	900	0	0
Ditto, issued for relief of St. Domingo claimants	16,000	0	0
Ditto, for printing impressions of the plan of the proposed wet docks in the port of London	177	6	6
Ditto, for expenses attending the parliament office	348	3	9
Ditto, for the expense of additional clerks in the office of the commissioners for auditing the public accounts	2,482	16	
To make good money issued to pay the expense of the police-office in Wapping	2,646	9	6
Ditto, for completing the thirty-fourth volume of the manuscript Journals of the house of lords	110	17	9
Ditto, to pay bills drawn from New South Wales, and which became due in 1797, being the excess of the sum granted for that purpose	9,760	13	10
Ditto, to pay a bill drawn from the Isle of Man, to complete the pier at Douglas Harbour	255	9	0
Ditto, for the relief of Toulonese emigrants, not included in the estimate for 1799	900	0	0
Ditto, for the expense of publishing weekly the average price of Muscovado sugar	448	13	0

May 26.

To be applied to the satisfaction of the parties interested, for the losses sustained by the destruction of certain ships and their cargoes	41,400	0	0
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July 19.

To enable his majesty to fulfil the engagements which he has entered into with the emperor of Germany	1,500,000	0	0
Ditto, to make good such sums as have or will become due in the course of the present year, in consequence of engagements with the emperor of Russia	545,494	0	0
To make good money issued for copper coin, provided for the use of the settlement of New South Wales	697	7	0
Ditto for defraying the expenses of a police-office at Wapping	797	11	6
Ditto for surveying roads in North Britain	680	18	0
Ditto, for an additional allowance to clerks in the office for auditing the public accounts	827	12	0
Ditto, on account of expenses of the settlement of New South Wales, and to discharge bills for sta-			

	£.	s.	d.
tionary for public service at Norfolk Island and New South Wales	177	15	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
Ditto to the clerks of the house of commons, for attendance on public committees	370	9	6
To discharge sundry bills remaining due to different workmen, for works done at Somerset-place	2,650	0	0
To make good the fees paid on receipt of the sum voted as compensation for the destruction of certain ships and their cargoes from Mogadore	1,048	18	6
To discharge bill drawn from New South Wales, and which will become due in 1800	30,000	0	0
Towards liquidating the demands of the St. Domingo claimants	50,000	0	0
To discharge the demands outstanding for surveys, &c. made by direction of the late commissioners for woods and forests	1,000	0	0
To defray the expense of printing the journals of the house of lords	1,024	4	3
Towards enabling the trustees of the British museum to carry on the execution of the trusts reposed in them by parliament	3,000	0	0
For the board of agriculture	3,000	0	0
For assisting the Levant company in carrying on their trade	5,000	0	0
For support of the veterinary college	1,500	0	0
For supporting the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa	20,000	0	0
For the civil establishment at Sierra Leona	4,000	0	0
To be paid to Mr. John Davis, upon his making a proper discovery of his method of cleaning and purifying wheat damaged by smut	1,000	0	0
	<hr/> £6,000,767 16 0 <hr/>		

## NATIONAL DEBT.

March 3, 1800.

To the bank of England, to be by them placed to the account of the commissioners for reduction of the national debt	200,000	0	0
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## EXCHEQUER-BILLS.

October 1, 1799.

For paying off exchequer-bills, made out by virtue of act of last session, for raising 3,000,000 <i>l.</i> thereby	3,000,000	0	0
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April

# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 167

April 1, 1800.

	£	s.	d.
For paying off exchequer-bills, raised on the credit of act of last session, for granting certain duties on income	2,506,250	0	0
Ditto, raised on credit of acts 38 Geo. III: for granting an aid for prosecution of the war, and for granting duties of customs on goods imported and exported	1,079,740	0	0
Ditto, made out by virtue of act of last session for raising 3,500,000 <i>l.</i> thereby	3,500,000	0	0
Ditto, by virtue of act for enabling his majesty to raise the sum of 3,000,000 <i>l.</i>	1,914,000	0	0
For paying interest on sundry exchequer-bills, made out by virtue of several acts of 37, 38, and 39 Geo. III,	633,176	15	6½
	<u>£12,633,166</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>6½</u>

## VOTE OF CREDIT.

July 22, 1800.

To enable his majesty to fulfil such engagements, and to take such measures, as the exigency of affairs may require	1,400,000	0	0
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## RECAPITULATION.

Navy	13,619,079	13	11
Army	9,558,951	13	9
Militia and fencibles	2,382,816	9	7
Ordnance	1,695,956	17	11
Miscellaneous services	6,000,767	16	0
National debt	200,000	0	0
Exchequer-bills	12,633,166	15	6½
Vote of credit	1,400,000	0	0
Total of supply	<u>£ 47,490,739</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>2½</u>

## WAYS AND MEANS FOR RAISING THE SUPPLY.

### ANNUAL GRANTS.

October 3, 1799.

For continuing the duties on malt, rum, cider, and perry	750,000	0	0
For raising four shillings in the pound upon pensions, offices, and personal estates			
For continuing certain duties on sugar, malt, tobacco, and spirit	2,000,000	0	0
	M 4		That

April 3, 1800.

That the charge of pay and clothing of the militia in England be defrayed out of the land-tax:

That the allowances to adjutants, &c. of the militia, disembodied in pursuance of an act of the present session, be defrayed out of the same.

June 19.

That the allowances to certain subaltern officers of the militia be defrayed out of the same,

£ 2,750,000    0    0

### EXTRAORDINARY AIDS.

October 3, 1799.

For raising 2,500,000*l.* by exchequer-bills . . . . . 2,500,000    0    0

February 25, 1800.

For raising 20,500,000*l.* by annuities . . . . . 20,500,000    0    0

March 3.

For applying the moneys which shall be paid into the exchequer by the bank, for the extension of the term of their charter, not exceeding the sum of 3,000,000*l.* . . . . .

3,000,000    0    0

April 1.

For applying 5,300,000*l.* out of the moneys arising by virtue of act 39 Geo. III. for granting certain duties on income . . . . .

5,300,000    0    0

For applying 1,250,000*l.* out of the moneys arising by virtue of act 38 Geo. III. for granting certain duties on goods imported and exported, and on tonnage of ships and vessels . . . . .

1,250,000    0    0

May 15.

For raising 826,250*l.* by a lottery . . . . . 826,250    0    0

July 17.

For applying 5,200,000*l.* out of the moneys that shall arise of the surplus of the consolidated fund . . . . .

5,200,000    0    0

July 19.

For raising 3,500,000*l.* by exchequer-bills . . . . . 3,500,000    0    0

For raising 3,000,000*l.* by ditto . . . . . 3,000,000    0    0

For raising a farther sum of 3,000,000*l.* by ditto . . . . . 3,000,000    0    0

Total ways and means . . . . . £ 48,076,250    0    0

**TAXES**



**TAXES IMPOSED IN THE YEAR 1800.**

**DUTIES ON SPIRITS AND TEA.**

February 25, 1800.

For charging an additional duty of 1*d.* per gallon on wash, made for extracting spirits for home consumption, from malt, corn, &c.

Ditto of ditto, made from any other British materials.

Ditto of ditto, made from melasses or sugar, which shall be distilled into spirits on or before the 1st of June, 1800, and not actually distilled on or before the 24th of February, 1800.

Ditto of 1½*d.* per gallon on ditto, which shall be distilled into spirits after the 1st of June, 1800.

Ditto of 2*d.* per gallon on ditto, prepared from foreign materials, except melasses and sugar.

Ditto of 2*s.* 8½*d.* upon every one-hundred-and-twenty gallons of wash, which Sir William Bishop and Co. may produce from 112*lb.* of malt or other corn.

Ditto of 5½*d.* per gallon on spirits, not exceeding one to ten over hydrometer proof, manufactured in Scotland and imported into England, or found in any ship or lighter, &c.; and in proportion for the surplus strength.

Ditto of 10*d.* per gallon on single brandy, imported, or found in any ship or lighter, &c.

Ditto of 1*s.* 8*d.* per gallon on ditto, above proof; ditto.

Ditto of 8*d.* per gallon on rum, spirits, or aqua vitæ, of the British plantations, ditto.

Ditto of 1*s.* 4*d.* per gallon on ditto, above proof; ditto.

Ditto of 8*d.* per gallon on rum or spirits, of the British plantations, in warehouse.

Ditto of 1*s.* 4*d.* per gallon on ditto, above proof.

Ditto of 10*d.* per gallon on all other single spirits or aqua vitæ, imported, or found in any ship or lighter, &c.

Ditto of 1*s.* 8*d.* per gallon on ditto, above proof; ditto.

Ditto of 5*l.* per centum upon all tea sold by the East-India company for 2*s.* 6*d.* per *lb.* or upwards, and granting a drawback thereof on exportation.

April 3, 1800.

That the charge of pay and clothing  
England be defrayed out of the  
That the allowances to adjutants,  
disembodied in pursuance of  
session, be defrayed out of

June

That the allowances to  
the militia be defrayed

EXTRA

For raising 2,50

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price and

For raising

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from the Cape of

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to obtain

acts relating to church leases.

For security of collieries and

mines, and for regulation of col-

liers, &c.

For granting money out of the

consolidated fund.

To continue and amend act to  
prohibit the exportation, and per-  
mit the importation of corn.

To enable courts of equity to  
compel the transfer of stock in suits.

For making regulations with re-  
spect to certain articles of customs.

To authorize the granting com-  
missions to certain persons serving  
in the Dutch forces.

To remove doubts arising from an  
act of last session, for permitting East  
India goods to be warehoused.

To enable exchequer bills to be  
issued on credit of the tonnage and  
income duties.

For raising several sums of money  
by exchequer-bills.

To continue and amend act for  
encouragement of British fisheries.

mit French wines  
from Guernsey.

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est Ind  
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ering the  
y coach-men.

o permit the import  
owedish herrings.

To permit horse hides to be used  
for boots, &c. and to prevent the  
damaging of raw hides and skins.

To repeal act 14 Geo. III. rela-  
ting to hops, and for better collec-  
tion of the duty thereon.

For suspending the duties on fo-  
reign hops imported, and granting  
other duties.

For establishing regulations in the  
offices of the house of commons.

For better ascertaining and col-  
lecting the duties on income.

To regulate the delivery of state-  
ments to the commercial commis-  
sioners of London.

To indemnify persons who have  
omitted to qualify for offices and  
employments.

For regulating the government  
of the British territories in India.

For increasing the inn-keepers'  
rates of subsistence on quartering  
soldiers.

For the safe custody of insane  
persons charged with offences.

For the Union of Great Britain  
and Ireland.

For repealing part of the duties  
and drawbacks on imported kid  
skins.

Concerning the disposition of  
certain real and personal property  
of their majesties.

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stak.

eternal and  
expiring laws.

and a sum for completing  
improvements of Leith-harbour.

to permit the importation of linseed cakes, &c. in neutral ships.

To direct the issue of exchequer-bills for relief of the merchants of Liverpool.

For raising money by lottery.

For continuing the duties on malt.

For regulating marine forces  
while on shore.

For accepting the services of additional volunteers from the militia.

To continue act for accepting offers of militia forces to be employed in Ireland.

For punishing mutiny and desertion.

For granting 200,000% for reduction of national debt.

To prevent the embezzlement of  
naval ordnance and victualling  
stores.

To permit the importation of goods from America in neutral ships.

To continue acts relating to the admission of merchandize in neutral ships.

For better preservation of timber in the new forest, and ascertaining the boundaries thereof.

To continue laws relating to  
Newfoundland judicature, neutral  
ships, &c.

[illegible]

Gen.  
poor.

For erect.  
and making far.  
specting quarantine.

To prohibit the export of rice for a time to be limited.

To confirm an agreement with the duke of Richmond for purchase of a duty on coals.

For granting a bounty on the im-  
portation of rye.

For repealing part of an act of last session granting duties on salt petre.

To prevent the making of spirits  
in Scotland from grain.

To amend and make perpetual  
an act for recovery of small debts  
in Scotland.

To amend an act of last session relating to the salaries of Scotch judges.

For repealing duties on Scotch distilleries, and granting others.

To continue act 37 Geo. III.  
for punishing attempts to seduce  
seamen, &c.

For reducing the duties on spirits distilled from melasses or sugar.

For granting additional duties of  
excise on spirits and tea.

To amend stamp acts.

To prohibit the use of wheat in making starch.

**To**

*Public Acts passed in the Fourth Session of the Eighteenth Parliament of Great Britain.*

For charging public accountants with payment of interest.

For raising 20,500,000*l.* by annuities.

For authorizing bakers to sell new bread to soldiers on their march.

For establishing an agreement with the bank of England for advancing 3,000,000*l.*

For prohibiting the sale of bread not baked a certain time.

To amend act of 31 Geo. II. for better regulating the price and assize of bread.

To lessen the duties on wine and spirits imported from the Cape of Good Hope.

For explaining and amending certain acts relating to church leases.

For security of collieries and mines, and for regulation of colliers, &c.

For granting money out of the consolidated fund.

To continue and amend act to prohibit the exportation, and permit the importation of corn.

To enable courts of equity to compel the transfer of stock in suits.

For making regulations with respect to certain articles of customs.

To authorize the granting commissions to certain persons serving in the Dutch forces.

To remove doubts arising from an act of last session, for permitting East India goods to be warehoused.

To enable exchequer bills to be issued on credit of the tonnage and income duties.

For raising several sums of money by exchequer-bills.

To continue and amend act for encouragement of British fisheries.

To permit French wines to be imported from Guernsey, &c. in bottles.

For indemnifying the governors, &c. in the West India Islands.

For allowing farther time for payment of instalments on certain loans.

To continue an act for empowering his majesty to secure and detain suspected persons.

For altering the fares of licenced hackney coach-men.

To permit the importation of Swedish herrings.

To permit horse hides to be used for boots, &c. and to prevent the damaging of raw hides and skins.

To repeal act 14 Geo. III. relating to hops, and for better collection of the duty thereon.

For suspending the duties on foreign hops imported, and granting other duties.

For establishing regulations in the offices of the house of commons.

For better ascertaining and collecting the duties on income.

To regulate the delivery of statements to the commercial commissioners of London.

To indemnify persons who have omitted to qualify for offices and employments.

For regulating the government of the British territories in India.

For increasing the inn-keepers' rates of subsistence on quartering soldiers.

For the safe custody of insane persons charged with offences.

*For the Union of Great Britain and Ireland.*

For repealing part of the duties and drawbacks on imported kid skins.

Concerning the disposition of certain real and personal property of their majesties.

For better regulating the court of common pleas at Lancaster.

For granting a duty on pensions, &c. and duties on sugar, malt, tobacco and snuff.

To extend the period limited for preference in the redemption of land-tax.

For enlarging the powers of acts for redemption of land-tax.

For making perpetual and continuing several expiring laws.

To advance a sum for completing the improvements of Leith-harbour.

To permit the importation of linseed cakes, &c. in neutral ships.

To direct the issue of exchequer-bills for relief of the merchants of Liverpool.

For raising money by lottery.

For continuing the duties on malt.

For regulating marine forces while on shore.

For accepting the services of additional volunteers from the militia.

To continue act for accepting offers of militia forces to be employed in Ireland.

For punishing mutiny and desertion.

For granting 200,000*l.* for reduction of national debt.

To prevent the embezzlement of naval ordnance and victualling stores.

To permit the importation of goods from America in neutral ships.

To continue acts relating to the admission of merchandize in neutral ships.

For better preservation of timber in the new forest, and ascertaining the boundaries thereof.

To continue laws relating to Newfoundland judicature, neutral ships, &c.

For granting a bounty on the importation of oats.

To exempt from duty waste paper imported to be remanufactured.

For empowering his majesty to shorten the time for the meeting of parliament in cases of adjournment.

To repeal the duties on perfumery, and on licences for vending it.

To continue and amend act 36 Geo. III. for better relief of the poor.

For erecting a lazaret on land, and making farther provision respecting quarantine.

To prohibit the exportation of rice for a time to be limited.

To confirm an agreement with the duke of Richmond for purchase of a duty on coals.

For granting a bounty on the importation of rye.

For repealing part of an act of last session granting duties on salt petre.

To prevent the making of spirits in Scotland from grain.

To amend and make perpetual an act for recovery of small debts in Scotland.

To amend an act of last session relating to the salaries of Scotch judges.

For repealing duties on Scotch distilleries, and granting others.

To continue act 37 Geo. III. for punishing attempts to seduce seamen, &c.

For reducing the duties on spirits distilled from melasses or sugar.

For granting additional duties of excise on spirits and tea.

To amend stamp acts.

To prohibit the use of wheat in making starch.

To

To allow British plantation sugar to be warehoused.

To repeal certain duties on sugar and coffee exported, and allowing drawbacks on exportation of sugar.

To allow the use of sugar in the brewing of beer.

For indemnifying the governor of Surinam for permitting the importation of certain goods.

For the more effectual prevention of depredations on the river Thames.

For regulating trials for high treason in certain cases.

To extend the provisions of act 17 Geo. II. respecting vagrants.

To indemnify persons serving in volunteer corps respecting the duty on hair-powder certificates.

For granting bounties on importation of wheat, wheaten flour, and rice.

To explain and amend an act of last session respecting workmen.

To restrain the trusts and directions in deeds or wills.

For relief of persons entitled to entailed estates.

For the better observance of Good Friday.

### AVERAGE PRICES OF CORN FOR 1800.

	Wheat		Barley.		Oats.		Beans.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
January . . . .	11	10	5	8	4	0	7	7
February . . . .	12	8	6	0	4	2	7	8
March . . . . .	13	5	6	9	4	10	8	5
April . . . . .	13	11	7	5	5	4	9	0
May . . . . .	15	0	8	1	5	9	9	3
June . . . . .	15	7	8	1	6	0	9	6
July . . . . .	16	10	8	7	6	4	9	6
August . . . . .	12	11	6	11	4	10	8	3
September . . . .	12	11	6	10	4	1	8	1
October . . . . .	13	3	7	5	4	3	7	11
November . . . .	15	0	8	4	4	9	8	7
December . . . .	16	4	9	4	5	2	9	4
General Average	14	1	7	6	5	2	8	7

[The meteorological table of the royal society, for 1800, and the supplies granted by, and the bills passed in, the fifth session of the last parliament of Great Britain not being published when this part of the volume went to press, shall appear in the concluding pages of it.]



PRICES OF STOCK FOR THE YEAR 1800.

## A GENERAL BILL

OF

## CHRISTENINGS AND BURIALS,

From DECEMBER 10, 1799, to DECEMBER 9, 1800.

Christened { Males 10112 } 19176. Buried { Males 11605 } 23068.  
 { Females 9064 } { Females 11463 }

Increased in the burials this year, 4934.

Died under 2 years	- 6657	30 and 40	- 2055	80 and 90	- 655	106	- 1
Between 2 and 5	- 2553	40 and 50	- 2308	90 and 100	- 97	107	- 1
5 and 10	- 848	50 and 60	- 2163	101	- - - 1	108	- 1
10 and 20	- 710	60 and 70	- 1973	104	- - - 2	120	- 2
20 and 30	- 1581	70 and 80	- 1459				

DISEASES.		Dropfy		1003		Palpitation of the heart		Bruised	
<b>A</b> Bortive and still born	492	Ear-ach		c		2		Burnt	12
Abcess	37	Eaten by lice		1		122		Drowned	124
Agod	1742	Evil		6		37		Excessive drinking	12
Ague	2	Fevers of all kinds		2712		1		Executed*	19
Apoplexy and sudden-ly	252	Fistula		6		1		Found dead	10
Asthma and Phthi-sic	801	Flux		9		4		Fractured	1
Bedridden	3	French pox		27		0		Frighted	2
Bleeding	9	Gout		105		5		Frozen	2
Bursten and rup-ture	15	Gravel, stone, and strangury		16		2409		Kill'd by falls and fe-veral other acci-dents	62
Cancer	58	Grief		5		1		Killed themselves	29
Chicken Pox	1	Head-ach		2		0		Killed by a cow	0
Childbed	164	Headmouldshot, horse shoehead, and water in the head		80		8		Killed by fighting	5
Colds	27	Jaundice		67		1		Murdered	4
Colick, gripes, and twisting of the guts	11	Jaw locked		1		1		Poisoned	2
Consumption	5721	Inflammation		593		1		Scalded	6
Convulsions	4512	Leprosy		1		414		Shot	1
Cough and hooping cough	380	Lethargy		2		38		Smothered	1
Cow Pox	1	Livergrown		3		0		Starved	8
Cramp	3	Lunatic		162		2		Sprain	0
Croup	13	Lumbago		1		2		Strangled	0
		Measles		395		15		Suffocated	3
		Miscarriage		4				Tooth-ach	0
		Mortification		242					
						CASUALTIES.			
						<b>B</b> It by a mad dog or Broken limbs		Total 314	

\* There have been executed, in Middlesex and Surrey, 25; of which number 12 only have been reported to be buried (as such) within the bills of mortality.

STATE

## STATE PAPERS.

*Message from his Majesty to both Houses of Parliament, 21st Jan.*

George R.

**T**HE supplies granted in the commencement of the present session having been calculated to provide only for the first months of the year, his majesty now recommends it to the house to make such farther provision as they may judge necessary under the present circumstances, for the several branches of the public service, and for the vigorous prosecution of the war; and his majesty has given directions that the proper estimates for this purpose should be laid before the house.

His majesty has thought proper on this occasion to direct that there should be laid before this house copies of communications recently received from the enemy, and of the answers which have been returned thereto by his majesty's command.

His majesty entertains the fullest confidence that those answers will appear to this house to have been conformable to that line of conduct which was required from his majesty on this occasion, by his regard to all the most important interests of his dominions; and his majesty having no object more at heart than that of contributing, as soon as the situation of affairs shall render it practicable, to the establishment of

the general tranquillity of Europe, on a sure and solid foundation, and of providing effectually for the security and permanent prosperity of his faithful people, places a firm reliance on the continued support of his parliament, and on the zeal and perseverance of his subjects, in such measures as may best tend to confirm the signal advantages which have been obtained to the common cause in the course of the last campaign, and to conduct the great contest in which his majesty is engaged to a safe and honourable conclusion.

G. R.

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*Message from the King to the House of Lords, 2d April.*

George R.

**I**T is with the most sincere satisfaction that his majesty finds himself enabled to communicate to this house the joint address of his lords and commons of Ireland, laying before his majesty certain resolutions which contain the terms proposed by them for an entire union between the two kingdoms. His majesty is persuaded that this house will participate in the pleasure with which his majesty observes the conformity of sentiment manifested in the proceedings of his two parliaments

ments after long and careful deliberation on this most important subject; and he earnestly recommends to this house to take all such farther steps as may best tend to the speedy and complete execution of a work so happily begun, and so interesting to the security and happiness of his majesty's subjects, and to the general strength and prosperity of the British empire.

G. R.

*His Majesty's Speech from the Throne  
on closing the Session, 29th July.*

My lords and gentlemen,

**I**N putting an end to this laborious session of parliament, I must express the just sense I entertain of the diligence and perseverance with which you have applied yourselves to the various objects of public concern which came under your deliberation. It is with peculiar satisfaction I congratulate you on the success of the steps which you have taken for effecting an entire union between my kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland.

This great measure, on which my wishes have been long earnestly bent, I shall ever consider as the happiest event of my reign, being persuaded that nothing could so effectually contribute to extend to my Irish subjects the full participation of the blessings derived from the British constitution, and to establish on the most solid foundation, the strength, prosperity, and power of the whole empire.

I have witnessed with great concern the severe pressure on my people from the continued scarcity of the season; but I trust that, under the blessing of Providence, there is

now every reason to expect that the approaching harvest will afford a speedy and effectual relief.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I return you my particular thanks for the zeal and liberality with which you have provided for the various exigencies of the public service. I regret deeply the necessity of these repeated sacrifices on the part of my subjects; but they have been requisite for the preservation of our dearest interests, and it is a great consolation to observe, that, notwithstanding the continuance of unusual burdens, the revenue, commerce, and resources of the country have flourished beyond all former example, and are still in a state of progressive augmentation.

My lords and gentlemen,

The course of the campaign upon the continent has, by a sudden reverse, disappointed the sanguine hopes which the situation of affairs at its commencement appeared fully to justify, and has unhappily again exposed a considerable part of Europe to those calamities and dangers, from which it had been recently rescued by the brilliant success of my allies.

Much as these events are to be regretted, it will always be matter of just satisfaction to me to reflect, that, in the course of this important contest, my efforts, and those of my parliament, have been unremittingly employed for the maintenance of our own rights and interests, and for animating and supporting the exertions of other powers in defending the liberties of Europe.

Notwithstanding the vicissitudes of war, your constancy and firmness

ness have been productive of the most important and lasting advantages in the general situation of affairs; and the determination manifested in your recent declarations and conduct, must afford me the best means of promoting, in conjunction with my allies, the general interests, and of providing under every circumstance for the honour of my crown, for the happiness of my subjects, and for the security and welfare of every part of the British empire.

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*Speech of his Majesty, on opening the Session, 11th November.*

My lords and gentlemen,

**M**Y tender concern for the welfare of my subjects, and a sense of the difficulties with which the poorer classes particularly have to struggle, from the present high price of provisions, have induced me to call you together at an earlier period than I had otherwise intended. No object can be nearer my heart than that, by your care and wisdom, all such measures may be adopted as may, upon full consideration, appear best calculated to alleviate this severe pressure, and to prevent the danger of its recurrence, by promoting, as far as possible, the permanent extension and improvement of our agriculture.

For the object of immediate relief, your attention will naturally be directed, in the first instance, to the best mode of affording the earliest and the most ample encouragement for the importation of all description of grain from abroad.

Such a supply, aided by the examples which you have set on for-

mer occasions of attention to economy and frugality in the consumption of corn, is most likely to contribute to a reduction in the present high price, and to insure, at the same time, the means of meeting the demands for the necessary consumption of the year.

The present circumstances will also, I am persuaded, render the state of the laws respecting the commerce in the various articles of provision the object of your serious deliberation.

If on the result of that deliberation it shall appear to you that the evil necessarily arising from unfavourable seasons has been increased by any undue combinations or fraudulent practices for the sake of adding unfairly to the price, you will feel an earnest desire of effectually preventing such abuses; but you will, I am sure, be careful to distinguish any practices of this nature from that regular and long-established course of trade which experience has shown to be indispensable, in the present state of society, for the supply of the markets, and for the subsistence of my people.

You will have seen with concern the temporary disturbances which have taken place in some parts of the kingdom. Those malicious and disaffected persons who cruelly take advantage of the present difficulties to excite any of my subjects to acts in violation of the laws and of the public peace, are in the present circumstances doubly criminal; as such proceedings must necessarily and immediately tend to increase, in the highest degree, the evil complained of, while they, at the same time, endanger the permanent tranquillity of the country, on which the well-

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being of the industrious classes of the community must always principally depend.

The voluntary exertions which have on this occasion been made for the immediate repression of these outrages, and in support of the laws and public peace, are therefore entitled to my highest praise.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

Under the circumstances of the present meeting, I am desirous of asking of you such supplies only as may be necessary for carrying on the public service, till the parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland may conveniently be assembled. The estimates for that purpose will be laid before you; and I have no doubt of your readiness to make such provision as the public interests may appear to require.

My lords and gentlemen,

I have directed copies to be laid before you, of those communications which have recently passed between me and the French government, respecting the commencement of negotiations for peace. You will see in them fresh and striking proofs of my earnest desire to contribute to the re-establishment of general tranquillity. That desire on my part has hitherto been unhappily frustrated, by the determination of the enemy to enter only on a separate negotiation, in which it was impossible for me to engage, consistently, either with public faith, or with a due regard to the permanent security of Europe.

The anxiety for the speedy restoration of peace remains unaltered, and there will be no obstacle nor de-

lay on my part to the adoption of such measures as may best tend to promote and accelerate that desirable end; consistently with the honour of this country and the true interests of my people: but if the disposition of our enemies should continue to render this great object of all my wishes unattainable, without the sacrifice of these essential considerations, on the maintenance of which all its advantages must depend, you will, I am confident, persevere in affording me the same loyal and steady support, which I have experienced through the whole of this important contest, and which has, under the blessing of Providence, enabled me, during a period of such unexampled difficulty and calamity to all the surrounding nations, to maintain, unimpaired, the security and honour of these kingdoms.

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*His Majesty's Speech to both Houses, on concluding the last Session of the British Parliament.*

My lords and gentlemen,

I cannot close this session of parliament without returning you my particular acknowledgements for the distinguished industry and zeal with which you have applied yourselves to the interesting object which, at the commencement of the session, I most especially recommended to your attention. It has been my earnest wish that nothing should be omitted which could tend to relieve the pressure occasioned by the present dearth of provisions, and to insure a sufficient supply till the produce of the next harvest can be brought into use.

The diligence with which your inquiries have been conducted has afforded



afforded you the best means of ascertaining the true circumstances of our present situation; and the extensive measures which you have wisely adopted in consequence, for diminishing the consumption of grain, and procuring an increased supply, will, I doubt not, be found productive of the most salutary effect.

Much, however, must depend on the disposition which will, I am confident, be manifested by all those who have the means of carrying into execution my solemn recommendation and injunction, issued at your desire, for the adoption of all practicable economy in the use of those articles which are necessary to the subsistence of the poorer classes of my subjects.

The time fixed for the commencement of the union of Great Britain and Ireland will necessarily terminate your proceedings on this important subject; but I am persuaded that the consideration of it will be resumed with the same zeal and temper, on the first meeting of the parliament of the united kingdom.

The early period which I have appointed for that meeting will afford a speedy opportunity of completing whatever you may have left unfinished, and of considering what measures may tend farther to alleviate the pressure on my people, or to prevent the danger of its renewal.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I thank you for the readiness with which you have granted the supplies necessary, under the present circumstances, for the public service.

My lords and gentlemen,  
The detention of the property of

my subjects in the ports of Russia, contrary to the most solemn treaties, and the imprisonment of British sailors in that country, have excited in me sentiments, in which you and all my subjects will, I am sure, participate.

I have already taken such steps as this occasion indispenably required; and it will afford me great satisfaction if they have proved effectual; but if it shall be necessary to maintain, against any combination, the honour and independence of the British empire, and those maritime rights and interests on which both our prosperity and our security must always depend, I entertain no doubt either of the success of those means which, in such an event, I shall be enabled to exert, or of the determination of my parliament and my people to afford me a support proportioned to the importance of the interests which we have to maintain.

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*Speech of the Lord Lieutenant, from the Throne, on the 15th of January, 1800, at the Meeting of the Irish Parliament.*

My lords and gentlemen,  
**I** HAVE received his majesty's commands to assemble you in parliament. Upon a review of the important and glorious events that have distinguished the period which has elapsed since I last addressed you, the most gratifying and encouraging reflections present themselves to our consideration. By the brilliant course of victories achieved by the combined imperial armies, the various kingdoms and states of Italy have been delivered from the ravages and the tyranny of  
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the French. The throne of Naples and our friendly connection with that kingdom have been restored. The French expedition to Egypt has been checked in its career by the exertions of the Turkish arms, assisted by a small detachment of his majesty's forces, and the gallantry of their heroic commander. The hostile plans of the common enemy in India have terminated in the total destruction of the power which had been misled by their artifices, and through the timely, vigorous, and decisive councils of the marquis of Wellesley, and the consummate skill and valour of his majesty's generals, officers, and troops, the British possessions in that quarter of the globe have been beneficially extended and effectually secured. By the descent of his majesty's forces and of his Russian allies on the coast of Holland, the Dutch fleet has been happily rescued from the power of the enemy; and although the season, peculiarly unfavourable to military operations, produced the necessity of relinquishing an enterprise so fortunately begun, and prevented the complete accomplishment of his majesty's views, yet the result of that expedition has been peculiarly beneficial to this kingdom, in removing all fear of attack on our coasts from a quarter whence it has been so often planned, and in enabling his majesty's fleets to direct their vigilance exclusively to the single port from which the enemy can attack this country with any hope even of a temporary success. My utmost care has been exerted to carry into execution the extraordinary powers which you have committed to my discretion, with vigour, and at the same time with moderation. All tendency to insurrection

has been effectually repressed; but it gives me true concern to acquaint you, that the painful necessity of acting with severity has been too frequently imposed upon me; and although public tranquillity has been in a great measure restored, yet I have to lament that a disposition to outrage and conspiracy still continues in several districts, that much industry is used to keep alive the spirit of dissension, and to encourage among the lower classes the hopes of French assistance. I trust that the recent revolution in France cannot fail to open the eyes of such of his majesty's subjects as have been deluded by the artifices which have been unremittingly employed to withdraw them from their allegiance; and that it will restore and increase the love of constitutional order, and of regulated freedom, by demonstrating that the principles of false liberty tend ultimately to despotism, and that the criminal struggles of democratic faction naturally close in military usurpation. So long as the French government, under whatever form it exerts its influence, shall persevere in schemes of destruction and projects of ambition, subversive at once of the liberties of Europe, and of the security of his majesty's dominions, there can be no wise alternative but to prosecute the war with increasing energy. It is by great exertions alone that either their views of aggrandizement can be frustrated, or a solid peace procured; his majesty has therefore availed himself with peculiar satisfaction of the cordial and great assistance which has been afforded him by his faithful ally the emperor of Russia, and has thought right to make every exertion for augmenting the disposable military

military force of his own dominions. His majesty therefore has been highly gratified in accepting the services so generously offered by his English militia; and I am to express to you the entire confidence which his majesty feels, that the zeal and loyalty of his militia of this kingdom, in forwarding, at this important crisis, the active operations of the empire, will not be less prompt and conspicuous. The apprehensions of general scarcity which some time since took place, called for my early attention to this most important subject; and I was induced, with the advice of the council, to offer premiums for the early importation of grain. This measure will, I flatter myself, meet your approbation; and I have full confidence in your wisdom, if it shall be necessary to resort to any farther extraordinary means for procuring a supply.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

The evident necessity of securing this kingdom from every danger, whether foreign or domestic, and of rendering the success of invasion, if attempted, impracticable, will demonstrate to you the wisdom of continuing that enlarged system of defence you have so wisely adopted. I have therefore ordered the public accounts and estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you; and have the fullest confidence, that, in the supply which such a situation shall appear to you to require, you will equally consult the safety of the kingdom, and the honour of his majesty's government. I am induced to hope, that the great increase of the revenue which has taken place in the present year,

may enable you to raise the sums which may be wanted for the current services, without any distressing addition to the burdens of the people.

My lords and gentlemen,

I recommend to your usual attention the agriculture, the manufactures, and particularly the linen manufacture of Ireland; and I doubt not, that the protestant charter-schools, and those public institutions, whether of charity or of education, which have been protected, by your liberality, will still receive a judicious encouragement. It will be for your wisdom to consider how far it will be necessary to continue any of those extraordinary powers, with which you have strengthened the authority of his majesty's government, for the more effectual suppression and punishment of rebellious conspiracy and outrage.—His majesty places the most entire reliance upon your firmness and wisdom; and he has no doubt that you will anxiously pursue such measures as shall be best calculated for bringing the present war to an honourable termination, and for restoring the country to permanent tranquillity. It will be my constant object to attend to your suggestions and advice, that I may by this means most beneficially accomplish the commands I have received from his majesty, and most effectually forward the interests and happiness of this kingdom.

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*Message from the Lord-Lieutenant to the Irish House of Commons.*

Cornwallis.

I AM commanded by his majesty to return to this house the resolutions

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lutions upon the great and important subject of a legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland, which you desired me to transmit to his majesty, together with your address of the 27th day of March last.

The few alterations and additions which have been suggested therein by the two houses of the parliament of Great Britain, by whom, in consequence of your request, they were communicated to his majesty, are in such strict conformity to the spirit of the resolutions you agreed to, that they may be justly considered as essentially the same. I am, therefore, to congratulate you, in his majesty's name, upon that identity of sentiment which has been so conspicuously manifested in both his parliaments for the adjustment of this great measure: and I am to express the confidence which his majesty feels, that you will persevere in those zealous exertions which you have hitherto displayed, for its speedy and entire accomplishment.

His majesty will feel it as the proudest day of his reign when he can consider all his subjects as one people, united under the common protection, of the same government and the same legislature, and all participating in the full enjoyment of those blessings which the British constitution is so eminently calculated to confer.

I am also commanded by his majesty to communicate to you the joint address of the lords and commons of Great Britain, of the 8th instant, which they presented to his majesty upon laying before him the said resolutions.

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*His Excellency's Speech to both Houses, on the 2d of August, 1800, on proroguing the Parliament of Ireland.*

My lords and gentlemen,  
**T**HE whole business of this important session being at length happily concluded, it is with the most sincere satisfaction that I communicate to you, by his majesty's express command, his warmest acknowledgments for that ardent zeal and unshaken perseverance which you have so conspicuously manifested, in maturing and completing the great measure of a legislative union between this kingdom and Great Britain. The proofs you have given on this occasion of your uniform attachment to the real welfare of your country, inseparably connected with the security and prosperity of the empire at large, not only entitle you to the full approbation of your sovereign, and the applause of your fellow-subjects, but must afford you the truest claim to the gratitude of posterity. You will regret with his majesty the reverse which his majesty's allies have experienced on the continent; but his majesty is persuaded, that the firmness and public spirit of his subjects will enable him to persevere in that line of conduct, which will best provide for the honour and the essential interests of his dominions, whose means and resources have now, by your wisdom, been more closely and intimately combined.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I am to thank you, in his majesty's name, for the liberal supplies which you have cheerfully granted for the various and important branches

branches of the public service in the present year. His majesty has also witnessed with pleasure, that wise liberality which will enable him to make a just and equitable retribution to those bodies and individuals, whose privileges and interests are affected by the union; and he has also seen with satisfaction that attention to the internal prosperity of this country, which has been so conspicuously testified by the encouragement you have given to the improvement and extension of its inland navigation.

My lords and gentlemen,

I have the happiness to acquaint you, that the country in general has, in a great measure, returned to its former state of tranquillity.— If in some districts a spirit of plunder and disaffection still exists, these disorders, I believe, will prove to be merely local, and will, I doubt not, be soon effectually terminated. The pressure of scarcity on the poorer classes, much relieved by private generosity, and by the salutary provisions of the legislature, has been long and unusually severe; but I trust that, under the favour of Providence, we may draw a pleasing prospect of future plenty from the present appearance of the harvest. I am persuaded that the great measure which is now accomplished, could never have been effected but by a decided conviction on your part, that it would tend to restore and preserve the tranquillity of this country, to increase its commerce and manufactures, to perpetuate its connection with Great

Britain, and to augment the resources of the empire. You will not fail to impress these sentiments on the minds of your fellow-subjects; you will encourage and improve that just confidence which they have manifested in the result of your deliberations on this arduous question; above all, you will be studious to inculcate the full conviction, that, united with the people of Great Britain into one kingdom, governed by the same sovereign, protected by the same laws, and represented in the same legislature, nothing will be wanting on their part but a spirit of industry and order, to ensure to them the full advantages under which the people of Great Britain have enjoyed a greater degree of prosperity, security, and freedom, than has ever yet been experienced by any other nation. I cannot conclude without offering to you, and to the nation at large, my personal congratulations on the accomplishment of this great work, which has received the sanction and concurrence of our sovereign on that auspicious day which placed his illustrious family on the throne of these realms. The empire is now, through your exertions, so completely united, and by union so strengthened, that it can bid defiance to all the efforts its enemies can make, either to weaken it by division, or overturn it by force.— Under the protection of Divine Providence, the united kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland will, I trust, remain in all future ages, the fairest monument of his majesty's reign, already distinguished by so many and such various blessings conferred upon every class and description of his subjects.

*Address from the British House of Lords to his Majesty, with the Resolutions for the Union with Ireland, as amended by them.*

Resolved,

**T**HAT it be the first article of the union of the kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, that the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall, upon the 1st day of January which shall be in the year of our Lord 1801, and for ever after, be united into one kingdom, by the name of "The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland;" and that the royal style and titles appertaining to the imperial crown of the said united kingdom and its dependencies, and also the ensigns armorial, flags and banners thereof, shall be such as his majesty, by his royal proclamation under the great seal of the united kingdom, shall be pleased to appoint.

Resolved, That it be the second article of union, that the succession to the imperial crown of the said united kingdom, and of the dominions thereunto belonging, shall continue limited and settled in the same manner as the succession to the imperial crown of the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland now stands limited and settled, according to the existing laws and to the terms of union between England and Scotland.

Resolved, That it be the third article of union, that the said united kingdom be represented in one and the same parliament, to be styled "The Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

Resolved, That it be the fourth article of the union, that four lords

spiritual of Ireland by rotation of sessions, and twenty-eight lords temporal of Ireland, elected for life by the peers of Ireland, shall be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the house of lords of the parliament of the united kingdom; and one hundred commoners (two for each county of Ireland, two for the city of Dublin, two for the city of Cork, one for the university of Trinity College, and one for each of the thirty-one most considerable cities, towns, and boroughs) be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the house of commons of the parliament of the united kingdom: that such act as shall be passed in the parliament of Ireland previous to the union "to regulate the mode by which the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, to serve in the parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Ireland, shall be summoned and returned to the said parliament," shall be considered as forming part of the treaty of union, and shall be incorporated in the acts of the respective parliaments, by which the said union shall be ratified and established: that all questions touching the rotation or election of lords spiritual or temporal of Ireland to sit in the parliament of the united kingdom, shall be decided by the house of lords thereof; and whenever by reason of an equality of votes in the election of any such lords temporal, a complete election shall not be made according to the true intent of this article, the names of those peers for whom such equality of votes shall be so given, shall be written on pieces of paper of a similar form, and shall be put into a glass by the clerk of the parliament at



at the table of the house of lords whilst the house is sitting; and the peer or peers whole name or names shall be first drawn out by the clerk of the parliament, shall be deemed the peer or peers elected, as the case may be: that any person holding any peerage of Ireland now subsisting, or hereafter to be created, shall not thereby be disqualified from being elected to serve if he shall think fit, or from serving, or continuing to serve if he shall think fit, for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain in the house of commons of the united kingdom, unless he shall have been previously elected as above to sit in the house of lords of the united kingdom; but that, so long as such peer of Ireland shall so continue to be a member of the house of commons, he shall not be entitled to the privilege of peerage, nor be capable of being elected to serve as a peer on the part of Ireland, or of voting at any such election; and that he shall be liable to be sued, indicted, proceeded against, and tried as a commoner for any offence with which he may be charged: that it shall be lawful for his majesty, his heirs and successors, to create peers of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, and to make promotions in the peerage thereof after the union; provided that no new creation of any such peers shall take place after the union, until three of the peerages of Ireland, which shall have been existing at the time of the union, shall have become extinct; and upon such extinction of three peerages, that it shall be lawful for his majesty, his heirs and successors, to create one peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland; and in like manner

so often as three peerages of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland shall become extinct, it shall be lawful for his majesty, his heirs and successors, to create one other peer of the said part of the united kingdom; and if it shall happen that the peers of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, shall, by extinction of peerages or otherwise, be reduced to the number of one hundred, exclusive of all such peers of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland as shall hold any peerage of Great Britain subsisting at the time of the union, or of the united kingdom created since the union, by which such peers shall be entitled to an hereditary seat in the house of lords of the united kingdom, then and in that case it shall and may be lawful for his majesty, his heirs, and successors, to create one peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, as often as any one of such one hundred peerages shall fail by extinction, or as often as any one peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland shall become entitled by descent or creation to an hereditary seat in the house of lords of the united kingdom; it being the true intent and meaning of this article, that at all times after the union it shall and may be lawful for his majesty, his heirs, and successors, to keep up the peerage of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, to the number of one hundred, over and above the number of such of the said peers as shall be entitled by descent or creation to an hereditary seat in the house of lords of the united kingdom: that if any peerage shall at any time be in abeyance, such peerage shall be deemed and taken as an existing peerage; and 10  
peerage

created after the union, shall have rank and precedence with the peerages of the united kingdom so created, according to the dates of their creations; and that all peerages, both of Great Britain and Ireland, now subsisting, or hereafter to be created, shall, in all other respects, from the date of the union, be considered as peerages of the united kingdom; and that the peers of Ireland shall, as peers of the united kingdom, be sued and tried as peers, except as aforesaid, and shall enjoy all privileges of peers as fully as the peers of Great Britain; the right and privilege of sitting in the house of lords, and the privileges depending thereon, and the right of sitting on the trial of peers, only excepted.

Resolved, that it be the fifth article of union, that the churches of England and Ireland, as now by law established, be united into one protestant episcopal church, to be called "The United Church of England and Ireland;" and that the doctrine, worship, discipline and government of the said united church shall be, and shall remain in full force for ever, as the same are now by law established for the church of England; and that the continuance and preservation of the said united church, as the established church of England and Ireland, shall be deemed and taken to be an essential and fundamental part of the union; and that in like manner the doctrine, worship, discipline and government of The church of Scotland shall remain and be preserved as the same are now established by law, and by the acts for the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland.

Resolved, that it be the sixth

article of union, that his majesty's subjects of Great Britain and Ireland shall, from and after the 1st day of January, 1801, be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing, as to encouragements and bounties on the like articles, being the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country respectively; and, generally, in respect of trade and navigation, in all ports and places in the united kingdom and its dependencies; and that, in all treaties made by his majesty, his heirs and successors, with any foreign power, his majesty's subjects of Ireland shall have the same privileges, and be on the same footing, as his majesty's subjects of Great Britain: that, from the 1st day of January, 1801, all prohibitions and bounties on the export of articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, to the other, shall cease and determine; and that the said articles shall henceforth be exported from one country to the other without duty or bounty on such export: that all articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, (not herein-after enumerated as subject to specific duties,) shall from thenceforth be imported into each country from the other, free from duty, other than such countervailing duties on the several articles enumerated in the schedule, No. 1. A. and B. hereunto annexed, as therein specified, or to such other countervailing duties as shall hereafter be imposed by the parliament of the united kingdom in the manner hereinafter provided; and that, for the period of twenty years from the union, the articles enumerated in the schedule, No. 2, hereunto annexed, shall be subject, on importation

tation into each country from the other, to the duties specified in the said schedule, No. 2. And the woollen manufactures, known by the names of old and new drapery, shall pay, on importation into each country from the other, the duties now payable on importation into Ireland; salt and hops, on importation into Ireland from Great Britain, duties not exceeding those which are now paid on importation into Ireland; and coals, on importation into Ireland from Great Britain, shall be subject to burthens not exceeding those to which they are now subject: that calicoes and muslins shall, on their importation into either country from the other, be subject and liable to the duties now payable on the same, on the importation thereof from Great Britain into Ireland, until the 5th day of January, 1808; and from and after the said day, the said duties shall be annually reduced by equal proportions, as near as may be, in each year; so as that the said duties shall stand at ten per cent. from and after the 5th day of January, 1816, until the 5th day of January, 1821: and that cotton yarn and cotton twist shall, on their importation into either country from the other, be subject and liable to the duties now payable upon the same, on the importation thereof from Great Britain into Ireland, until the 5th of January, 1808; and from and after the said day, the said duties shall be annually reduced by equal proportions, as near as may be, in each year; so that all duties shall cease on the said articles from and after the 5th day of January, 1816: that any articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, which are or may be subject to in-

ternal duty, or to duty on the materials of which they are composed, may be made subject, on their importation into each country respectively from the other, to such countervailing duty as shall appear to be just and reasonable in respect of such internal duty or duties on the materials; and that, for the said purposes, the articles specified in the said schedule, No. 1. A. and B. shall be subject to the duties set forth therein, liable to be taken off, diminished, or increased in the manner herein specified; and that, upon the export of the said articles from each country to the other respectively, a drawback shall be given, equal in amount to the countervailing duty payable on such articles on the import thereof into the same country from the other; and that, in like manner, in future it shall be competent to the united parliament to impose any new or additional countervailing duties, or to take off or diminish such existing countervailing duties as may appear, on like principles, to be just and reasonable in respect of any future or additional internal duty on any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, or of any new or additional duty on any materials of which such article may be composed, or of any abatement of duty on the same; and that when any such new or additional countervailing duty shall be so imposed on the import of any article into either country from the other, a drawback, equal in amount to such countervailing duty, shall be given in like manner on the export of every such article respectively from the same country to the other: that all articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, when exported

exported through the other, shall, in all cases, be exported subject to the same charges as if they had been exported directly from the country of which they were the growth, produce, or manufacture: that all duty charged on the import of foreign or colonial goods into either country, shall, on their export to the other, be either drawn back, or the amount, (if any be retained), shall be placed to the credit of the country to which they shall be so exported, so long as the expenditure of the united kingdom shall be defrayed by proportional contributions; provided always, that nothing herein shall extend to take away any duty, bounty, or prohibition which exists with respect to corn, meal, malt, flour, or biscuit; but that all duties, bounties, or prohibitions on the said articles may be regulated, varied, or repealed from time to time as the united parliament shall deem expedient.

#### SCHEDULE, No. I.

*Of the Articles to be charged with countervailing Duties upon Importation from Ireland into Great Britain, and from Great Britain into Ireland respectively, according to the sixth Article of Union.*

##### A.

*On Importation into Great Britain from Ireland.*

Beer.  
Bricks and tiles.  
Candles.  
Chocolate, cocoa paste, and cocoa.  
Cordage.  
Cider and perry.  
Glasses.

Hops.

Leather.

Mead and metheglin.

Paper and books.

Paper, stained.

Printed goods.

Salt.

Silk manufactures, silk and cotton mixed manufactures, and silk and worsted mixed manufactures.

Soap.

Spirits.

Starch and hair-powder.

Sugar, refined.

Sweets.

Tobacco.

Verjuice and vinegar.

Wire.

##### B.

*On Importation into Ireland from Great Britain.*

Beer.

Glasses.

Leather.

Paper, stained.

Paper.

Silk manufactures, silk and cotton mixed manufactures, and silk and worsted mixed manufactures.

Spirits.

Sugar, refined.

Sweets.

Tobacco.

#### SCHEDULE, No. II.

*Of the Articles charged with the Duties specified upon Importation into Great Britain and Ireland respectively, according to the sixth Article of the Union.*

Apparel; brass, wrought; cabinet ware; coaches and other carriages; copper, wrought; cottons, other

other than calicoes and muslins; glass; haberdashery; hats; tin plates; wrought iron, and hardware; gold and silver lace, gold and silver thread, bullion for lace, pearl, and spangles; millinery; paper, stained; pottery; sadlery and other manufactured leather; silk manufacture; stockings—ten per cent. on the true value.

Resolved, that it be the seventh article of union, that the charge arising from the payment of the interest, and the sinking fund for the reduction of the principal of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively, except as hereinafter provided: that, for the space of twenty years after the union shall take place, the contribution of Great Britain and Ireland respectively, towards the expenditure of the united kingdom in each year, shall be defrayed in the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain, and two parts for Ireland: that, at the expiration of the said twenty years, the future expenditure of the united kingdom (other than the interest and charges of the debt to which either country shall be separately liable,) shall be defrayed in such proportion as the parliament of the united kingdom shall deem just and reasonable, upon a comparison of the real value of the exports and imports of the respective countries upon an average of the three years next preceding the period of revision, or on a comparison of the value of the quantities of the following articles consumed within the respective countries on a similar average, viz. beer, spirits, sugar, wine, tea, tobacco, and malt, or according to the aggregate proportion resulting

from both these considerations combined, or on a comparison of the amount of income in each country estimated from the produce for the same period of a general tax (if such shall have been imposed) on the same descriptions of income in both countries; and that the parliament of the united kingdom shall afterwards proceed in like manner to revise and fix the said proportions according to the same rules, or any of them, at periods not more distant than twenty years, nor less than seven years from each other, unless, previous to any such period, the parliament of the united kingdom shall have declared, as hereinafter provided, that the expenditure of the united kingdom shall be defrayed indiscriminately by equal taxes imposed on the like articles in both countries: that, for the defraying the said expenditure according to the rules above laid down, the revenues of Ireland shall hereafter constitute a consolidated fund, which shall be charged, in the first instance, with the interest of the debt of Ireland, and with the sinking fund applicable to the reduction of the said debt, and the remainder shall be applied towards defraying the proportion of the expenditure of the united kingdom to which Ireland may be liable in each year: that the proportion of contribution to which Great Britain and Ireland will be liable, shall be raised by such taxes in each country respectively as the parliament of the united kingdom shall from time to time deem fit; provided always, that in regulating the taxes in each country, by which their respective proportions shall be levied, no article in Ireland shall be made liable to any new or additional duty by which

which the whole amount of duty payable thereon would exceed the amount which will be thereafter payable in England on the like article: that if, at the end of any year, any surplus shall accrue from the revenues of Ireland, after defraying the interest, sinking fund, and proportional contribution and separate charges to which the said country shall then be liable, taxes shall be taken off to the amount of such surplus, or the surplus shall be applied by the parliament of the united kingdom to local purposes in Ireland, or to make good any deficiency which may arise in the revenues of Ireland in time of peace, or be invested, by commissioners of the national debt of Ireland, in the funds, to accumulate for the benefit of Ireland, at compound interest, in ease of the contribution of Ireland in time of war; provided that the surplus so to accumulate shall at no future period be suffered to exceed the sum of five millions: that all monies to be raised after the union by loan in peace or war for the service of the united kingdom by the parliament thereof, shall be considered to be a joint debt, and the charges thereof shall be borne by the respective countries in the proportion of their respective contributions; provided that if at any time, in raising their respective contributions hereby fixed for each country, the parliament of the united kingdom shall judge it fit to raise a greater proportion of such respective contributions in one country within the year than in the other, or to set apart a greater proportion of sinking fund for the liquidation of the whole or any part of the loan raised on account of the one country than of that raised on account of the

other country, then such part of the said loan, for the liquidation of which different provisions shall have been made for the respective countries, shall be kept distinct, and shall be borne by each separately, and only that part of the said loan be deemed joint and common, for the reduction of which the respective countries shall have made provision in the proportion of their respective contributions: that, if at any future day the separate debt of each country respectively shall have been liquidated, or if the values of their respective debts (estimated according to the amount of the interest and annuities attending the same, and of the sinking fund applicable to the reduction thereof, and to the period within which the whole capital of such debt shall appear to be redeemable by such sinking fund) shall be to each other in the same proportion with the respective contributions of each country respectively, or if the amount by which the value of the larger of such debts shall vary from such proportion shall not exceed one hundredth part of the said value; and if it shall appear to the parliament of the united kingdom, that the respective circumstances of the two countries will thenceforth admit of their contributing indiscriminately, by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each, to the future expenditure of the united kingdom, it shall be competent to the parliament of the united kingdom to declare, that all future expense thenceforth to be incurred, together with the interest and charges of all joint debts contracted previous to such declaration, shall be so defrayed indiscriminately by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each country, and



and thenceforth from time to time, as circumstances may require, to impose and apply such taxes accordingly, subject only to such particular exemptions or abatements in Ireland, and in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, as circumstances may appear from time to time to demand: that, from the period of such declaration, it shall no longer be necessary to regulate the contribution of the two countries towards the future expenditure of the united kingdom, according to any specific proportion, or according to any of the rules hereinbefore prescribed; provided, nevertheless, that the interest or charges which may remain on account of any part of the separate debt with which either country shall be chargeable, and which shall not be liquidated or consolidated proportionably as above, shall, until extinguished, continue to be defrayed by separate taxes in each country: that a sum, not less than the sum which has been granted by the parliament of Ireland, on the average of six years immediately preceeding the 1st day of January, in the year 1800, in premiums for the internal encouragement of agriculture or manufactures; or for the maintaining institutions for pious and charitable purposes, shall be applied, for the period of twenty years after the union, to such local purposes in Ireland, in such manner as the parliament of the united kingdom shall direct: that, from and after the 1st day of January, 1801, all public revenue arising to the united kingdom, from the territorial dependencies thereof, and applied to the general expenditure of the united kingdom, shall be so applied in the

proportions of the respective contributions of the two countries.

Resolved, that it be the eighth article of the union, that all laws in force, at the time of the union, and all the courts of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms, shall remain now as by law established within the same, subject only to such alterations and regulations from time to time as circumstances may appear to the parliament of the united kingdom to require; provided that all writs of error and appeals depending at the time of the union, or hereafter to be brought, and which might now be finally decided by the house of lords of either kingdom, shall from and after the union be finally decided by the house of lords of the united kingdom; and provided that, from and after the union, there shall remain in Ireland an instance court of admiralty, for the determination of causes civil and maritime only; and that the appeal from sentences of the said court, shall be to his majesty's delegates in his court of chancery in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland; and that all laws at present in force in either kingdom, which shall be contrary to any of the provisions which may be enacted by any act for carrying these articles into effect, be from and after the union repealed.

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*Address to the King with the above Resolutions.*

Most gracious sovereign,

We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in parliament assembled, humbly beg leave to acquaint your majesty, that,

that, in conformity to your majesty's gracious message, laying before us the resolutions of the lords and commons of Ireland, we have proceeded to resume the consideration of the great and important subject of a legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland; and it is with unspeakable satisfaction we have observed the conformity of the said resolutions to those principles which we humbly submitted to your majesty in the last session of parliament, as calculated to form the basis of such a settlement.

With the few alterations and additions which we have found it necessary to suggest, we consider these resolutions as fit to form articles of union between Great Britain and Ireland; and if those alterations and additions shall be approved by the two houses of the parliament of Ireland, we are ready to confirm and ratify these articles, in order that the same may be established forever by the mutual consent of both parliaments.

We offer to your majesty our humble congratulations upon the near prospect of the accomplishment of a work, which your majesty, as the common father of your people, has justly declared to be so near your heart; concurring, as we do, with your houses of parliament in Ireland, in the full conviction that, by incorporating the legislatures, and consolidating the resources of the two kingdoms, we shall increase the power and stability of the British empire; and shall at the same time contribute in the most effectual manner to the improvement of the commerce, the security of the religion, and the preservation of the liberties of your majesty's subjects in Ireland.

*Protest entered on the Journals of the Irish House of Lords, against the Union.*

Dissentient.

1st. **B**ECAUSE the resolution sanctions the principle of a legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland, without an opportunity having been afforded to this house of examining the details which are held out as an inducement for its adoption; details which have occupied the attention of those who have proposed the measure for a considerable length of time, and which therefore should not be hastily, or without due consideration, acted upon by any branch of the legislature of Ireland.

2dly, Because those details do not appear to us, on such consideration as we have been allowed to give them, to proffer any benefits to this country of which it is not already in possession, or to afford any remedy for any of the evils which it at present has reason to apprehend.

3dly, Because the resolution proposes, as a remedy for partial and temporary evils, an act which, if once adopted, binds us and our posterity for ever.

4thly, Because we consider the independence of Ireland, and the security of her connection with Great Britain, to be equally essential to the well-being of this country; and that we consider both as endangered by the measure of a legislative union.

5thly, Because the present constitution of these kingdoms, founded on the complete unity of their executive power, and the perfect distinctness

tinuities of their legislatures, appears to us as happily contrived as the limited nature of human institutions can admit to maintain national freedom in both countries, and unalterable connection between both.

6thly, Because the plan proposed, whether it be good or whether it be ill, appears to us calculated to effect a total and fundamental change in the constitution of Ireland; a change which ought not to be ventured on, without the unequivocal approbation of the informed understanding and resident property of the country, both of which we consider to be adverse to the reception of the measure.

7thly, Because we consider the present season of innovation ill adapted for the discussion of new systems of government, more particularly in this country, which has only just escaped from the revolutionary projects of foreign and domestic enemies, and in which the ordinary course of law has been necessarily suspended.

8thly, Because, next to the protection of Divine Providence, we hold this country indebted for its preservation from those evils to the vigilance of its resident parliament, and the loyalty of its resident gentry, the former of whom the proposed measure necessarily removes from the country, and the latter of whom it must powerfully operate to withdraw.

9thly, Because, by the plan laid before us for constituting the parliament of the united kingdoms, it is intended that four spiritual and twenty-eight temporal lords shall be added to the British house of lords, consisting of upwards of 300 members, and that 100 representa-

tives for the people of Ireland shall be added to the British house of commons, consisting of 558 members, and that the present entire British houses of parliament, with the said additional members, shall form their united parliament; from which it is evident that the entire power of making laws and imposing taxes must reside in the preponderating majority of the British members in such parliament; which power, though it might without danger be entrusted to them if the two nations were to be so perfectly incorporated as to form but one nation, and to have but one purse, as in the union between England, Scotland, and Wales; yet in the intended union, where distinct revenues, distinct taxes, and distinct expenses shall continue to exist between the two nations, it must leave the liberties of the Irish nation at the disposal of such British majority, who will make the laws for the internal regulation of Ireland, which shall not in any sort affect themselves, and impose taxes upon that kingdom, the pressure of which they will not feel. It appears to us that the exercise of such power must necessarily produce universal discontent, and may possibly tend to alienate the affections of Ireland from Great Britain.

10thly, And above all, because we conceive that no scheme of national adjustment can be honourable, satisfactory, or permanent, which is not considered with mature deliberation, prosecuted by fair and temperate means, and founded on the uninfluenced sense of parliament, no one of which essential requisites can we find in the present project.

Leinster,

Downshire,

O 2

Perry,

Pery, by proxy,  
 Meath,  
 Granard,  
 Ladlow, by proxy,  
 Moira, by proxy,  
 Arran,  
 Charlemont,  
 Kingston,  
 Mountrath,  
 Farnham,  
 Massey, by proxy,  
 Enniskillen,  
 Belmore, by proxy,  
 Dillon,  
 Strangford,  
 Powerscourt,  
 De Vesli, by proxy,  
 Wm. Down and Connor,  
 Rd. Waterford and Lismore,  
 Louth,  
 Lismore,  
 Sunderlin.

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*Protest entered on the Journals of the  
 Irish House of Lords, on reporting  
 the Union Propositions.*

Dissentient,

1st, **B**ECAUSE, that in the pre-  
 sent awful state of affairs,  
 when the most unremitting industry  
 is made use of to unhinge every  
 established government in Europe;  
 when revolutionary principles have  
 produced the overthrow of several  
 ancient established governments, we  
 think every loyal subject who re-  
 gards the liberties of his country  
 called upon to rally round the con-  
 stitution, and to preserve its stabi-  
 lity; we therefore cannot help pro-  
 testing against the rashness of the  
 minister, who, in such times, hazards  
 the experiment of annihilating that  
 constitution which has for so many  
 ages maintained the connection be-  
 tween Great Britain and Ireland,

and of substituting in its stead (in  
 opposition to the general voice of  
 the nation) a new system, totally  
 subversive of every fundamental  
 principle of that constitution which  
 we consider as the best security for  
 those liberties which the subjects of  
 Ireland now enjoy.

2dly, Because, however willing  
 we now are, and always have been,  
 to contribute in proportion to our  
 means to the support and defence  
 of the empire, we hold it our bound-  
 en duty, before that we shall irre-  
 vocably enter into any engagement,  
 to take upon ourselves any parti-  
 cular proportion of the expenses of  
 the empire, to ascertain the proba-  
 ble amount of such proportion, to  
 inquire into the ability of Ireland  
 to discharge the same, and to ex-  
 amine whether such part be propor-  
 tionate to the relative abilities of  
 the two nations. Upon such in-  
 quiry we find that the expense in-  
 curred by Great Britain in the year  
 1799, amounted to upwards of  
 32,000,000*l.*; and that which was  
 incurred by Ireland in the same year,  
 amounted to upwards of 6,000,000*l.*  
 two-seventeenths of which sums (the  
 proposed proportion) amount to up-  
 wards of 4,400,000*l.* which added  
 to the present interest of the debt  
 incurred by Ireland, and the dis-  
 charge of her annuities, amounting  
 to 1,400,000*l.* and the interest of  
 the loan of this year, amounting to  
 about 250,000*l.* will make the annual  
 charge upon Ireland to amount to  
 6,050,000*l.* It appears to us that  
 the produce of our revenue, inclu-  
 ding the estimated amount of the  
 taxes laid on this session, does not  
 exceed 2,800,000*l.* and consequent-  
 ly they will fall short by 3,250,000*l.*  
 of the sum necessary to discharge  
 such proportionate part of the ex-  
 penses

penes of the empire. In order to ascertain the relative abilities of the two nations, their respective balances of trade with the whole world have been compared, and it appears from thence that such balance in favour of Great Britain amounts to the sum of 14,800,000*l.* and that such balance in favour of Ireland, according to the returns laid before this house, amount to the sum of 509,312*l.*; taking therefore the balance of trade as a criterion of ability, the proportion would be as 29 to 1. Inquiry likewise having been made into the current cash in circulation in both kingdoms, it appears that in the year 1777, the current cash in Great Britain was calculated at 43,000,950*l.* and it is computed by persons the best informed upon that subject in this kingdom, that the current cash in Ireland may now amount to between 3,000,000*l.* and 3,500,000*l.*; taking it therefore at the latter, the proportion should be as 12 to 1; considering it in another very essential point of view, the influx and efflux of money into the respective kingdoms, it appears that Great Britain receives by remittances to persons having property in the East and West Indies, who reside in Great Britain, 4,000,000*l.* sterling. We do not know of any influx of money into Ireland, save that of 509,312*l.* the balance of her trade; and it appears to us that she annually remits to Great Britain, on account of her debts, the sum of 720,000*l.* and on account of the pay of 3234 men, serving in Great Britain, the sum of 101,370*l.*; these annual drains, together with the remittances to absentees (probably little short of 2,000,000*l.*), we consider to have occasioned the high

rate of exchange with Great Britain during the last twelve months, from 3 to 5 per cent. above par, notwithstanding that during that period 3,000,000*l.* have been borrowed in Great Britain, and remitted to Ireland. We do not know of any fund to resort to for raising the said deficiency of 3,250,000*l.* save by taxation, an addition to which cannot in any considerable degree be supported; and by resorting to her landed property, the gross contents of which being but 11,000,000 plantation acres, we cannot estimate at more than the annual rent of 5,500,000*l.* We observe the large sums of money borrowed by Ireland within these four years have been for the most part raised in Great Britain, owing to the total disability of procuring them in Ireland. The facility of raising money in Great Britain, and the difficulty found in raising any in Ireland, clearly demonstrates the opulence of the one nation and the poverty of the other. Under such circumstances it appears to us, that if this kingdom should take upon herself irrevocably the payment of two-seventeenths of such expenses, she will not have means to perform her engagement, unless by charging her landed property with 12 or 13*s.* in the pound. It must end in the draining from her her last guinea, in totally annihilating her trade for want of capital, in rendering the taxes unproductive, and consequently in finally putting her into a state of bankruptcy. We think ourselves called upon to protest against a measure so ruinous to this country, and to place the responsibility for its consequences upon such persons as have brought it forward and supported it.

For these reasons, and believing the above statement to be accurate, we thus record our dissent.

3dly, For these and many other reasons, too tedious and too obvious to be here dwelt upon, we have deemed it our bounden duty, both to ourselves and to our descendants, thus publicly to declare our dissent from these resolutions, approving of the measures of a legislative union, which have passed this house, calling on our latest posterity to entreat, that in virtue of this, our solemn declaration, they will acquit us of having been in any wise instrumental to their degradation, and the ruin of that country which they may hereafter inhabit.

Leinster,  
Downshire,  
Meath;  
Granard,  
Ludlow, by proxy,  
Moir, by proxy,  
Arran,  
Charlemont,  
Riversdale, by proxy,  
Mountcashell,  
Farnham,  
Dillon,  
Strangford,  
Powercourt,  
De Vesce, by proxy,  
W. Down and Connor,  
R. Waterford and Lismore,  
Louth,  
Massey, by proxy,  
Sunderlin, for the first reason.

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*Protest against a legislative Union with Great Britain: entered on the Journals of the Irish House of Lords,*

1st, **B**ECAUSE the measure, recommended by our most gracious sovereign, was a complete

and entire union between Great Britain and Ireland, to be founded on equal and liberal principles. We cannot help observing, that the terms proposed in the said bill are inconsistent with those principles, and are totally unequal; that Great Britain is thereby to retain entire and undiminished her houses of lords and commons, and that two-fifteenths of the Irish peers are to be degraded and deprived of their legislative functions, and that two-thirds of the Irish house of commons are to be struck off. Such a proceeding appear to us totally unequal, both in respect of numbers, and the mode of forming the united parliament; and we cannot suggest any reason for reducing the number of the members of the Irish houses of parliament, which does not apply with more force to reducing the number of the members in the British houses of parliament, whose numbers so greatly exceed that of the members of the Irish houses of parliament.

2dly, Because the measure recommended by his majesty was a complete and entire union between Great and Ireland, by which we understand such an union as should so perfectly identify the two nations, that they should become as one nation, and there should not exist any distinct interest between them.—When we consider the provisions of the said bill, we find, that although its professed object is to form a perfect union between them, it does not in any sort effect it. It unites the legislatures, but does not identify the nations; their interests will remain as distinct as they are at present; Ireland will continue to be governed by a viceroy, assisted by an Irish privy council; her purse, her revenues, her expenditure, and her



her taxes, will be as distinct as they are at present from those of Great Britain; even their intercourse of trade must be carried on as between two separate nations, through the medium of revenue officers. Such distinctnesses of interest prove, that they require separate parliaments, resident in each kingdom, to attend to them; that such union is only nominal, and that it does not effect that complete and entire union recommended by his majesty, but shews, that, from the circumstances of the two nations, the same is totally impracticable.

3dly, Because the adjustment of the numbers of the Irish members to be added to the two houses of the imperial parliament has been determined upon without any official documents or other authentic information having been laid before parliament. That upon the union with Scotland, such proportion was adjusted by the commissioners appointed for England and Scotland, upon an examination of their respective claims, who having thereupon agreed that the number of commoners to be added to the English commons, consisting of 513, should be 45 on the part of Scotland, and the number of English peers being then 185, they calculated that 16 bore the same proportion to that number, which 45 bore to the English house of commons, and therefore determined upon that number of peers: this calculation justified the propriety of such adjustment, and we cannot conceive upon what principle the number of Irish peers was reduced to 32, when, according to the proportion aforesaid, it ought to have been 53. We must consider such conduct as unjust in its principle, and wantonly casting a

stigma upon the Irish peerage, by depriving 21 of their body of their just right of sitting in the united parliament.

4thly, Because, that, however proper it may have been for the two parliaments to mark out the great outlines for forming an union between the two nations, we think, that from their situation in different kingdoms, and the impracticability of communication between them, they were ill suited to the adjustment of matters which require detail. That the mode of proceeding adopted by the great lord Somers, upon the union with Scotland, of appointing commissioners on the behalf of each nation, is proved by experience to have been well adapted to that purpose. That such commissioners, having the means of procuring information, and communicating with each other, were thereby enabled to settle with propriety, and to the satisfaction of both nations, such matters as should be necessary to be adjusted between them. That, instead of adopting that wise and rational mode of proceeding, the adjustment of the numbers to be added to the imperial parliament has been established in pursuance of the mandate of the British minister, without laying before parliament any official document whatsoever, or taking any step to procure information concerning the respective claims of the two nations.

5thly, Because, by the original distribution of power between the two houses of parliament, it has been established as a leading and fundamental principle of the constitution, that the commons should hold the purse of the nation; without the interference of the peerage; notwithstanding which, and that the

said bill declares, that the Irish peerages shall be considered as peerages of the united kingdom, it directs, that Irish peers shall be eligible, as commoners, to represent any place in Great Britain, whereby the purse of the nation will be eventually put into the hands of the peers of the united kingdom, under the description of Irish peers, in direct defiance of the aforesaid principle. That it is evident that such innovation was introduced by the minister for the purpose of preventing the opposition which the measure might receive from such Irish peers as were members of the British house of commons, which is clearly evinced by their not being made eligible for any place in Ireland, from whence they derive their honours. That by the provision in the bill for a constant creation of peers for Ireland, the Irish peerage is to be kept up for ever, thereby perpetuating the degrading distinction by which the Irish peerage is to continue stripped of all parliamentary functions. That the perpetuity of such distinction would have been avoided, by providing that no Irish peer should hereafter be created (which is the case of Scots Peers), and that whenever the Irish peers shall be reduced to the number of 28, they should be declared peers of the united empire, equally with the British, from which time all national distinctions between them should cease.

6thly, Because, when we advert to the corrupt and unconstitutional language held out by the minister to such members as claimed property in boroughs, intimating to them, that they should be considered as their private property, and should be purchased as such, and

the price paid out of the public purse, such language appears to us to amount to a proposal to buy the Irish parliament for government, and makes the union a measure of bargain and sale between the minister and the individual.

7thly, Because, when we compare the relative abilities of Great Britain and Ireland, we find the contribution to be paid by the two kingdoms, to the expenses of the united empire, most unequally adjusted; and that the share of two-seventeenths, fixed upon as the proportion to be paid by Ireland, is far beyond what her resources will enable her to discharge. Should Ireland undertake to pay more than she shall be able to answer, the act will be irrevocable, and the necessary consequence will be a gradual diminution of her capital, the decline of her trade, a failure in the produce of her taxes, and finally her total bankruptcy. Should Ireland fall, Great Britain must necessarily be involved in her ruin, and we have to lament that our great and glorious empire will be brought to the brink of destruction, by the dangerous and visionary speculation of substituting a new system of government for Ireland, in the place of that constitution, which she has experienced to be the firmest security for the preservation of her liberties. We think it proper to observe, that if the ministers had any plausible grounds, whereupon they have calculated the said proportion, they have not deigned to lay them before parliament, nor have the usual and established forms of proceeding to investigate matters of intricate and extended calculations been resorted to, by appointing committees for their examination; neither have com-

commissioners been appointed, as was done upon the union with Scotland. Had the minister applied his attention to that very necessary inquiry, of ascertaining the relative ability of the two nations; he would have compared the balance which Great Britain has in her favour, from her trade with all the world, amounting to 14,800,000*l.* with that of Ireland upon the whole of her trade, amounting to 509,312*l.* bearing a proportion to each other of about 29 to 1:—he would have examined into the amount of revenue, out of which the said proportions must naturally be paid, namely, the produce of the permanent taxes of each nation, which he would have found to have produced in Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1799, the sum of 26,000,000*l.* and the permanent taxes in Ireland in the corresponding year did not exceed 2,000,000*l.* bearing a proportion to each other of about 13 to 1. He would have been informed that the only influx of money into Ireland which can be discovered, is the said balance of her trade of 500,000*l.* and that she remits to Great Britain annually 724,753*l.* a sum exceeding by upwards of 215,000*l.* the amount of such balance. That the remittances of her absentees (as stated by Mr. Pitt) amount to 1,000,000*l.* but are computed really to amount to double that sum; and must necessarily greatly increase should an union take place, such drains exhausting in a great degree the resources of this kingdom, and adding to the opulence of Great Britain. The facility with which large sums of money have lately been raised in Great Britain, compared with the unsuccessful attempt to raise so small

a sum in this kingdom as one million and a half, would have afforded to him the strongest proof of the opulence of the one and the poverty of the other. From the Irish minister's own statement he has computed that the sum for which this kingdom shall be called upon annually in time of war, as her contribution, will amount to 4,492,680*l.* but has not attempted to point out the means by which she can raise so enormous a sum. When the minister shall find the circumstances of Ireland are such as have been herein stated, and shall recollect that this new project has been suggested by him, and forced upon this nation, he will feel the immense responsibility which falls upon him for the disastrous consequences which it may produce, not only upon this kingdom, but upon the whole empire, he will be alarmed at the discontents which an imposition of taxes beyond the abilities of the people to pay must produce, and the fatal consequences that they may occasion.

8thly; Because the transfer of our legislature to another kingdom will deprive us of the only security we have for the enjoyment of our liberties; and being against the sense of the people, amounts to a gross breach of trust; and we consider the substitute for our constitution, namely, the return of the proposed number of persons to the united parliament as delusive, amounting, indeed, to an acknowledgement of the necessity of representation, but in no sort supplying it; inasmuch as the 32 peers and the 100 commoners will be merged in the vast disproportion of British members, who will in fact be the legislators for Ireland; and when we consider that all the establishments of the two separate govern-



governments are to continue, which must add to the influence of the minister over the conduct of parliament, and advert to his power in the return of Irish members to parliament, we conceive that such portion is more likely to overturn the constitution of Great Britain than to preserve our own.

9thly, Because we consider the intended union a direct breach of trust, not only by the parliament with the people, but by the parliament of Great Britain with that of Ireland, inasmuch as the tenour and purport of the settlement of 1782 did intentionally and expressly exclude the re-agitation of constitutional questions between the two countries, and did establish the exclusive legislative authority of the Irish parliament, without the interference of any other. That the breach of such a solemn contract, founded on the internal weakness of the country, and its inability at this time to withstand the destructive design of the minister, must tend to destroy the future harmony of both, by forming a precedent, and generating a principal of mutual encroachment, in times of mutual difficulties.

10thly, Because, that when we consider the weakness of this kingdom at the time that the measure was brought forward, and her inability to withstand the destructive designs of the minister, and couple to the act itself the means that have been employed to accomplish it, such as the abuse of the place bill, for the purpose of modelling the parliament—the appointment of sheriffs to prevent county meetings—the dismissal of the old steadfast friends of constitutional government for their adherence to the consti-

tution, and the return of persons into parliament who had neither connection nor stake in this country, and were therefore selected to decide upon her fate—when we consider the armed force of the minister, added to his powers and practices of corruption, when we couple these things together, we are warranted to say, that the basest means have been used to accomplish this great innovation, and that the measure of union tends to dishonour the ancient peerage for ever, to disqualify both houses of parliament, and subjugate the people of Ireland for ever. Such circumstances, we apprehend, will be recollected with abhorrence, and will create jealousy between the two nations, in the place of harmony, which for so many centuries has been the cement of their union.

11thly, Because the argument made use of in favour of the union, namely, that the sense of the people of Ireland is in its favour, we know to be untrue; and as the ministers have declared, that they would not press the measure against the sense of the people, and as the people have pronounced, and under all difficulties, their judgement against it, we have, together with the sense of the country, the authority of the minister to enter our protest against the project of union, against the yoke which it imposes, the dishonour which it inflicts, the disqualification passed upon the peerage, the stigma thereby branded on the realm, the disproportionate principle of expence it introduces, the means employed to effect it, the discontents it has excited, and must continue to excite; against all these, and the fatal consequences they may produce, we have endeavoured to interpose our votes,

votes, and failing, we transmit to after-times our names in solemn protest on behalf of the parliament constitution of this realm, the liberty which it secured, the trade which it protected, the connexion which it preserved, and the constitution which it supplied and fortified.

This we feel ourselves called upon to do in support of our characters, our honour, and whatever is left to us worthy to be transmitted to our posterity.

Leinster,  
Meath;  
Granard,  
Moira, by proxy, for the  
8th, 10th, and 11th reasons,  
Ludlow, by proxy,  
Arran,  
Charlemont,  
Kingston, by proxy,  
Riversdale, by proxy,  
Mountcashell,  
Farnham,  
Belmore, by proxy,  
Massey, by proxy,  
Strangford,  
Powerscourt,  
De Veski,  
Wm. Down and Connor.  
R. Waterford and Lismore,  
Sunderlin, except for the  
7th reason,  
Lismore, by proxy.

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*Letters from the Minister for Foreign Affairs in France, and from General Buonaparte, with the Answers returned to them by the Right Honourable Lord Grenville, his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.*

*Letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs in France to Lord Grenville.*

MY lord, I dispatch, by order of general Bonaparte, first consul of the French republic, a messenger to London; he is the bearer of a letter from the first consul of the republic to his majesty the king of England. I request you to give the necessary orders, that he may be enabled to deliver it directly into your own hands. This step, in itself, announces the importance of its object. Accept, my lord, the assurance of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Ch. Mau. Talleyrand.  
Paris, 5th Nivose, 8th year of the French republic, (Dec. 25, 1799.)

*French Republic—Sovereignty of the People—Liberty—Equality.*

*Bonaparte, first Consul of the Republic, to his Majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland.*

*Paris, 5th Nivose, 8th Year of the Republic.*

Called by the wishes of the French nation to occupy the first magistracy of the republic, I think it proper, on entering into office, to make a direct communication of it to your majesty. The war, which for eight years has ravaged the four quarters of the world, must it be eternal? Are there no means of coming to an understanding? How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe, powerful and strong beyond what their safety and independence require, sacrifice to ideas of vain greatness the benefits of commerce, internal prosperity, and

and the happiness of families? How is it that they do not feel that peace is of the first necessity as well as the first glory? These sentiments cannot be foreign to the heart of your majesty, who reigns over a free nation, and with the sole view of rendering it happy.— Your majesty will only see, in this overture, my sincere desire to contribute efficaciously, for the second time, to a general pacification, by a step, speedy, entirely of confidence, and disengaged from those forms which, necessary perhaps to disguise the dependence of weak states, prove only in those which are strong the mutual desire of deceiving each other. France and England, by the abuse of their strength, may still, for a long time, for the misfortune of all nations, retard the period of their being exhausted.— But I will venture to say, the fate of all civilized nations is attached to the termination of a war which involves the whole world.

Bonaparte.

*Downing-Street, Jan. 4, 1800.*

Sir,

I have received and laid before the king the two letters which you have transmitted to me; and his majesty, seeing no reason to depart from those forms which have long been established in Europe, for transacting business with foreign states, has commanded me, to return, in his name, the official answer which I send you herewith inclosed. I have the honour to be, with high consideration, sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

Grenville.

To the minister for foreign affairs, &c. at Paris.

#### NOTE.

The king has given frequent proofs of his sincere desire for the re-establishment of secure and permanent tranquillity in Europe. He neither is, nor has been, engaged in any contest for a vain and false glory.— He has had no other view than that of maintaining, against all aggression, the rights and happiness of his subjects. For these he has contended against an unprovoked attack; and for the same objects he is still obliged to contend; nor can he hope that this necessity could be removed by entering, at the present moment, into negotiation with those whom a fresh revolution has so recently placed in the exercise of power in France; since no real advantage can arise from such negotiation to the great and desirable object of general peace, until it shall distinctly appear that those causes have ceased to operate, which originally produced the war, and by which it has since been protracted, and, in more than one instance, renewed. The same system, to the prevalence of which France justly ascribes all her present miseries, is that which has also involved the rest of Europe in a long and destructive warfare, of a nature long since unknown to the practice of civilized nations. For the extension of this system, and for the extermination of all established governments, the resources of France have from year to year, and in the midst of the most unparalleled distress, been lavished and exhausted. To this indiscriminate spirit of destruction, the Netherlands, the United Provinces, the Swiss Cantons, (his majesty's ancient friends and allies), have successively been sacrificed. Ger-  
many



many has been ravaged; Italy, though now rescued from its invaders, has been made the scene of unbounded rapine and anarchy. His majesty has himself been compelled to maintain an arduous and burthenome contest for the independence and existence of his kingdoms. Nor have these calamities been confined to Europe alone; they have been extended to the most distant quarters of the world, and even to countries so remote both in situation and interest from the present contest, that the very existence of such a war was perhaps unknown to those who found themselves suddenly involved in all its horrors. While such a system continues to prevail, and while the blood and treasure of a numerous and powerful nation can be lavished in its support, experience has shewn that no defence, but that of open and steady hostility, can be availing. The most solemn treaties have only prepared the way for fresh aggression; and it is to a determined resistance alone that is now due whatever remains in Europe of stability for property, for personal liberty, for social order, or for the free exercise of religion.—For the security, therefore, of these essential objects, his majesty cannot place his reliance on the mere renewal of general professions of pacific dispositions. Such professions have been repeatedly held out by all those who have successively directed the resources of France to the destruction of Europe; and whom the present rulers have declared to have been all, from the beginning, and uniformly, incapable of maintaining the relations of amity and peace. Greatly, indeed, will his majesty rejoice, whenever it shall

appear that the dangers to which his own dominions and those of his allies have been so long exposed, have really ceased; whenever he shall be satisfied that the necessity of resistance is at an end; that, after the experience of so many years of crimes and miseries, better principles have ultimately prevailed in France; and that all the gigantic projects of ambition, and all the restless schemes of destruction, which have endangered the very existence of civil society, have at length been finally relinquished: but the conviction of such a change, however agreeable to his majesty's wishes, can result only from experience, and from the evidence of facts.

The best and most natural pledge of its reality and permanence would be the restoration of that line of princes which for so many centuries maintained the French nation in prosperity at home, and in consideration and respect abroad: such an event would at once have removed, and will at any time remove, all obstacles in the way of negotiation or peace. It would confirm to France the unmolested enjoyment of its ancient territory; and it would give to all the other nations of Europe, in tranquillity and peace, that security which they are now compelled to seek by other means. But, desirable as such an event must be both to France and to the world, it is not to this mode exclusively that his majesty limits the possibility of secure and solid pacification. His majesty makes no claim to prescribe to France what shall be the form of her government, or in whose hands she shall vest the authority necessary for conducting the affairs of a great and powerful nation. His majesty looks

only to the security of his own dominions and those of his allies, and to the general safety of Europe.—Whenever he shall judge that such security can in any manner be attained, as resulting either from the internal situation of that country, from whose internal situation the danger has arisen, or from such other circumstances, of whatever nature, as may produce the same end, his majesty will eagerly embrace the opportunity to concert with his allies the means of immediate and general pacification. Unhappily no such security hitherto exists; no sufficient evidence of the principles by which the new government will be directed; no reasonable ground by which to judge of its stability. In this situation, it can, for the present, only remain for his majesty to pursue, in conjunction with other powers, those exertions of just and defensive war, which his regard to the happiness of his subjects will never permit him either to continue beyond the necessity in which they originate, or to terminate on any other grounds, than such as may best contribute to the secure enjoyment of their tranquillity, their constitution, and their independence.

Grenville.

Downing-street, Jan. 4, 1800.

*Letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs in France to Lord Grenville.*

*Paris, the 24th Nivose,  
8th year Jan. 14.*

My lord,

I lost no time in laying before the first consul of the French republic the official note, under date of the 14th Nivose, which you transmitted to me; and I am charged to forward the answer, equally official,

which you will find annexed. Receive, my lord, the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed) Ch. Mau. Taileyrand.

#### NOTE.

The official note, under date of the 14th Nivose, the 8th year, addressed by the minister of his Britannic majesty, having been laid before the first consul of the French republic, he observed with surprise that it rested upon an opinion, which is not exact, respecting the origin and consequences of the present war. Very far from its being France which provoked it, she had, it must be remembered, from the commencement of her revolution, solemnly proclaimed her love of peace, and her disinclination to conquests, her respect for the independence of all governments; and it is not to be doubted that, occupied at that time entirely with her own internal affairs, she would have avoided taking part in those of Europe, and would have remained faithful to her declarations.

But from an opposite disposition, as soon as the French revolution had broken out, almost all Europe entered into a league for its destruction. The aggression was real, long time before it was public; internal resistance was excited; its opponents were favourably received; their extravagant declamations were supported; the French nation was insulted in the person of its agents; and England set particularly this example by the dismissal of the minister accredited to her.—Finally, France was, in fact, attacked in her independence, in her honour, and in her safety, long time before the war was declared. That it is to the projects of subjection, dissolution,

dissolution, and dismemberment, which were prepared against her, and the execution of which was several times attempted and pursued, that France has a right to impute the evils which she has suffered, and those which have afflicted Europe. Such projects, for a long time without example, with respect to so powerful a nation, could not fail to bring on the most fatal consequences. Assailed on all sides, the republic could not but extend universally the efforts of her defence; and it is only for the maintenance of her own independence that she has made use of those means which she possessed; in her own strength, and the courage of her citizens. As long as she saw that her enemies obstinately refused to recognize her rights, she counted only upon the energy of her resistance; but, as soon as they were obliged to abandon the hope of invasion, she sought for means of conciliation, and manifested pacific intentions: and, if these have not always been efficacious; if, in the midst of the critical circumstances of her internal situation, which the revolution and the war have successively brought on, the former depositaries of the executive authority of France have not always shewn as much moderation, as the nation itself has shown courage; it must above all be imputed to the fatal and persevering animosity with which the resources of England have been lavished to accomplish the ruin of France. But if the wishes of his Britannic majesty (in conformity with his assurances) are in unison with those of the French republic, for the re-establishment of peace, why, instead of attempting the apology of the war, should not attention be rather

paid to the means of terminating it? And what obstacle can prevent a mutual understanding, of which the utility is reciprocal, and is felt, especially when the first consul of the French republic has personally given so many proofs of his eagerness to put an end to the calamities of war, and of his disposition to maintain the rigid observance of all treaties concluded? The first consul of the French republic could not doubt that his Britannic majesty recognized the right of nations to choose the form of their government, since it is from the exercise of this right that he holds his crown: but he has been unable to comprehend, how to this fundamental principle, upon which rests the existence of political societies, the minister of his majesty could annex insinuations which tend to an interference in the internal affairs of the republic, and which are no less injurious to the French nation and to its government, than it would be to England and his majesty, if a sort of invitation were held out in favour of that republican government of which England adopted the forms in the middle of the last century, or an exhortation to recall to the throne that family whom their birth had placed there, and whom a revolution compelled to descend from it. If at periods not far distant, when the constitutional system of the republic presented neither the strength nor the solidity which it contains at present, his Britannic majesty thought himself enabled to invite a negotiation and pacific conferences; how is it possible that he should not be eager to renew negotiations to which the present and reciprocal situation of affairs promises a rapid progress? On every side the voice of nations and of humanity im-

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plores the conclusion of a war, marked already by such great calamities, and the prolongation of which threatens Europe with an universal convulsion and irremediable evils. It is, therefore, to put a stop to the cause of these calamities, or, in order that their terrible consequences may be reproached to those only who shall have provoked them, that the first consul of the French republic proposes to put an immediate end to hostilities, by agreeing to a suspension of arms, and naming plenipotentiaries on each side, who should repair to Dunkirk, or any other town as advantageously situated for the quickness of the respective communications, and who should apply themselves, without any delay, to effect the re-establishment of peace, and a good understanding between the French republic and England. The first consul offers to give the passports which may be necessary for this purpose.

(Signed) C. M. Talleyrand.  
Paris, the 20th Nivose (Jan. 14),  
8th year of the French republic.

*Letter from Lord Grenville to the  
Minister for Foreign Affairs at  
Paris.*

*Downing-street, Jan. 20, 1800.*

Sir,

I have the honour to inclose to you the answer which his majesty has directed me to return to the official note, which you transmitted to me. I have the honour to be, with high consideration, sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

Grenville.

NOTE.

The official note, transmitted by the minister for foreign affairs in France, and received by the under-

signed on the 18th instant, has been laid before the king. His majesty cannot forbear expressing the concern with which he observes in that note, that the unprovoked aggressions of France, the sole cause and origin of the war, are systematically defended by her present rulers, under the same injurious pretences by which they were originally attempted to be disguised.—His majesty will not enter into the refutation of allegations now universally exploded, and in so far as they respect his majesty's conduct) not only in themselves utterly groundless, but contradicted, both by the internal evidence of the transactions, to which they relate, and also by the express testimony (given at the time) of the government of France itself. With respect to the object of the note, his majesty can only refer to the answer which he has already given. He has explained, without reserve, the obstacles which, in his judgement, preclude, at the present moment, all hope of advantage from negotiation. All the inducements to treat, which are relied upon in the French official note; the personal dispositions which are said to prevail for the conclusion of peace, and for the future observance of treaties; the power of ensuring the effect of those dispositions, supposing them to exist; and the solidity of the system newly established, after so rapid a succession of revolutions—all these are points which can be known only from that test to which his majesty has already referred them—the result of experience, and the evidence of facts. With that sincerity and plainness which his anxiety for the re-establishment of peace indispensably required, his majesty has pointed out to France the

the surest and speediest means for the attainment of that great object. But he has declared, in terms equally explicit, and with the same sincerity, that he entertains no desire to prescribe to a foreign nation the form of its government; that he looks only to the security of his own dominions, and of Europe; and that, whenever that essential object can, in his judgement, be, in any manner whatever, sufficiently provided for, he will eagerly concert with his allies the means of immediate and joint negotiation, for the re-establishment of general tranquillity. To these declarations his majesty steadily adheres; and it is only on the grounds thus stated, that his regard to the safety of his subjects will suffer him to renounce that system of vigorous defence, to which, under the favour of Providence, his kingdoms owe the security of those blessings which they now enjoy.

(Signed) Grenville.  
Downing-street, Jan. 20, 1800.

*Papers relative to the Commencement of Negotiations for Peace, with France, through the Medium of M. Otto, laid on the Table of the House of Commons.*

THESE communications are given under forty-seven numbers; many of which relate to matters of ceremony, not materially connected with the main object. We therefore commence our selection with:

(No. XV.)

*Translation—Note.*

The undersigned having communicated to his government the note dated the 29th of August, forwarded to him by his excellency lord Grenville.

ville, is directed to submit to him, the following observations:

Preliminaries of peace had been concluded and signed between his imperial majesty and the French republic. The intervention of lord Minto, who demanded that England should be admitted to take part in the negotiations, prevented their ratification by his imperial majesty.

The suspension of arms, which had taken place solely in the hope of a speedy peace between the emperor and the republic, ought then to cease, and will in fact cease on the 24th Fructidor (11th September), since France had sacrificed to that hope alone the immense advantages which her victories had secured to her.

The intervention of England renders the question of peace so complicated, that it is impossible for the French government to prolong farther the armistice on the continent, unless his Britannic majesty will consent to render it common to the three powers.

If then the cabinet of St. James's desires to continue to make a common cause with Austria, and if its desire to take part in the negotiations be sincere, his Britannic majesty will not hesitate to adopt the proposed armistice.

But if this armistice be not concluded before the 24th Fructidor, (11th Sept.) hostilities will be renewed with Austria, and the first consul will no longer be able to consent, with regard to that power, to any but a separate and complete peace.

In order to ascertain the explanations demanded relative to the armistice, the undersigned is directed to acquaint lord Grenville, that the places which it is proposed

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to assimilate to those of Germany, are Malta, and the maritime towns of Egypt.

If it be true that a long suspension of arms between France and England would appear unfavourable to his Britannic majesty, it is not less so, that an armistice prolonged upon the continent would be essentially disadvantageous to the French republic; so that at the same time that the naval armistice would be to the French government a pledge of the zeal which would be employed by England in promoting the re-establishment of peace, the continental armistice would be one also to the British government of the sincerity of the efforts of France; and as the position of Austria would no longer admit of her not diligently seeking for a conclusion, the three powers would have, in their own private interests, decisive reasons for consenting without delay to the sacrifices which may be reciprocally necessary in order to bring about an early conclusion of a general and solid peace, such as may answer the wish and the hope of the whole world.

(Signed) Otto.  
Hereford-street, 4th Sept. 1800.

(No. XVI.)

*Downing-street, Sept. 4, 1800,*

Sir,

It appearing, by a note received this day from M. Otto, that the French government has determined to make the continuance of the armistice between Austria and France, and the commencement of the negotiations for peace, dependent on the conclusion of an armistice with this country; it is judged proper, in order that the ultimate decision

of so important and extensive a question may be taken with the fullest knowledge of all the considerations by which it ought to be governed, that you will see M. Otto and inquire of him, whether (as his vote of the 30th ultimo appears to intimate) he is furnished with a projet of a treaty of naval truce? and, in that case, whether he is willing to communicate it to you for the information of his majesty's government?

You will farther inquire, whether he is empowered and instructed to include in such treaties his majesty's allies?

And, lastly, if his projet should contain no article applicable to the question of moving the French and Spanish ships now in Brest to any other station in or out of Europe, you will inquire, whether M. Otto is authorised to enter into negotiation for the purpose of including proper stipulations on that subject in any treaty of the nature which his government has proposed.

I am, &c.

(Signed) Grenville.  
Evan Nepean, esq.

(No. XVII.)

*London, Sept. 4, 1800.*

My Lord,

Since I had the honour of communicating to your lordship the conversation that had passed between me and M. Otto, on the subject of the proposal for a naval armistice, and the readiness he had expressed of furnishing me with a copy of the projet, I have received from him the enclosed note, and the projet therein referred to.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Evan Nepean.  
Lord Grenville.

(No.



(No. XVIII.)

*Translation—Projet.*

1st. There shall be a suspension of hostilities between the fleets and armies of the French republic and those of Great Britain.

2d. The ships of war and merchant vessels of each nation shall enjoy a free navigation without being subject to any search, and shall observe the usages established previous to the war.

3d. All vessels, of either nation, captured after the — of Fructidor, shall be restored.

4th. The places of Malta, Alexandria, Belleisle, shall be assimilated to the places of Ulm, Philippsburg, and of Ingolstadt; that is to say, all neutral or French vessels shall have permission freely to enter them, in order to furnish them with provisions.

5th. The several squadrons which blockade Brest, Cadiz, Toulon, and Flushing, shall return into their own harbours, or at least keep out of sight of the coast.

6. Three English officers shall be dispatched, one directly to the admiral commanding in the Mediterranean, another to the commander of the squadron before Malta, the third to the commander of the blockade of Alexandria, to notify to them the present armistice, and to convey to them orders to conform themselves thereunto. The said officers shall pass through France, in order the more expeditiously to arrive at their destination.

7th. His catholic majesty and the Batavian republic are included in the present armistice.

No. XIX. is a note, Sept. 5, from lord Grenville to citizen Otto, ob-

serving, that the desire to facilitate the conclusion of a general peace could alone lead his court to the discussion of a proposal so disadvantageous to the interests of Great Britain; and as the termination of the continental armistice would put an end to all inducements of such a measure on the part of this country, suggesting the expediency of France prolonging the armistice with Austria, and to allow time for receiving the king's commands on the proposal made here.

No. XX. Note from M. Otto to Mr. Nepean, Sept. 4, enclosing a sketch of the treaty proposed by France.

No. XXI. Sept. 5. a letter from M. Otto to captain George, observes, that his majesty's choice in the provisional appointment of Mr. Grenville to take part in the eventual negotiations at Luneville, cannot fail to be very agreeable to the French government, and that he should deliver the necessary passport, which he had previously obtained, as soon as the result of the present communications shall have rendered such journey necessary.

No. XXII. Sept. 6, A note from M. Otto to lord Grenville, stating, that he had forwarded his lordship's note of the 5th, by an extraordinary messenger, to Paris.

No. XXIII. Sept. 7, A note from lord Grenville to M. Otto, enclosing

No. XXIV. of the same date, a reply to the French official answer of the 4th, stating, that the spirit of that answer was not consonant with the conciliatory disposition which it professed; that the unauthorized act of an Austrian officer, who had been persuaded to sign articles, was not calculated to terminate the war;

yet that his majesty had not interfered to have such preliminaries annulled, because there existed previous engagements between the courts of London and Vienna, not to treat for peace except in concert with each other, and because the first intimation which his majesty received of the signature of these pretended preliminaries, was accompanied by the express declaration of his ally, that they were wholly unauthorised, and must be considered as absolutely null. The French government, at the time they treated with the Austrian officer, knew he had no powers or instructions for such treaty: he avowed such to be the fact at the time, and declared it even in the paper which he signed. That although his majesty views the proposal of a naval armistice in no other light than as a temporary advantage, which it is proposed to him to yield to the enemy, in order to prevent the renewal of continental hostilities—yet as it may contribute to the conclusion of a general peace, if France will consent that the respective position of the two parties should remain during the armistice, such as it was at its commencement, and that neither of them should, by its operation, acquire fresh advantages, or new means of annoying his enemy, such as he could not otherwise obtain, his majesty would consent to the armistice, notwithstanding the many disadvantages which would result to this country from such a measure; that the French projet professes to assimilate Malta and Egypt, &c. to Ulm and Ingolstadt, although the terms it requires of victualling them, &c. for an unlimited period, is in direct contradiction to the stipulations of the German armistice, and

his majesty is expected to bind himself towards the allies of France, even before any reciprocal engagement can be received from them, in which all mention of the king's allies is totally omitted; that the principle contained in the following projet is that alone on which his majesty can consent to treat; and although the conditions are far short of what his majesty might justly demand from analogy to the terms of the continental armistice, or from the relative situation of naval force, he reposes in the good faith of his enemies; and if M. Otto was authorised to accede to these stipulations, his majesty would authorise a person to sign them; if not, he is requested to forward them without delay to his government.

(No. XXV.)

*Counter Projet.*

Art. 1st. Stipulates that all hostilities, both by sea and land, between the forces of the two contracting parties, shall be suspended, and shall not be renewed until after fourteen days notice given of the termination of the armistice; but in case of the renewal of hostilities between Austria and France, the armistice between Great Britain is likewise to be considered as terminated.

Art. 2d. relates to the sending orders from the two governments to their officers abroad to conform to this agreement.

Art. 3d. All prizes made during the continuance of the armistice, by any officer apprized of this measure, to be restored, if made in the Channel or North Sea, within twelve days after the ratification of this convention, to be given up, although the captors should be ignorant of the truce.

Art.

Art. 4th. Malta, and the maritime towns and ports of Egypt, shall be placed on the same footing as those places which, though comprised within the demarcation of the French army in Germany, are occupied by the Austrian troops; consequently nothing shall be admitted by sea which can give additional means of defence; and provisions only for fourteen days at a time, in proportion to the consumption, as it shall be ascertained by commissaries to be named for the purpose, who shall have power to establish the necessary regulations for giving effect to this stipulation, conformably to the principles of the fourth article of the convention concluded between the Austrian and French generals in Germany.

Art. 5th. The blockade of Brest, Toulon, and any other of the ports of France by his majesty's fleets, shall be discontinued; and all British ships shall be instructed not to interrupt or obstruct the trade or navigation of any ships sailing to or from the coasts of France, except in the articles of naval and military stores, which are not to be brought thither by sea during the present armistice. None of the ships of war now stationed in the said ports respectively shall, before the renewal of hostilities, be removed to any other station.

Art. 6th. The allies of the two parties shall severally be at liberty to accede to this armistice, if they so think fit; provided that they also engage to observe a like armistice, on conditions similar to those here specified, towards such of the allies on the other side as shall also accede to it. The naval ports and arsenals of the allies of France are, during

such armistice, to be placed on the same footing with those of France; and the notices which are to precede the renewal of hostilities, as well as all other matters relating to such armistice, are to be regulated according to the terms of this convention.

Art. 7th. This convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged within the term of ten days, or sooner, if the same be practicable.

No. XXVI. A note from M. Otto, September 8, to lord Grenville, observing, that as the object of France was to compensate, by a British armistice, the inconvenience which might result to the republic from the eventual prolongation of the German armistice, and that the counter-projet so far defeated his purpose, he deemed it necessary to submit it to his government, and to wait for farther instructions.

No. XXVII. A note from M. Otto to lord Grenville, September 16, stating that the first consul, still hoping to approximate the interests of the two governments, and their wishes for a speedy and solid peace, had dispatched orders for deferring, for some day, the attack which the French army had been directed to make upon the whole line. It likewise enclosed

No. XXVIII. A reply to lord Grenville's letter of the 7th September, and the counter-projet which accompanied it. In this, M. Otto observes, that as the stipulations proposed by his lordship, offered no compensation to France for the continental truce, it could only be admitted as the preliminaries of a particular arrangement

between France and England. He was accordingly directed by the chief consul to submit that the project of the armistice be drawn up, and admitted in terms analagous to those proposed by the British minister, but solely under the supposition that this armistice should be independent of the events of the continent, and relative only to a separate negotiation, to be immediately opened between the two powers; or that his majesty continuing to make common cause with the emperor, should consent that the maritime truce may offer to the French republic, advantages equal to those secured to the house of Austria by the continental truce. He then adverts to the effects of the armistice to Austria and Naples, and observes, that France should derive equivalent advantage from the naval armistice, in the free navigation of her ships, and the facilities necessary for her communications with the islands of France, and the re-union of her American colonies, and in reinforcing her army in Egypt.

No. XXIX. A note from lord Grenville to M. Otto, September 20, inclosing a note of the same date.

No. XXX. Lord Grenville says in his note to M. Otto, that there did not appear any thing in M. Otto's note of the 16th, to alter his majesty's sentiments as expressed on the 7th; that his majesty's known engagements to his allies, and his desire to contribute to the general tranquillity of Europe, would not permit him to separate his interest from those with whom he was connected; and the proposed alternative offered by France, was nothing than the renewal of a demand

already rejected: "The orders for giving notice of the termination of the continental armistice must actually have been dispatched from Paris at the very time when the continuance of that armistice was proposed to his majesty, as the condition and inducement for a maritime truce." The king, however, waving this and similar considerations, would still be induced, on suitable conditions to make the sacrifices necessarily attendant on a naval truce, if the doing so should prevent the renewal of hostilities on the continent, and facilitate a general peace. His majesty would not admit that his enemies had acquired any ascendancy over the spirit of the Austrian armies; but were the assertions of the French government better grounded, his majesty could not admit a right to demand from him compensation for the benefit France alleged would be derived by Austria from the continuance of the armistice, although his majesty had offered to make considerable sacrifices on account of his allies, and to evince to Europe his concern for the general welfare, and to his enemies, his pacific dispositions. "But to yield to the present demand would be to sacrifice those means of present defence, and those pledges of future security which have been acquired by such great and memorable efforts, and which he can never be expected to forego till the result of those negotiations, in which he has declared his readiness to concur, shall have crowned his endeavours for the happiness of his people, by the restoration of a safe and honourable peace."

No. XXXI. M. Otto, in a letter to lord Grenville, September 21, refers to a new project.

No.

No. XXXII. which, after proposing that negotiations shall be opened for a general peace; that hostilities shall be suspended; that British officers conveying orders to foreign stations for that purpose should be furnished with passes to proceed through France, and that prizes made after certain periods shall be returned; states as follows:

Art. 4th. Malta and Egypt shall be assimilated to the places in Germany, which, although blockaded by the French army, have been permitted to enjoy the benefit of the continental armistice. Malta shall be furnished with provisions for 15 days at a time, at the rate of 10,000 rations *per diem*. With regard to Egypt, six French frigates shall have the liberty of sailing from Toulon, of unloading at Alexandria, and of returning without being searched, and without suffering any opposition during their passage, either from English ships or from those of the allies of Great Britain. An English officer of rank shall for this purpose embark on board one of the frigates, and shall travel through France on his way to Toulon.

Art. 5th. The blockade of Brest, of Toulon, and of every other French port, shall be raised; and all British captains shall receive instructions not to interrupt the trade of any vessel either entering therein or going out thereof. No ship of the line, however, of two or three decks, actually at anchor in the said ports, shall be at liberty to go out before the renewal of hostilities, for the purpose of changing its station; but frigates, sloops, and other small ships of war, may freely go out and navigate, and in the event of their meeting at sea with ships belonging to his Britannic majesty, they shall

observe the customs established before the war.

Art. 6th. The land-forces in the pay of his Britannic majesty shall not have the power of disembarking in any port of Italy during the continuance of the present armistice.

Art. 7. The allies of France, namely, Spain, the Batavian republic, and Genoa, shall participate in the benefit of the present armistice. (If his Britannic majesty insist upon including his allies in the armistice, they shall enjoy the same advantages with those of France.)

Art. 8th. The present convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of ten days, or sooner if it should be possible.

No. XXXIII. M. Otto, in a letter to lord Grenville, Sept. 23, refers to an answer which he incloses to his lordship's note of the 20th.

No. XXXIV. M. Otto enters at much length into the positions advanced in the above note, and with much ingenuity replies to them.

No. XXXV. Is a note from lord Grenville to M. Otto, Sept. 25, referring to a note in answer to his communication of the 23d.

No. XXXVI. Contains this answer, highly argumentative, but not containing any new proposition.

No. XXXVII. Lord Grenville acquaints M. Otto, that in consequence of his desire to communicate personally with a confidential person, his majesty had appointed Mr. Hammond to meet him.

No. XXXVIII. Lord Grenville, in a letter to Mr. Hammond, same date (September 24), recapitulates to that gentleman the progress of the negotiation, and shews in terms the most striking and distinct, that there did not exist a similitude be-

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tween the cases of the German fortresses and the French garrisons at Malta, and in Egypt, observing in particular, on the demand to give protection to six frigates loaded with men, &c. from Toulon to Alexandria, instead of evacuating that country in consequence of the treaty of El-Arich, ratified by the French general Kleber, duly authorised by his government, by the allies of England, and by his majesty as soon as he knew it had been concluded.

No. XXXIX. Mr. Hammond, in a letter to lord Grenville, September 25, relates a conversation which he that day had with M. Otto.— Mr. Hammond says, on the subject of that part of the fourth article of the French projet, which requires that six frigates should be allowed to sail from Toulon for Egypt, and be exempted from search, M. Otto read to me part of a dispatch from M. Talleyrand, expressive of the interest which the whole French nation takes in that part of the army now in Egypt, and assigning the desire of contributing to the comfort and security of that army, as the principal inducement to the conclusion of the armistice on the part of the French government. M. Otto added, that he would not conceal from me, that the reinforcement which France intended to send to Egypt amounted to 1200 men, and that the supply of military stores consisted chiefly of 10,000 muskets. The language of M. Otto, in this part of our conversation, and of M. Talleyrand's letter, appeared to me so decisive and peremptory, that I was induced to inquire of him distinctly, whether I was to understand that this stipulation was a point from which the French go-

vernment would not recede? M. Otto replied, that in his opinion, the French government would not recede from it.

No. XL. M. Otto, in a letter to Mr. Hammond, September 26, refers to an inclosed note.

No. XLI. In which M. Otto contends for the propriety of the several demands which he had been the organ of making on the part of his government.

No. XLII. Contains Mr. Hammond's acknowledgement of the receipt of the above, and the regret of his majesty's servants, that M. Otto was not furnished with more ample powers, &c.

No. XLIII. Contains M. Otto's acknowledgement of the receipt of the foregoing note; and

No. XLIV. dated October 6, a request from him to see Mr. Hammond.

No. XLV. The latter gentleman requests, October 8, a note of the conversation which they had had on the preceding day.

No. XLVI. Is a letter from M. Otto to Mr. Hammond, same date, in which he says, the first consul is invariably disposed to receive any overtures relative to a separate negotiation between France and Great Britain, and that the mode of such overture entirely depends upon the option of his majesty.

No. XLVII. A letter from Mr. Hammond to M. Otto, October 9, I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date; and I am directed in return to acquaint you, that his majesty's government entirely agrees in the opinion there expressed, that all farther discussion of the terms of a naval armistice would be superfluous, as the only object which it was proposed to his majesty to secure



cure by such an arrangement, has in the mean time been made the ground of separate sacrifices required from his ally.

With respect to the proposal of opening negotiations for a separate peace, his majesty, retaining always the sincere desire which he has uniformly expressed for the restoration of general tranquillity in Europe, must at the same time renew his former declarations of an invariable determination to execute with punctuality and good faith his engagements with his allies; and must therefore, steadily decline to enter into any measures tending to separate his interests from those of the powers who shall continue to make common cause with him in the prosecution of the war.

The appendix contains a letter (A) from baron Thugut to M. Talleyrand, dated Vienna, August 11, referring to a note from lord Minto, and recommending that some central place, as Schellal, Luneville, &c. be appointed for the seat of congress.—(B.) Lord Minto's note, dated August 9, stating that having communicated to his court the overtures made by France to his imperial majesty, he had been directed to declare, that his Britannic majesty is disposed to concur with Austria in the negotiations which may take place by a general pacification, and to send his plenipotentiaries to treat for peace in concert with his imperial majesty, as soon as the intention of the French government to enter into a negotiation with his Britannic majesty shall be known to him.—(C.) A letter from general Kleber, commander of the French army in Egypt, to the kaimakam of the sublime Porte, dated Cairo, 10th of April, 1800, stating, that

having concluded negotiations with the supreme vizier Youssouff Pacha, he was on the point of evacuating Cairo, when he received a letter from the English commander, lord Keith, rendering the convention of El-Arish illusory: that he had proposed to the vizier to postpone the evacuation of Cairo until this unexpected difficulty should be removed; but his excellency refusing to consent, chose to hazard a battle in which he was defeated. Yet, nevertheless, he (Kleber) was still disposed to retire from Egypt on the conditions before stipulated, with the exception of some modifications which existing circumstances had rendered necessary, and desired that the conferences should be resumed.

—(D.) A note from Baudet, first aid-de-camp to general Kleber, to the first interpreter of the sublime Porte, dated camp, at Jaffa, April 15, repeating the intention of his general to evacuate Egypt immediately after the arrival of the necessary passports from the English government, and of the number of vessels stipulated for the transport of the troops.

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*Convention for the Evacuation of Egypt, agreed upon by Citizens Desaix, General of Division, and Poussielgue, Administrator-general of Finances, Plenipotentiaries of the Commander-in-Chief Kleber, and their Excellencies Moustafa Raschid Effendi Tasterdar, and Moustafa Rassiche Effendi Riefful Knitab, Ministers Plenipotentiaries of his Highness the Supreme Vizier.*

THE French army in Egypt, wishing to give a proof of its desire to stop the effusion of blood, and

and to put an end to the unfortunate disagreements which have taken place between the French republic and the sublime Porte, consent to evacuate Egypt on the stipulations of the present convention, hoping that this concession will pave the way for the general pacification of Europe.

I. The French army will retire with its arms, baggage, and effects, to Alexandria, Rosetta, and Aboukir, there to be embarked and transported to France, both in its own vessels and in those which it will be necessary for the sublime Porte to furnish it with; and in order that the aforesaid vessels may be the more speedily prepared, it is agreed, that a month after the ratification of the present convention, there shall be sent to the fort of Alexandria a commissary, with fifty purses, on the part of the sublime Porte.

II. There shall be an armistice of three months in Egypt, reckoning from the time of the signature of the present convention; and in case the truce shall expire before the aforesaid vessels to be furnished by the sublime Porte shall be ready, the said truce shall be prolonged till the embarkation can be completely effected, it being understood on both sides that all possible means will be employed to secure the tranquillity of the armies and of the inhabitants, which is the object of the truce.

III. The transport of the French army shall take place according to the regulations of commissaries appointed for this purpose by the sublime Porte and general Kleber; and if any difference of opinion shall take place between the aforesaid commissaries respecting the embarkation, one shall be appointed by com-

modore sir Sidney Smith, who shall decide the difference according to the maritime regulations of England.

IV. The forts of Cathic and Salachich shall be evacuated by the French troops on the 8th day, or at the latest on the 10th day after the ratification of this convention. The town of Mansoura shall be evacuated on the 15th day. Damietta and Balbey on the 20th day. Suez shall be evacuated six days before Cairo. The other places on the east bank of the Nile shall be evacuated on the 10th day. The Delta shall be evacuated fifteen days after the evacuation of Cairo. The west banks of the Nile and its dependencies shall remain in the hands of the French till the evacuation of Cairo; and meanwhile, as they must be occupied by the French army till all its troops shall have descended from Upper Egypt, the said western bank and its dependencies will not be evacuated till the expiration of the truce, if it is impossible to evacuate them sooner. The places evacuated shall be given up to the sublime Porte in the same situation, in which they are at present.

V. The city of Cairo shall be evacuated after forty days, if that is possible, or at the latest after forty-five days, reckoning from the ratification of the treaty.

VI. It is expressly agreed, that the sublime Porte shall use every effort that the French troops may fall back through the different places on the left bank of the Nile, with their arms and baggage, towards the head-quarters, without being disturbed or molested on their march in their persons, property, or honour, either by the inhabitants of Egypt or the troops of the imperial Ottoman army.

VII. In

VII. In consequence of the former article, and in order to prevent all differences and hostilities, measures shall be taken to keep the Turkish always at a sufficient distance from the French army.

VIII. Immediately after the ratification of the present convention, all the Turks and other nations, without distinction, subjects of the sublime Porte, imprisoned or retained in France, or in the power of the French in Egypt, shall be set at liberty; and, on the other hand, all the French detained in the cities and sea-port towns of the Ottoman empire, as well as every person of whatever nation they may be, attached to French legations and consulates, shall be also set at liberty.

IX. The restitution of the goods and property of the inhabitants and subjects of both sides, or the payment of their value to the proprietors, shall commence immediately after the evacuation of Egypt, and shall be regulated at Constantinople by commissaries appointed respectively for the purpose.

X. No inhabitant of Egypt, of whatever religion he may be, shall be disturbed either in his person or his property, on account of any connections he may have had with the French during their possession of Egypt.

XI. There shall be delivered to the French army, as well on the part of the sublime Porte as of the courts of its allies, that is to say, of Russia and of Great Britain, passports, safe conducts, and convoys, necessary to secure its safe return to France.

XII. When the French army of Egypt shall be embarked, the sublime Porte, as well as its allies, promise that till its return to the con-

tinent of France it shall not be disturbed in any manner; and on his side, general-in-chief Kleber, and the French army in Egypt, promise not to commit any act of hostility during the aforesaid time, either against the fleets or against the territories of the sublime Porte, and that the vessels which shall transport the said army shall not stop on any other coast than that of France, except from absolute necessity.

XIII. In consequence of the truce of three months stipulated above with the French army for the evacuation of Egypt, the contracting parties agree, that if in the interval of the said truce some vessels from France unknown to the commanders of the allied fleets, should enter the port of Alexandria, they shall depart from it, after having taken in water and the necessary provisions, and shall return to France with passports from the allied courts; and in case any of the said vessels should require reparation, these alone may remain till the said reparations are finished, and shall depart immediately after, like the preceding, with the first favourable wind.

XIV. The general-in-chief, Kleber, may send advices immediately to France, and the vessel that conveys them shall have the safe conduct necessary for securing the communication, by the said advices, to the French government, of the news of the evacuation of Egypt.

XV. There being no doubt that the French army will stand in need of daily supplies of provisions during the three months which it is to evacuate Egypt, and during other three months, reckoning from the day on which it is embarked, it is agreed, that it shall be supplied with

with the necessary quantities of corn, meat, rice, barley, and straw, according to a statement which shall be immediately given in by the French plenipotentiaries, as well for the stay in the country as for the voyage. Whatever supplies the army shall draw from its magazines, after the ratification of the present convention, shall be deducted from those furnished by the sublime Porte.

XVI. Counting from the day of the ratification of the present treaty, the French army shall not raise any contribution in Egypt; on the contrary, it shall abandon to the sublime Porte the ordinary leviable contributions which remain to it, to be levied after its departure, as well as the camels, dromedaries, ammunition, cannon, and other things which it shall not think necessary to carry away. The same shall be the case with the magazines of grain, arising from the contributions already levied, and the magazines of provisions. These objects shall be examined and valued by commissaries sent to Egypt by the sublime Porte, and by the commander of the British forces, conjointly with those of the general-in-chief Kleber, and paid by the former, at the rate of the valuation so made, to the amount of 3000 purses, which will be necessary to the French army, for accelerating its movements and its embarkation; and if the objects abovementioned do not amount to this sum, the deficit shall be advanced by the sublime Porte, in the form of a loan, which will be paid by the French government upon the bills of the commissaries appointed by general-in-chief Kleber to receive the said sum.

XVII. The French paying ex-

penses to incur in the evacuation of Egypt, it shall receive, after the ratification of the present convention, the sums stipulated, in the following order, viz. the 15th day and the 20th day, 500 purses; the 40th day, the 50th, 60th, the 70th, and 80th day, 300 purses; and finally, the 90th day, 500 purses. All the said purses, of 500 Turkish piastres each, shall be received in loan from the persons commissioned to this effect by the sublime Porte; and in order to facilitate the execution of the said disposition, the sublime Porte, immediately after the ratification of the convention, shall send commissaries to the city of Cairo, and to the other cities occupied by the armies.

XVIII. The contributions which the French shall receive after the date of the ratification and before the notification of the present convention in the different parts of Egypt, shall be deducted from the amount of the 3000 purses above stipulated.

XIX. In order to facilitate and accelerate the evacuation of the places, the navigation of the French transport-vessels which shall be in the ports of Egypt, shall be free during the three months truce from Damietta and Rosetta to Alexandria, and from Alexandria to Damietta and Rosetta.

XX. The safety of Europe requiring the greatest precautions to prevent the contagion of the plague from being carried thither, no person either sick, or suspected of being infected by this malady, shall be embarked; but all persons afflicted with the plague, or any other malady, which shall not allow their removal in the time agreed upon for the evacuation, shall remain in the hospitals,

hospitals, where they shall be under the safeguard of his highness the vizier, and shall be attended by the French officers of health, who shall remain with them until their health shall allow them to set off, which shall be as soon as possible. The 11th and 12th articles of this convention shall be applicable to them as well as to the rest of the army; and the commander-in-chief of the French army engages to give the most strict orders to the different officers commanding the troops embarked, not to allow the troops to disembark in any other ports than those which shall be pointed out by the officers of health as affording the greatest facility for performing the necessary, accustomed, and proper quarantine.

XXI. All the difficulties which may arise, and which shall not be provided for by the present convention, shall be amicably settled between commissioners, appointed for that purpose by his highness the grand vizier and the general-in-chief Kleber, in such a manner as to facilitate the evacuation.

XXII. These presents shall not be effectual until after the respective ratifications, which are to be exchanged in eight days; after which, they shall be religiously observed on both sides.

Done, signed, and sealed with our respective seals, &c. January 24, 1800.

Desaix, general of division;  
Poussielgue;

plenipotentiaries of general Kleber.

And their excellencies

Moustafa Raschid Effendi Tefterdar,  
and

Moustafa Rassiche Effendi Riefful  
Knitar,

plenipotentiaries of his highness the  
supreme vizier.

A true copy, according to the French part transmitted to the Turkish minister in exchange for their Turkish copy.

(Signed) Poussielgue.

Desaix.

(Countersigned) Kleber.

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*Kleber, General-in-Chief of the Army of Egypt, to the Executive Directory of the French Republic.*

*Camp of Salachich, January 30.*

I Have signed, citizens directors, the treaty relative to the evacuation of Egypt, and I send you a copy of it. That which bears the signature of the grand vizier cannot reach this place for a few days, the exchange of signatures being to take place at El-Arish.

I have given you an account in my former dispatches of the situation in which this army was placed. I have informed you also of the negotiations which general Bonaparte had commenced with the grand vizier, and which I have continued. Though at that time I had little dependance on the success of these negotiations, I hoped that they would so far retard the march, and relax the preparations of the grand vizier, as to give you time to send me assistance in men or in arms, or, at least, orders respecting the disagreeable circumstances in which I was placed. I founded this hope of assistance upon my knowledge that the French and Spanish fleets were united at Toulon, and only wanted a favourable wind for sailing: they did indeed sail, but it was only to repass the Straits, and to return to Brest. This news was most distressing to the army, which learned

learned, at the same time, our reverses in Italy, in Germany, in Holland, and even in La Vendée, without its appearing that any proper measure had been taken to arrest the course of the misfortunes which threatened even the existence of the republic.

Meanwhile the vizier advanced from Damascus. On another quarter, about the middle of October, a fleet appeared before Damietta. It disembarked about 4000 Janizaries, who were to be followed by an equal number, but time was not left for their arrival. The first were attacked, and completely defeated in less than half an hour: the carnage was terrible; more than 800 of them were made prisoners. This event did not render the negotiations more easy. The vizier manifested the same intentions, and did not suspend his march any longer than was necessary for forming his establishments, and procuring the means of transporting his troops. His army was then estimated at 60,000 men; but other pachas were following him, and were recruiting his army with new troops from all parts of Asia, as far as Mount Caucasus. The van of this army soon arrived at Jaffa.

Commodore sir Sidney Smith wrote me about this time, that is to say, some days before the debarkation of Damietta; and as I knew all the influence which he had over the vizier, I thought it my duty not only to answer him, but even to propose to him, as a place for holding conferences, the ship which he commanded: I was equally repugnant to receiving in Egypt English or Turkish plenipotentiaries, or to sending mine to the camp of the latter: my proposition was accepted,

and then the negotiations assumed, a more settled aspect. All this, however, did not stop the Ottoman army which the grand vizier conducted towards Gaza.

During all this time the war continued in Upper Egypt, and the beys, hitherto dispersed, thought of joining themselves to Mourad, who, constantly pursued and constantly defeated, alluring to his cause the Arabs and the inhabitants of the province of Bennisloeuf, continued to keep some troops together, and to give disturbance. The plague also threatened us with its ravages and already was weekly depriving us of several men at Alexandria and other places.

On the 21st December, general Dessaix and citizen Poussielgue, whom I had appointed plenipotentiaries, opened the conferences with sir Sidney Smith, on board the *Tigre*, to whom the grand vizier had given power to treat. They were to have kept on the coast between Damietta and Alexandria, but a very violent gale of wind having obliged them to get into the open sea, they remained out at sea for eighteen days: at the end of this time they landed at the camp of the vizier. He had advanced against El-Arisch, and had possessed himself, on the 30th December, of that fort. This success was entirely owing to the remarkable cowardice of the garrison, which surrendered without fighting, seven days after the attack. This event was so much the more unfortunate, as general Regnier was on his march to raise the blockade before the great body of the Turkish army had arrived.

From that moment it was impossible to hope to protract the negotiations to any length. It was necessary



cessary to examine maturely the danger of breaking them off, to lay aside all motives of personal vanity, and not to expose the lives of all the Frenchmen intrusted to me, to the terrible consequences which farther delay would render inevitable.

The most recent accounts stated the Turkish army to amount to 80,000 men, and it must still have increased: there were in it twelve pachas, six of whom were of the first rank. Forty-five thousand men were before El-Arisch, having fifty pieces of cannon, and waggons in proportion: this artillery was drawn by mules. Twenty other pieces of cannon were at Gaza with the corps of reserve: the remainder of the troops were at Jaffa, and in the neighbourhood of Ramli. Active foraging parties supplied the vizier's camp with provisions: all the tribes of the Arabs were emulous of assisting this army, and furnished it with more than 15,000 camels. I am assured that the distributions were regularly made. All these forces were directed by European officers, and from 5000 to 6000 Russians were every moment expected.

To this army I had to oppose 8500 men, divided on the three points, Katich, Salachich, and Belbeys. This division was necessary, in order to facilitate our communications with Cairo, and in order to enable us to grant assistance speedily to the post which should be first attacked: in fact, it is certain that they all might have been turned or avoided. This is what Elfi Bey has recently done, who, during the negotiations, entered with his Mamalukes into the Charkie, in order to join the Billis Arabs, and to re-

join Mourad in Upper Egypt. The remainder of the army was distributed as follows: 1000 men, under the command of general Verdier, formed the garrison of Lesbe, and were employed to raise contributions of money and provisions, and to keep in obedience the country between the canal of Achmoun and that of Moes, blindly directed by the sheik Leskam. Eighteen hundred men were under the command of General Launsee, to supply with provisions the garrisons of Alexandria, Aboukir, and Roletta, to restrain the Delta and the Batrina. Twelve hundred men remained at Cairo and Gaza, and they were obliged to furnish escorts for the convoys of the army; and, finally, 2500 men were in Upper Egypt on a chain of more than 150 leagues in extent: they had daily to fight the beys and their partisans. The whole formed 15,000 men. Such, in fact, estimating them at the highest, may be reckoned the number of the disposable combatants in the army.

Notwithstanding this disproportion of forces, I would have hazarded a battle, if I had had the certainty of the arrival of succours before the season of a debarkation. But this season having once arrived without my receiving reinforcements, I should have been obliged to send 5000 men to the coasts. There would have remained to me 3000 men to defend a country open on all parts, against an invasion of 30,000 cavalry, seconded by the Arabs and the inhabitants, without a fortified place; without provisions, money, or ships. It behoved me to foresee this period, and to ask myself what I could then do for the preservation of the army. No means  
of

of safety remained; it would be impossible to treat, but with arms in our hands, with undisciplined hordes of barbarous fanatics, who despise all the laws of war: these motives affected every mind; they determined my opinion. I gave orders to my plenipotentiaries not to break off the negotiations, except the articles proposed tended to the sacrifice of our glory or our security.

I finish this account, citizens directors, by observing to you, that the circumstances of my situation were not foreseen in the instructions left me by general Bonaparte. When he promised me speedy succours, he founded his hopes, as well as I did, upon the junction of the French and Spanish fleets in the Mediterranean: we were then far from thinking that these fleets would return into the ocean, and that the expedition of Egypt, entirely abandoned, would become a ground of accusation against those who had planned it. I annex to this letter a copy of my correspondence with the grand vizier, and with sir Sidney Smith and my plenipotentiaries, and all the official notes sent on either side: I annex also a copy of the reports which have been given relative to the capture of El-Arisch.

The French army, during its stay in Egypt, has engrained on the minds of the inhabitants the remembrance of its victories, that of the moderation and equity with which we have governed, and an impression of the strength and power of the nation by whom it was sent. The French name will be long respected, not only in this province of the Ottoman empire, but throughout

all the East, and I expect to return to France with the army at the latest by the middle of June.

Health and respect,  
Kleber.

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*Kleber, Commander-in-Chief, to the Divan of Cairo, and to those of the different Provinces of Egypt.*

*Head-quarters, Salackich,  
February 6.*

YOU have for a long time known the constant resolution of the French nation to preserve its ancient relations with the Ottoman empire. My illustrious predecessor, general Bonaparte, has often declared it to you since the circumstances of the war have induced us to visit this country. He neglected no measure to dissipate the apprehensions which had been infused into the Porte, led as it was to conclude an alliance equally contrary to its interests and ours. The explanation sent by him to the court of Constantinople, failed in re-establishing so desirable an union; and the march of the grand vizier against Damascus having opened a more direct mode of communicating, he commenced negotiations, and confided to me the task of terminating them at the moment when affairs of superior interest obliged him to return to Europe. I have this day concluded them, and restore this country to the possession of our ancient ally. The re-establishment of the commerce of Egypt will be the first effect of the measure. The treaty shall be the first clause of a peace, which is become necessary to the nations of the west.

Sir

*Sir Sidney Smith to Citizen Pouffiegue, Administrator-general of the Finances.*

*On board the Tigre,  
March 8, 1800.*

**I** Lost not a moment to repair to Alexandria as soon as I could complete the provisioning of my ships, in order to inform you in detail of the obstacles which my superiors have opposed to the execution of convention such as I thought it my duty to agree to, not having received the instructions to the contrary, which reached Cyprus on the 22d of February, bearing date the 10th of January.

As to myself, I should not hesitate to pass over any arrangement of an old date, in order to support what took place on the 24th and 31st of January; but it would be only throwing out a snare to my brave antagonists, were I to encourage them to embark. I owe it to the French army, and to myself, to acquaint them with the state of things, which, however, I am endeavouring to change. At any rate, I stand between them and the false impressions which have dictated a proceeding of this kind; and as I know the liberality of my superiors, I doubt not that I shall produce the same conviction on their minds that I feel myself, respecting the business which we concluded. A conversation with you would enable me to communicate the origin and nature of this restriction; and I propose that you should proceed on board an English frigate to the commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, who has newly arrived, in order to confer with him on the subject.

I depend much on your abilities  
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and conciliatory disposition, which facilitated our former agreement, in order again to support my reasonings respecting the impossibility of revoking what has been formally settled after a detailed discussion and a mature deliberation. I then propose, sir, that you should come on board, in order to consult on what is to be done in the difficult circumstances in which we are placed. I view with calmness the heavy responsibility to which I am subject; my life is at stake—I know it; but I should prefer an unmerited death to the preservation of my existence, by exposing both my life and my honour.

I have the honour to be, with perfect consideration and high esteem,  
sir, your very humble servant,

(Signed) Sidney Smith.

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*Letter from Citizen Pouffiegue to Lord Keith.*

*On board the Constance,  
13 Germinal (April 19.)*

My lord,

**A**T the moment of quitting Egypt to return to France, in virtue of the convention signed at El-Arisch, I learned at Alexandria the obstacles which your orders had raised to the execution of that convention, although it had already been partly carried into effect, with that good faith which the candour of the contracting parties must have inspired.

I resolved to proceed directly to you, my lord, to request you to revoke your orders. I wish to explain to you all the motives that should induce you to adopt this measure;

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measure; or, if you cannot consent to what I desire to solicit, that you will send me immediately to France, in order that the French government may treat directly with the English government on this affair.

The lives of 50,000 men are at stake, who may be destroyed without any motive, since, according to the solemn treaty made with the English, Russians, and Turks, all hostilities had terminated.

I have not powers *ad hoc* for the step I have taken; but there is no necessity for claiming what would be considered as a right between nations the least civilized. The demand appears to me so just and so simple, and besides so urgent, that I have not thought it necessary to wait for the orders of general Kleber, who, I am certain, would not consent to the smallest modification of the treaty, though his fidelity in executing it has rendered his position much less advantageous.

At the moment we concluded the convention at El-Arisch, under the simple pledge of English good faith, we were far from suspecting that obstacles would be started by that same power, the most liberal of those with whom we had to treat.

For the rest, my lord, I am not a military character, and all my functions have ceased. Two years of fatigue and sickness have rendered my return to my country indispensable. I aspire only to repose with my wife and children, happy if I can carry to the families of the French I left in Egypt, the news that you have removed the only obstacle to their return.

(Signed)

Pouffielgue.

*Lord Keith's Answer.*

*Minotaur, April 25.*

I have this day received the letter which you have done me the honour to write. I have to inform you, that I have given no orders of authority against the observance of the convention between the grand vizier and general Kleber, having received no orders on this head from the king's ministers. Accordingly I was of opinion, that his majesty should take no part in it; but since the treaty has been concluded, his majesty, being desirous of showing his respect for his allies, I have received instructions to allow a passage to the French troops, and I lost not a moment in sending to Egypt orders to permit them to return to France without molestation. At the same time I thought it my duty to my king, and those of his allies whose states lie in the seas through which they are to pass, to require that they should not return in a mass, nor in ships of war, nor in armed ships. I wished likewise that the cartel should carry no merchandise which would be contrary to the law of nations. I have likewise asked of general Kleber his word of honour, that neither he nor his army should commit any hostilities against the coalesced powers; and I doubt not that general Kleber will find the conditions perfectly reasonable.

Captain Hay has received my orders to allow you to proceed to France with adjutant-general Cambis, as soon as he arrives at Leghorn.

(Signed)

Keith.

*Kleber.*

*Kleber, Commander-in-Chief, to the Army.*

*Head-quarters at Cairo, 17th Ventose (March 8.)*

**SOLDIERS!** behold the letter which I have received from the commander of the English fleet in the Mediterranean.

*"On board his Majesty's Ship the Queen Charlotte, June 8, 1800.*

" Sir,

" I inform you that I have received positive orders from his majesty, not to consent to any capitulation with the French troops which you command in Egypt and Syria, at least unless they lay down their arms, surrender themselves prisoners of war, and deliver up all the ships and stores of the port of Alexandria to the allied powers.

" In the event of this capitulation, I cannot permit any of the troops to depart for France before they have been exchanged. I think it equally necessary to inform you, that all vessels having French troops on board, and sailing from this, with passports from others than those authorized to grant them, will be forced by the officers of the ships which I command to remain in Alexandria: in short, that ships which shall be met returning to Europe, with passports granted in consequence of a particular capitulation with one of the allied powers, will be retained as prizes, and all individuals on board considered as prisoners of war.

(Signed) " Keith."

**Soldiers!** we know how to reply

to such insolence by victories—prepare for battle.

(Signed)

Kleber.

The general of division, chief of the staff,

(Signed)

Damas.

*Letter from General Menou to Sir Sidney Smith, informing him of the Assassination of General Kleber, and of his having taken upon him the chief Command.*

*J. Menou, General in Chief, to Sir Sidney Smith, Commander of his Britannic Majesty's Ship of War the Tigre.*

*Head-quarters at Cairo, 1 Messidor (June 19), Year 8, of the French Republic, one and indivisible.*

Sir,

**I** Have received the letter which you did me the honour of writing to me, under date of the 9th of June, from on board the Tigre, off Rhodes. Since the French army is deprived of its leader, by the atrocious assassination of the general-in-chief Kleber, I have taken upon myself the command of it. Your allies the Turks, not having been able to conquer the French near Malarich, they have, to be avenged, made use of the dagger, which is only resorted to by cowards. A Janissary, who had quitted Gaza about forty-two days ago, had been sent to perpetrate the horrid deed. The French willingly believe the Turks only to have been guilty. The account of the murder shall be communicated to every nation, for all are equally interested in avenging it. The behaviour which you,

fir, observed, with regard to the convention concluded at El-Arisch, points out to me the road which I have to pursue. You demanded the ratification of your court: I must also demand that of the consuls who now govern the French nation, for any treaty that might be concluded with the English and their allies. This is the only legal way, the only one admissible in any negotiations that may ever take place. As well as you, fir, I abhor the flames of war; as well as you, I wish to see an end put to the misery which it has caused. But I shall never, in any point whatever, exempt myself from what the honour of the French republic and of her arms requires. I am fully convinced that these sentiments must also be yours. Good faith and morality must prevail in treaties concluded between nations. The French republicans know not those stratagems which are mentioned in the papers of Mr. Morier. They know not any other behaviour than courage during the combat, magnanimity after the victory, and good faith in their treaties. One hundred and fifty Englishmen are prisoners of war here; had I followed only the dictates of republican magnanimity, I would have sent them back, without considering them as prisoners, for they were taken on the coast of Egypt, not with arms in their hands, and I am fully convinced that the consuls would have approved of it; but your allies have detained citizen and chief of brigade Baudet, adjutant of general Kleber, whose person ought to have been held sacred, as he had been sent with a flag of truce. Contrary to my principles and my inclination, I have, therefore, been forced

to reprisals against your countrymen; but they shall be set at liberty immediately on the arrival of citizen Baudet at Damietta, who shall there be exchanged against Mustapha Pacha, and several other Turkish commissaries. If, fir, as I have no doubt, you have some influence over your allies, this affair will soon be settled, which interests your honour, and evidently endangers one hundred and fifty of your countrymen. I have the honour to repeat to you, fir, that with enthusiastic pleasure I shall see the termination of a war which has, for so long a period, agitated the whole world. The French and English nation are destined mutually to esteem, not to destroy one another; but when they enter into negotiations with each other, it must only be done on conditions which are equally honourable to both, and promotive of their welfare. Receive, fir, the very sincere assurances of my esteem and high respect. I have the honour to be, &c.  
 (Signed) Abdallah Bey J. Menou.

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*Letter from Sir Sidney Smith to General Menou, Commander-in-Chief of the French Army in Egypt: originally written in French; dated Jaffa, June 22, 1800.*

General,  
**I** Received this evening the letter which you did me the honour of writing to me on the 20th instant. At the instant when I expected to see general Kleber under the most favourable and satisfactory auspices, I learned with the liveliest concern and the most heart-felt sorrow his tragical fate. I immediately communicated



communicated the intelligence to the grand vizier and the Ottoman ministers, in the terms in which you announced to me that sad event; and nothing less than the certainty and detail with which you communicated it could have induced their excellencies to credit the information. The grand vizier has declared to me, formally and officially, that he had not the slightest knowledge of those who have been guilty of the assassination; and I am persuaded that his declaration is true and sincere. Without entering into the particulars of this unfortunate event, I shall content myself with answering the articles of your letter that relate to our affairs.

If the grand vizier has detained in his camp the aid-de-camp Baudet, dispatched to him at Jebil-il-Illam, it was because his excellency did not think proper to suffer any person to quit his camp at the moment when he saw himself surrounded by his enemies. Baudet was detained at Jebil-il-Illam in the same manner as the Turkish officers destined to serve reciprocally with him as hostages, were detained at Cairo.

This aid-de-camp was sent to the Ottoman squadron to be exchanged, according to your desire; and during that interval his excellency the captain Pacha having arrived here, the exchange was postponed in consequence of his absence from the squadron. When his excellency shall have joined the squadron, the exchange may be carried into effect, should you think proper, as the aid-de-camp Baudet is off Alexandria; but I cannot perceive why you make the release of one hundred and fifty English, who were shipwrecked at Cape Brulos, depend upon a transaction relating only to

yourself and the Porte. I expect from your good faith and your justice, according to the regulations settled between both nations relative to the reciprocal exchange of our prisoners, which we are authorized to enforce; that you will allow captain Buttal, his officers and crew, to return.

Your promises expressive of the hope of reciprocity on my part cannot apply to this circumstance, and I think it superfluous to offer you in return the assurance of my good offices in favour of any person who may be reduced to the painful situation, which I have myself experienced. I am convinced that the grand vizier will sanction with his generous and dignified approbation all the humane proceedings which we may adopt with respect to one another. The tricks of warfare are unknown to us both, and while I shall continue to behave to you with the same candour and the same good faith which I have manifested to the present moment, I shall earnestly employ all my means to prevent any person on whom I may possess influence from pursuing a contrary line of conduct. Be assured that the hostile dispositions, which have been recently announced, and which have acquired extent and publicity, may be appeased by the opportunities furnished to both parties by the present circumstances of mutual correspondence and communication, and that we shall at length be united by the ties of sincere friendship. In the mean time we shall prosecute hostilities against you with the means which we have hitherto employed against you, and we shall endeavour to render ourselves worthy of the esteem of your brave troops.

The hostilities which you have committed without waiting for admiral Keith's answer, who was unacquainted with the convention concluded for the evacuation of Egypt, have furnished us with a rule for our conduct. I had not demanded of my court the ratification of the convention; I merely was desirous to remove some obstacles that might have opposed the return of the French to their country.

As general Kleber did not, in the late preliminaries which were agreed to, give us to understand that it was necessary the treaty which was to have followed them should be ratified by the consuls, this condition now introduced by you in your preliminaries has the appearance of a refusal to evacuate Egypt; and the grand vizier has commissioned me to require of you on that head a clear and precise answer. You wish, as I do, for a termination to the war which desolates the whole world:

It is in your power to remove one of the obstacles in the way of peace by evacuating Egypt according to the terms agreed upon with general Kleber; and if you refuse, we shall exert all our means, and those of our allies, in order to compel you to accept conditions which may not prove so advantageous. I cannot suppress my regret at being forced to fulfil that duty; but the evacuation of Egypt being an object of so much interest to the cause of humanity, the mode of accomplishing it by correspondence and conference is still open.

As the admiral, under whose orders I am, is at a considerable distance, I am authorized to agree to such arrangements as the necessity

of circumstances may dictate; and although, from the nature of events, I am not warranted in offering any new proposition, I am, however, ready and disposed to receive all those which you may think fit to make. I can declare to you officially that I shall exert all my efforts to prevent any rash proceedings, and to oppose all vexatious measures, from whatever quarter they may arise.

I shall literally adhere to all the instructions of my court. I know its principles to be founded upon the most punctilious equity and the most perfect good faith. My conduct shall be conformable to its principles, and all my exertions shall be directed to the performance of my duty, by promoting its interests.

As it is not yet decided in what direction I am about to act, I beg you will transmit me your answer in two dispatches, the one addressed to Alexandria and the other to Jaffa, at the camp of the grand vizier.

(Signed) Sidney Smith.

*Menou, provisional General-in-Chief, to Citizen Bonaparte, First Consul of the Republic.*

*Head-quarters at Cairo, 14th Messidor (July 3.)*

**C**ITIZEN consul, a horrible event, of which there are few examples in history, has provisionally raised me to the command of the army of the east. General Kleber was assassinated on the 25th of last month (June 14). A wretch, sent by the Aga of the Janissaries of the Ottoman army, gave the general-in-chief four stabs with a poniard,

poniard, while he was walking with citizen Protain, the architect, on the terrace which looks from the garden of the head-quarters into the square of Esbekier. Citizen Protain, in endeavouring to defend the general, received himself six wounds. The first wound which Kleber received was mortal. He fell—Protain still lives. The general, who was giving orders for repairing the head-quarters and the garden,\* had no aide-de-camp with him, nor any individual of the corps of guards: he had desired to be alone: he was found expiring. The assassin, who was discovered in the midst of a heap of ruins, being brought to the head-quarters, confessed that he was solicited to commit this crime by the aga, of the Janissaries of the Ottoman army, commanded by the grand vizier in person. This vizier, unable to vanquish the French in open warfare, has sought to avenge himself by the dagger, a weapon which belongs only to cowards. The assassin is named Suleyman-el-Alepi. He came from Aleppo, and had arrived at Cairo, after crossing the desert on a dromedary. He took up his lodging at the grand mosque Eleaser, whence he proceeded every day to watch a favourable opportunity for committing his crime. He had intrusted his secret to four petty chiefs of the law, who wished to dissuade him from his project; but who, not having denounced him, have been arrested, in consequence of the depositions of the assassin, condemned to death, and executed on the 28th of last month (June 17). I appointed to conduct the trial, a commission *ad hoc*. The commission,

after conducting the trial with the utmost solemnity, thought it proper to follow the customs of Egypt in the application of the punishment. They condemned the assassin to be impaled, after having his right hand burnt; and three of the guilty chiefs to be beheaded, and their bodies burnt. The fourth, not having been arrested, was outlawed. I annex, citizen consul, the different papers relative to the trial.

At present, citizen consul, it would be proper to make you acquainted with the events, almost incredible, that have occurred in Egypt; but I must first have the honour of informing you, that general Kleber's papers not being yet in order, I can only inform you of those events by a simple reference to the date of the transactions.—When circumstances are more favourable, I shall send you the details; but it is so necessary that you should know our situation, that I am determined to address to you the following simple journal:

*Date of the Events which have occurred in Egypt from the Treaty of El-Arisch, inclusive.*

1st. Treaty concluded at El-Arisch, on the 5th Pluviose, and ratified by the general-in-chief on the 8th of the same month, at the camp of Salahieh.

2d. Conferences of Sebille Hâflem, near Matharich. They continued from the 22d of Ventose to the 27th of the same month.

3d. The letter to lord Keith, printed and announced to the army on the 27th, with the proclamation of the general-in-chief, Kleber.

\* The head-quarters had been damaged by cannon-shot during the siege.

4th. The rupture officially notified to the vizier on the 28th of Ventose.

5th. The battle of Matharich, or Heliopolis, gained on the 27th Ventose, over the army of the grand vizier, 60,000 strong—20 pieces of cannon taken.

6th. The aid-de-camp Baudet sent on a parley during the action, was maltreated, and detained a prisoner, contrary to the rights of nations.

7th. Insurrection of Cairo on the 29th, six hours after the departure of the army. It was fomented by some Osmanlis, who had introduced themselves into Cairo after the convention of El-Arisch.

8th. Arrival of Nasif Pacha in this city on the 30th. He had escaped from the defeated army, and, making a great detour, entered Cairo by the gate Bab-el-Nafs, called the Gate of Victories.

9th. Arrival of the French army at Balbys on the 30th. The enemy, constantly pursued, kept flying before it.

10th. Surrender of the fort of Balbys on the 1st of Germinal—600 Turks prisoners of war—eight pieces of cannon taken.

11th. The affair of Coreid on the 2d Germinal.

12th. Arrival of the army at Salahich on the 3d. Taking of 12 pieces of cannon belonging to the grand vizier's camp, and an immense quantity of baggage abandoned by the enemy in his precipitate retreat across the desert, which he strewed with dead bodies. The number of men that perished from Salahich to Gaza is estimated at 18,000—departure of the general-in-chief, Kleber, on the same day for Cairo.

13th. His arrival at Cairo on the 6th Germinal.

14th. First capitulation of Cairo agreed to on the 14th Germinal.—The Turks refuse to leave the place, and continue to fight.

15th. Arrival of Osman Bey-el-Oscar, and an officer of Nasif Pacha, on the 29th Germinal, on a parley.—A mine dug by the French, blew up a large house, in which there were between 4 and 500 Osmanlis.

16th. Definitive capitulation for the evacuation of Cairo by the Turks, agreed to on the 1st Floreal, (April 21.)

17th. On the 2d, adjutant-general René, and citizen Tioch, officer of the staff, sent hostages for the execution of the capitulation, and exchanged in the square of Esbekier, against Osman Bey-el-Oscar and the Kiaya of Nasif Pacha. The Turks and the Osmanlis insult them in the city, and they are obliged to take refuge in a mosque, where Elsy Bey, who was intrusted to guard them, defended them against the attempts of the furious multitude.

18th. Departure of the Turks, to the number of 5000, on the 3th Floreal.

19th. Assassination of general Kleber on the 25th Prairial (June 14.)

20th. Execution of the assassin and his accomplices, on the 28th of Prairial (June 17.)

Peace was concluded with Mourad Bey during the siege of Cairo. The provinces of Gize and Assuan were ceded to him. He enjoys them under the title of prince governor for the French republic. It should be remarked, that during the battle of Heliopolis, Mourad Bey kept constantly on a height near the field of battle. He had said that

that he would make no movement, and he kept his word. The tails of several Pachas have been taken at Matharich, Balbys, and Salahich. After the battle of Heliopolis the troops marched to retake Damietta, which had been given up to the Turks in consequence of the convention. Twelve hundred Osmanlis were killed there. The remainder fled by the lake of Menzale and the desert.

*Present Situation of the French Army.*

Ten millions have been imposed upon the city of Cairo to punish the revolt; all the arrears due to the army have been paid, and for the future their pay will be secured.—The fortifications of Cairo are completing; twelve forts surround the city at present; in fifteen days the whole will be completed; the arches of the grand aqueduct have been stopped, so that it is now impossible to pass from the bank of the river to the citadel; on the other side, the ramparts of the city are raised, and all the space between Fort Camin behind the head-quarters to Boulac is to be enclosed by a wall. The fortifications of Salahich are much increased; they will be finished before three weeks.—Lesbe, near Damietta, is finished, and towers are building on the different passes that go from the sea to the lake Menzale. The fort of Burlos will soon be finished, that of Rosetta is completed; Aboukir is entirely repaired; they are working with diligence at Alexandria. Our artillery is in the best condition, the works in the arsenal of Gizeh are in the greatest activity. I have established a depot of 500 horses at Gizeh, and also a park of reserve

of 500 camels; many thousand Greeks have enrolled themselves in our service, and also 500 Copts and Syrians. Seventy Turkish and Greek vessels have, since the rupture, of which they were ignorant, entered the ports of Alexandria and Damietta; they came after the evacuation; they have been retained as prisoners; the merchandise which they brought has served to pay the troops. A caravan of 10,000 slaves and 15,000 camels is arrived from Darfur and the Niger: it is at Syonh, which we have kept in our treaty with Mourad Bey. A caravan from Tor, and another from Yambo, are arrived here by Suez. I have given, and shall continue to give them, every support for the encouragement of commerce, which I wish to re-establish, and to endeavour to supply Arabia by way of Suez. I am organizing there a caravan, which will leave this every fifteen days; another caravan, coming from Tazanna, from Beled and Gezid, in fifty days, is also arrived at Cairo. The institute is going to resume its sittings. The grand vizier is at Jaffa with about 7 or 8000 men; he has 2000 at Gaza, and 1000 at El-Arisch; Catieh is destroyed. If he should be able to recruit his army, and shall again attempt to pass the desert, we will go to receive him at Salahich; the troops are determined to beat him. The captain pacha is with twenty-four sail before Alexandria, Rosetta, and Damietta; they cruise from one port to the other: we reckon in this squadron eight Turkish ships of the line and two English; every where we are prepared, the army will combat till they die; happy if we can preserve to the republic a great colony, of which  
you

you have been the founder. I cannot send you the names of those who have distinguished themselves, I may say they are the whole army. I shall not enter into these details until the papers of general Kleber are arranged. I shall confine myself to request of you, citizen consul, to confirm the promotions that have been made; these are the generals of division, generals of brigade, and all the subordinate ranks. Many brave men have been killed and many wounded; they are all worthy of your attention. You know my respect and devotion: both the one and the other are unbounded.

Abd. T. Menou.

*Convention between his Britannic Majesty and the Emperor of the Romans; signed at Vienna, June 20, 1800.*

**H**IS majesty the emperor of the Romans, king of Hungary and Bohemia, and his majesty the king of Great Britain, have judged that it was conformable to the interest of their crowns, and to the good of the common cause, to concert with each other on the best manner of giving effect to the union of their efforts against the common enemy in the present campaign. In consequence of which the baron de Thugut, grand cross of the order of St. Stephen, his Imperial majesty's minister of conferences, and commissary general and minister plenipotentiary in his provinces of Italy, Iliria, and Dalmatia, &c. and the right honourable Gilbert lord Minto, peer of Great Britain, one of his Britannic majesty's most honourable privy council, and his envoy extra-

ordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Vienna, being furnished on the part of their aforesaid Imperial and Britanick majesties, with the powers requisite for discussing and arranging this important object; the said plenipotentiaries, after having respectively exchanged their full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

I. In order to relieve the pressing necessities of the finances of his Imperial majesty under the enormous expenses already incurred, and which remain to be incurred during the present campaign, his Britanick majesty shall advance to his above-mentioned Imperial majesty by way of loan, the sum of 2,000,000*l.* sterling. This sum shall be divided into three parts, and paid at three different periods, preferably in specie: so that the first third of 866,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* shall be paid in the first days of the month of July; the second third of the like sum in the first days of September; and the remaining third in the first days of the month of December.

II. During the whole continuance of the war, and during the six months which shall follow the conclusion of a peace between Austria and France, his Imperial majesty shall not be bound to pay any interest upon the sum of two millions advanced, as stipulated in the preceding article, Great Britain consenting to take this charge upon her own account until the period above mentioned. But on the expiration of the term of six months after the conclusion of peace, his Imperial majesty shall pay for the future to the British government, or to the individuals who shall be pointed out by the British government, an annual rent or annual rents, making altogether



altogether the amount of the interest of the two millions advanced, which interest shall be calculated at the same rate as the interest of the loan made on account of the British government in the present year. His Imperial majesty shall moreover pay annually to the British government the sum of 20,000*l.* sterling at two periods, that is to say, 10,000*l.* every six months, which sum shall be employed in the successive purchase and reduction of the principal of the two millions, according to the method adopted by the British government in its own loans.

III. Their Imperial and Britannic majesties mutually promise each other to carry on the war against the French republic, during the present campaign, with all possible vigour; and to employ in it all their respective means by land and sea, concerting together, as occasion shall require, on the most advantageous manner of reciprocally employing their forces by land and sea to the support of their operations against the common enemy. His Imperial majesty shall be careful to complete his armies of Germany and of Italy in proportion to the losses which they have sustained, in order always, as far as possible, to act against the common enemy with the same number of effective men, conformably to the statements which his Imperial majesty caused to be confidentially communicated to the British government on the opening of the campaign.

IV. The Bavarian troops, those of Wurtemberg, and the Swiss regiments in the pay of Great Britain, shall be at the disposal of his Imperial majesty, to form a part of his army in Germany, and to be employed there in operations against

the enemy, in conformity to the conventions and capitulations concluded on this subject by the king of Great Britain. His Britannic majesty shall take the necessary measures for the farther reinforcement of the army of his Imperial majesty in Germany, by as great a number as possible of German and Swiss troops.

V. Their Imperial and Britannic majesties engage, during the whole continuance of the present convention, not to make a separate peace with the French republic, without the previous and express consent of each other. They engage likewise not to treat with the enemy, nor to receive from him any overtures either for a private peace, or for a general pacification, without making, mutually, communications of them with openness, and acting in every respect in perfect concert.

VI. The duration of the present convention is fixed for the term of one year, to be computed from the 1st of March, 1800, until the end of February, 1801. From the month of December, and immediately after the acquittal of the last payment of the stipulated advances, the two high contracting parties shall enter into deliberation and confidential explanation upon the determinations that they may think necessary to adopt for the future, according to circumstances, and their mutual convenience.

VII. The present convention shall be ratified in due form by their Imperial and Britannic majesties, and the respective ratifications shall be exchanged at Vienna in the space of six weeks, or sooner, if possible. In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, furnished with the full powers of their Imperial and Bri-

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laminic majesties, have in their names signed the present convention, and have affixed thereunto the seal of our arms.

Done at Vienna the 20th of June, in the year 1800.

(L. S.) Le baron de Thugut.

(L. S.) Minto.

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*Treaty between the King of Great Britain and the Elector of Mentz.*

**B**E it known to all whom it may concern, that as his electoral highness of Mentz, as a member of the empire, and agreeably to his attachment to its constitution, participates in the war which the German empire has been forced to declare against France, for defending and maintaining its constitution, and the integrity of its territory; and as his highness is convinced of the necessity for gaining this salutary purpose, not only of employing all the forces which the laws of the empire require of every state under the title of contingents, but also of using still greater means; the sooner to procure an honourable and lasting peace, which the occupation of a considerable part of the electoral territories on the side of France, and the repeated invasion of the remaining territories of his electoral highness by the same power, as well as the exhausted state of his resources, effected by his extraordinary exertions for the good of the armies fighting in Germany for the general cause, did not allow his electoral highness to do to the extent he might have wished, his electoral highness has applied to his Britannic majesty (likewise engaged in war with the same enemy, in consequence of the attack made by

France), inviting his majesty to assist his electoral highness in the execution of these measures, in a manner that might be thought the most effective. As his Britannic majesty on his part entertains similar sentiments with his electoral highness, and wishes to give him a proof of his friendship, and of his desire to promote the just and salutary object he has in view, his majesty has nominated Mr. Wickham his minister plenipotentiary and commissioner, to adjust the points relating to this important object; and his electoral highness, on his part, has nominated count Spaur his privy counsellor, for the same purpose, who, having exchanged their full powers, have agreed on the following articles:

Art. 1. His electoral highness of Mentz offers to form a corps of 3464 men, infantry as well as cavalry (but so that the latter shall not constitute above one-eleventh part of the whole corps), which is to be left at the disposal of his Britannic majesty, to be employed by him in any part of Europe he should wish it; and that for so long as his majesty shall take an active share in the war at present carrying on on the continent, and for three years, if after the expiration of that time, or sooner, fortunate events should procure to Europe the enjoyment of a solid and lasting peace. In the latter case, viz. if a continental peace should be effected before the expiration of the three years, his Britannic majesty shall be at liberty to dispense with the service of that corps, having made known to his electoral highness his resolution, three months beforehand, during which period the salary and other wages of the troops shall continue to

to be paid on the same footing, and in the same manner, as stipulated in the subjoined articles.

Art. 2. The whole corps, as well as the general appointed by his electoral highness for its command, shall be under the orders of that general-in-chief of the united armies whom his Britannic majesty shall mention for that purpose. They shall, in every particular, be treated upon the same footing as the troops of the power in whose army they shall act. The said corps shall be entirely independent of those troops which his electoral highness has besides to furnish to the army of the empire as a contingent.

Art. 3.—12. To defray the expenses of raising and equipping them, his Britannic majesty pays for every exercised and equipped horseman 80 dollars banco, and for every equipped and exercised foot soldier 30 dollars banco, the banco dollar at 4r. 9½d. The corps shall march eight days after it shall have been requested.

As from the interrupted communication between England and the continent, the negotiations of the present treaty have been greatly protracted, the pay of the troops shall commence from the 28th of January of the present year. The whole maintenance of the corps shall be on the same footing as that of the imperial armies. In case his Britannic majesty should think it advisable to dispense with the service of this corps, he will pay the subsidies for the remaining time of the duration of the treaty, on the basis of the treaty of subsidies with Hesse-Cassel, of the 10th of April, 1793, and over and above one month's pay and emoluments. The deserters from the troops of Mentz shall

be delivered up, and such of the troops as shall be made prisoners of war are to be exchanged in the same manner as other troops in English pay. His electoral highness will always keep the number of the troops complete. The British commissary may frequently review the troops, and demand reports of their state. His Britannic majesty pays 30 rix-dollars banco for every recruit, to recomplete the corps, deserters excepted. Artillery, and other warlike stores, that shall be lost before the enemy, are to be replaced at the expense of his Britannic majesty.

Art. 13. His electoral highness promises not to enter into negotiations with France, as long as the present treaty shall be in force, unknown to his Britannic majesty, but shall communicate to his majesty, or to the commissioners authorized by him for that purpose, all communications and proposals made to him on that head.

In case the present article should not be observed, his Britannic majesty shall no longer consider himself bound to fulfil such other engagements which would still remain to be executed, and will be fully authorized to consider as null and void every thing agreed upon in the present treaty. His Britannic majesty, on his part, promises, during the term of the present treaty, not to conclude a peace with France, without including in it his electoral highness, and regulating his interest by means of it.

Art. 14. His Britannic majesty promises to be mindful of the security of the territories and possessions of his electoral highness, and as far as depends on him, and the circumstances of the war and the good of the

the general cause shall allow it, to direct military operations in such a manner that the states of his electoral highness, at present occupied by his own troops, or those of the united armies, be covered, and, as much as possible, spared. Should, nevertheless, notwithstanding the measures taken for that purpose, any part of the above-mentioned states of his electoral highness be attacked by the enemy, in consequence of the present treaty, his Britannic majesty, conjointly with his allies, will concert measures to procure his electoral highness an indemnification proportionate to the loss which one or other of the provinces may have suffered by such attack.

Art. 15. To give to his electoral highness a still greater proof of his friendship, and of his sincere participation in the welfare of the electorate, his Britannic majesty will proceed in the same manner with respect to the other possessions of his electoral highness, so as the same shall be re-conquered and wrested from the hands of the enemy; and will, conjointly with his allies, actively intercede, on the conclusion of a general peace, that the electoral house be restored to the possession of the states which it enjoyed at the commencement of the present war, such as they were at that time.

Art. 16. The corps stipulated in the present treaty may be increased to 6000 men, by means of an augmentation of the expenses for raising and equipping the troops, as well as the pay and other emoluments, to be calculated on the basis of the present treaty, in proportion to the increase of men which the high contracting powers may agree upon.

Art. 17. The conditions and arti-

cles of the present convention shall be communicated to his imperial and royal majesty, the Roman emperor. He shall be at liberty to join in it, as far as the nature of the different articles agreed upon shall permit, as well as in all alterations and additions that might hereafter be made by the high contracting parties.

Art. 18. The ratifications of the present treaty shall be exchanged within four weeks, or sooner, if possible. In testimony thereof, the underwritten have signed, and affixed their seals to the present treaty.

(Signed) W. Wickham.

Henry count Spaar.

Done at Pfora, near Donaueschingen, April 30, 1800.

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*Copy of a Letter from Mr. Merry, the British Minister at Copenhagen, to Count Bernstorff.*

*Copenhagen, April 10, 1800.*

THE importance which the Danish court must necessarily attach to the event which happened in the month of December last, in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar, between some frigates of the king and the frigate of his Danish majesty, named *Hausersen*, commanded by captain Van Dockum, and the orders which, in consequence, have been sent me by my court upon this point, impose upon me the painful duty of repeating to you, in writing, the complaint which I had the honour to make to you upon this point by word of mouth, in the audience which you had the goodness to grant me for this purpose three days ago.

The facts of this affair are in themselves very simple, and I think that

that we are already agreed on them. The facts are, that the English frigate met the Danish frigate in open sea, having under her a convoy of vessels. The English commander, thinking it proper to exercise the right of visiting this convoy, sent on board the Danish frigate, demanding from the captain his destination. The latter having answered, that then he was going to Gibraltar, it was replied, that since he was going to stop in that bay, no visit should be paid to his convoy, but that if he did not mean to call anchor there, the visit should be paid. Captain Van Dockum then informed the officer who went on board him, that he would make resistance to such a step. Upon this answer, the English commander made the signal for examining the convoy. A boat from the Emerald frigate was proceeding to execute this order: a fire of musquetry from the Danish frigate fell upon them, and one of the English sailors was severely wounded. This frigate also took possession of a boat of the English frigate the Flora, and did not release it till after the English commander had given captain Van Dockum to understand, that if he did not immediately give it up, he would commence hostilities. The Danish frigate then went with her convoy into the bay of Gibraltar. There some discussion took place on this affair, between lord Keith, admiral and commander-in-chief of his majesty's naval forces in the Mediterranean, and captain Van Dockum, whom lord Keith could not but consider as personally responsible, and guilty of the injury done to one of his majesty's subjects, not thinking it possible that this captain could have been authorised by instruc-

tions from his court. To clear up this point, admiral Keith sent an officer to captain Dockum to entreat him to show, and to explain the nature of his instructions; but he said to the officer, that they were in substance, that he should not permit his convoy to be visited, and that, in firing upon the boats, he had only discharged his orders. The same captain afterwards made a similar reply, upon his word of honour, in speaking with lord Keith, and in the presence of the governor of Gibraltar; but he promised, at the same time to appear before the judge, and to give security for his appearance; and upon this promise he was told that he might return on board. Having entered his boat he sent a letter to the admiral, in which he refused to give the necessary security. These discussions were terminated by a declaration which lord Keith made to captain Van Dockum, that if he failed to surrender himself, thus wishing to frustrate justice, the affair should be represented to his court.

Such, sir, is the state of facts which have given rise to the complaint that I am commissioned to urge to the Danish government. I flatter myself that you will find it correct and conformable to what is stated in the correspondence between lord Keith and captain Van Dockum, of which, as you did me the honour to tell me, you are in possession.

The right of visiting and examining merchant ships in open sea, of whatever nation they may be, and whatever may be their cargoes and destination, is considered by the British government as the incontestible right of every nation at war—a right founded on the law  
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of nations, and which has been generally admitted and recognised: It follows, therefore, that the resistance of a commander of a ship of war, offered by a power at amity, must necessarily be considered as an act of hostility, and such as the king persuaded himself cannot be enjoined to the commanders of the ships of war of his Danish majesty in their instructions. His Britannic majesty, therefore, entertains no doubt that his Danish majesty will have felt much displeasure at hearing of this violent and insupportable conduct on the part of an officer in his service; and the king is persuaded of the alacrity with which his Danish majesty will afford him that formal disavowal and that apology which he has so good a right to expect in such a case, together with a reparation proportioned to the nature of the offence committed.

I am specially commissioned, sir, to demand of you this disavowal, apology, and reparation. The confidence which I must feel in the known justice of his Danish majesty, leads me to hope that this simple and amicable representation will be sufficient to obtain it with that dispatch which so important a case requires; but I must not at the same time conceal from you, that, great and sincere as is the desire of the king, my master, to maintain and cultivate the most strict harmony and friendship with the court of Denmark, nothing shall induce him to depart from this just demand.

(Signed) Anth. Merry.

*Reply of the Danish Minister to the above Note of Mr. Merry.*

Both custom and treaties have no doubt conferred on the bellige-

rent powers the right of searching neutral vessels, not under convoy. By their ships of war, &c.; but as this right is not a natural one, but merely conventional, its effects cannot be arbitrarily extended beyond what is agreed to and conceded, without violence and injustice. But none of the maritime and independent powers of Europe, as far as the undersigned has observed, have ever acknowledged the right of permitting neutral ships to be searched, when escorted by one or several ships of war; and it is evident they could not do so without exposing their flag to degradation, and without forfeiting a certain essential proportion of their own rights.

Far from acquiescing in these pretensions, which at present are no longer acknowledged, most of those powers have been of opinion, since this question has been stirred, that they ought to hold out an opposite principle in all their conventions respecting objects of this nature, in conformity with a number of treaties concluded between the most respectable courts of Europe, which contain proofs of the propriety of adhering to that principle.

The distinction attempted to be established between ships with and without convoy, is moreover equally just and natural—for the former cannot be supposed to be in the same predicament as the latter.

The search insisted upon by the privateers or state ships of the belligerent powers, with respect to neutral bottoms not accompanied by convoy, is founded on the right of acknowledging their flag, and of examining their papers. The only question is to ascertain their partiality



tiality and the regularity of their instructions. When the papers of these ships are found in strict order, no farther examination can be legally enforced; and it is consequently the authority of the government, in whose name these documents have been drawn up and issued, that procures for the belligerent power the required security.

But a neutral government, in escorting by the armed ships of the state, the commercial ships of the subject, thereby alone holds out to the belligerent powers a more authentic and positive pledge than that which is furnished by the documents with which these ships are furnished. Nor can a neutral government, without incurring dishonour and disgrace, admit, in this respect, the least doubt or suspicion, which must be as injurious to that government as they would be unjust on the part of those who should entertain or manifest them.

And if it were to be admitted as a principle, that the convoys granted by a sovereign do not secure ships of his subjects from being visited by the state ships or privateers of foreigners, it would follow that the most formidable squadron should not have the right of relieving from a search the ships intrusted to its protection, if that search was exacted by the most pitiful privateer.

But it cannot be reasonably supposed that the English government, which has uniformly, and on the most just grounds, shewn a marked jealousy for the honour of its flag, and who in the maritime wars, in which it has taken no part, has nevertheless asserted with vigour the rights of neutrality; would ever consent, should such circumstances oc-

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cur, to an humiliating vexation of that nature; and the king of Denmark reposes too much confidence in the equity and loyalty of his Britannic majesty to harbour a suspicion that it is his intention to arrogate a right which, under similar circumstances, he would not grant to any other independent power.

It seems sufficient to apply to the fact in question, the natural result of these observations, in order to make it evident, that the captain of the king's frigate, by repelling a violence which he had no right to expect, has done no more than his duty; and that it was on the part of the English frigates, that a violation of the rights of a neutral sovereign, and of a power friendly to his Britannic majesty, has been committed.

The king had hesitated to signify any formal complaint on this head; as long as he regarded it as a misconception which might have been done away by amicable explanations between the respective commanders of the naval force which the two governments kept up in the Mediterranean; but seeing himself, much to his regret, disappointed in that hope, he has only to insist on the reparation that is due to him, and which the justice and the friendship of his Britannic majesty seem justly to be called upon to secure to him.

(Signed) C. Bernstorff.

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*Note delivered by Lord Grenville to Count Wedel Jarlsberg, his Danish Majesty's Minister, respecting the Capture of the Freya Frigate.*

THE undersigned, his majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign

foreign affairs, has had the honour to lay before the king the note which he received yesterday from count Wedel Jarlsberg, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary from the king of Denmark.

It was with the greatest surprise and concern that his majesty received the first accounts of the transaction to which that note relates. Studiously desiring to maintain always with the court of Copenhagen those relations of friendship and alliance which had so long subsisted between Great Britain and Denmark, his majesty has, during the whole course of his reign, given repeated proofs of these dispositions, which he had flattered himself were reciprocally entertained by the government of his Danish majesty. And notwithstanding the expressions made use of in count Wedel's note, his majesty cannot even yet persuade himself that it is really by the orders of the king of Denmark, that this state of harmony and peace has been thus suddenly disturbed, or that a Danish officer can have acted conformably to his instructions, in actually commencing hostilities against this country, by a wanton and unprovoked attack upon a British ship of war, bearing his majesty's flag, and navigating the British seas.

The impressions which such an event has naturally excited in his majesty's breast have received additional force from the perusal of a note, in which satisfaction and reparation are claimed as due to the aggressors from those who have sustained this insult and injury.

His majesty, allowing for the difficulty in which all neutral nations were placed by the unprecedented conduct and peculiar character of

his enemy, has, on many occasions, during the present war, forbore to assert his rights, and to claim from the Danish government the impartial discharge of the duties of that neutrality which it professed a disposition to maintain. But the deliberate and open aggression which he has now sustained cannot be passed over in a similar manner. The lives of his brave seamen have been sacrificed, the honour of his flag has been insulted, almost in sight of his own coasts; and these proceedings are supported by calling in question those indisputable rights, founded on the clearest principles of the law of nations, from which his majesty never can depart, and the temperate exercise of which is indispensably necessary to the maintenance of the dearest interests of his empire.

The undersigned has, in all his reports to his majesty rendered full justice to the personal dispositions which he has uniformly found on the part of count Wedel, to remove all grounds of misunderstanding between the two countries. He cannot, therefore, now forbear to urge him to represent this matter to his court in its true light, to do away those false impressions, under which (if at all) a conduct so injurious to his majesty can have been authorised, and to consult the interests of both countries, but especially those of Denmark, by bearing his testimony to the dispositions with which his majesty's government is animated; and by recommending to his court, with all that earnestness which the importance of the occasion both justifies and requires, that these dispositions may, in so critical a conjuncture, find an adequate return; and that a speedy  
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and satisfactory answer may be given to the demand which his majesty has directed to be made in his name at Copenhagen, both of reparation for what is past, and of security against the repetition of these outrages.

In order to give the greater weight to his majesty's representations on this subject, and to afford at the same time the means of such explanations respecting it, as may avert the necessity of those extremities to which his majesty looks with the greatest reluctance, his majesty has charged lord Whitworth with a special mission to the court of Denmark, and that minister will immediately sail for his destination.

That court cannot but see in this determination a new proof of the king's desire to conciliate the preservation of peace with the maintenance of the fundamental rights and interests of his empire.

(Signed) Grenville.

July 30, 1800.

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*Extract from the official Note transmitted by Lord Whitworth to Count Bernstorff.*

August 21, 1800.

**T**HE English minister supports the principles which had been established in the first note, and says, that if the principle be once admitted, that a Danish frigate may legally guarantee from all search six merchant-ships, it follows naturally that that same power, or any other power whatever, may, by means of the smallest ship of war, extend the same protection to all the commerce of the enemy, in all parts of the world; it will only be necessary to find in the whole circle of the universe a single neutral state, how-

ever inconsiderable it may be, well disposed enough towards our enemies to lend them its flag, and to cover all their commerce, without running the least risk; for when examination can no longer take place, fraud fears no discovery. In the note which the count de Bernstorff has just transmitted, the undersigned perceives with pain, that, far from wishing to satisfy the just demand of the king his master, the Danish government still persists in supporting, not only the principle upon which it founds its aggression, but also the right of defending it by means of arms. In this state of things, the undersigned has no other alternative than to perform strictly his duty, by insisting anew on the satisfaction which the king his master requires, and by declaring to M. de Bernstorff, that, in spite of his sincere desire to be the instrument of the reconciliation of the two courts, he shall be obliged to leave Copenhagen with all the English mission in the space of a week, reckoning from the day of the signing of this note, unless, in the interval, the Danish government shall adopt counsels more conformable to the interests of the two countries, and, above all, to those of Denmark, with whom his majesty has constantly desired, and still desires, to live in terms of friendship and alliance. The undersigned, therefore, has the honour to repeat to the count de Bernstorff, that he is enjoined to quit Copenhagen with the king's mission in a week, unless a satisfactory reply be given before the expiration of that term.

He requests the count de Bernstorff to accept the assurances of his most distinguished consideration.

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*Extract*

*Extract from the Reply of Count Bernstorff.*

*August 26.*

If lord Whitworth thinks to destroy the force of the arguments developed in that note (note to Mr. Merry, of the 19th April) by the reflection, that, by the right of guaranteeing from search merchantmen, under the convoy of a ship of war, the least powerful neutral state would acquire the faculty of covering with impunity, with its flag, an illicit commerce—the undersigned entreats him to observe, that the government which should degrade itself to the point of lending its flag to such a fraud, would by that conduct pass the bounds of neutrality, and would in consequence authorize the belligerent power, to the prejudice of which the fraud had been committed, to adopt measures which ordinary circumstances would not admit. The state which neglects its duties exposes itself, without doubt, to the risk of losing its rights; but the suspicion of degrading conduct would be as injurious to the government which should not deserve it, as it would be little honourable to the government which should advance it without foundation; but this cause cannot exist between Denmark and Great Britain. The English government is not ignorant, without doubt, that the Danish officers who command convoys are personally responsible that the cargoes of the ships belonging to those convoys do not contain articles prohibited by the laws of nations, or by the treaties subsisting between Denmark and the belligerent powers; and it is easy to feel that there must be incomparably more difficulty in eluding the vigilance of

the officers than the researches of those who pretend to exercise on these ships a right, as odious in its principle, as delusive in its effect. The essential difference between the principles of the two courts introducing into this discussion particular difficulties, there does not appear to be a more proper mean of removing them than by having recourse to the mediation of a third power; and the king hesitates the less in proposing to his Britannic majesty the mediation of the emperor of Russia, as that monarch, the friend and ally of both sovereigns, will certainly have nothing more at heart than to conciliate them, and to prevent a fatal misunderstanding. The undersigned does not doubt that lord Whitworth will see in the proposition a new proof of the moderation of the king, and of his desire to preserve the friendship of his Britannic majesty. The king would the more regret seeing him quit Copenhagen, because his majesty had considered his mission as a pledge of the conciliatory intentions of the court of London, and because he had flattered himself that his personal dispositions would contribute to the accelerating an accommodation for which he has offered him, and still offers him, the greatest facility.

*Bernstorff.*

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*Reply of Lord Whitworth.*

*August 27.*

Lord Whitworth requests the count de Bernstorff to observe, that if he does not animadvert upon the arguments he has made use of upon this occasion, it is because he thinks he shall render a much more essential service to his court, as well as to

to that of Copenhagen, by abstaining from all that might remove them from the object which both ought to have equally at heart. With respect to the mediation which the count de Bernstorff proposes as the most proper means of doing away the difficulties of this discussion, the undersigned thinks he can reply with certainty, that, in spite of the apparent misunderstanding which may have existed between the two courts, there is no sovereign in Europe to whom the king would refer himself, with respect to his dearest interests, with more confidence, than the emperor of Russia; no one is more ready than the undersigned to do justice to the loyalty and zeal of that sovereign for the good cause. But he believes that, in a similar case, it would be useless to recur even to that intervention, however respectable it may be; and that the court of Denmark, introducing into the discussion the same frankness as the court of London, and the same desire of preventing speedily all objects of fatal misunderstanding, will find out the means of effecting this object without difficulty.

Whitworth.

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*Preliminary Convention between the Courts of Copenhagen and London, signed at Copenhagen, August 29, 1800.*

**T**HEIR Danish and Britannic majesties, animated with an equal desire, by a friendly accommodation, to prevent any disagreeable consequences from following the difference which has arisen between the crowns, from the result of the rencounter between the Da-

nish frigate la Freya and some English ships of war, and to re-establish, in all their extent, the ties of friendship and confidence which have long united them, have, for that purpose, named and appointed, as their plenipotentiaries, his Danish majesty, the count de Bernstorff, his chamberlain and secretary of state for foreign affairs; and his Britannic majesty, lord Whitworth, knight of the order of the Bath; who, after having interchanged their credentials, have agreed on the following articles:

Art. I. The question, with regard to the right of searching neutral ships, sailing under convoy, shall be referred to a future discussion.

II. The Danish frigate la Freya, and the vessels which were under her convoy, shall be instantly released, and the said frigate shall find, in the ports of his Britannic majesty; every thing necessary for her repair, according to the usage followed among friendly and allied powers.

III. To prevent similar rencounters from breeding disputes of a similar nature, his Danish majesty shall suspend his convoys till the ulterior explanation upon this point shall have given rise to a definitive treaty.

IV. If it should come to pass, however, that any rencounters of the same kind should take place before the instructions to prevent them shall have had their effect, they shall not be productive of any serious consequences; and the arrangement of whatever may result from them shall be considered as comprehended in the object of the present convention.

V. This convention shall be ratified in three weeks, to be counted

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from

from the day on which it is signed, or sooner, if possible.

In faith of which, we, the undersigned plenipotentiaries of their Danish and Britannic majesties, have signed, in their names, and in virtue of our powers, the present convention, and have affixed to it seals bearing our arms.

Done at Copenhagen, this 29th day of August, 1800.

(Signed) Whitworth. (L. S.)  
C. Bernstorff. (L. S.)

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*Circular Letter addressed by the Spanish Minister to the Foreign Ministers at the Court of Spain, relative to a Violation of the Right of Neutral Flags, alleged to have been committed by the English at Barcelona.*

Sir,

I Have the honour of communicating to you a copy of the memorial which the king my master has desired me to transmit to his minister at Stockholm, in order to be delivered to the minister of his Swedish majesty. The principles which are there established, and the event which gave rise to them, are of such a nature as must interest all the commercial nations of Europe, and particularly neutral princes. His majesty is already persuaded that your government will consider the affair under the same point of view, and he flatters himself that it will concur in effacing, as far as possible, from the annals of this war, an action so destructive to that confidence and hospitality which the flags of neutral powers ought to enjoy.

I renew to you, sir, on this occa-

sion, assurances of my consideration and esteem; and am, sir, yours, &c.

(Signed) Chevalier d'Urquijo.  
At St. Ildephonso, September 17, 1800.

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*Letter to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of his Swedish Majesty, on the same Subject.*

Sir,

The king, my master, has seen, with the liveliest indignation, by a report made by the consul of his Swedish majesty, at Barcelona, to the captain-general of Catalonia, containing a declaration of captain Rudbart, of the Swedish galliot *Hoffnung*, that on the 4th of September last, in the afternoon, two English ships and a frigate forced the said captain, after having examined his papers, and found them regular, to take on board English officers, and a considerable number of sailors, and to suffer himself to be towed, in the evening, by several English boats, as far as the road of Barcelona, and under the cannon of the batteries: that the English, having compelled the said captain and his crew to be silent, by holding a pistol to his breast, took possession of the rudder, and at nine in the evening, by means of the said galliot, and the boats which surrounded it, made an attack on two frigates under Spanish colours, which were there at anchor, and which having no reason to suspect that a friendly and neutral vessel could conceal enemies on board, and thus serve to favour a most treacherous attack, were in a manner surprised, and forced to surrender. For the other particulars,

and



and the violence exercised by the English in the Swedish vessel, I refer to the declaration of the captain, hereto annexed.

The king, my master, cannot consider this event but as interesting, and wounding the rights of all the powers of Europe, England excepted; and in particular as an insult of the highest magnitude to the flag of his Swedish majesty. It is evident, indeed, that the belligerent powers, in admitting neutral ships into their roads and ports, wish to soften the scourge of war, and to maintain those commercial relations between one nation and another, which their mutual wants require. Every thing then that tends to render this navigation subject to suspicion and danger, equally wounds the rights and interests of all nations. But in the present case, the rights and honour of the Swedish flag have been violated in a manner so insulting, that few such instances are to be found in the maritime history of Europe. This action, should it remain unpunished, would tend to embroil two friendly nations, to annihilate their commercial relations, and to make the flag which should suffer it to be considered as a secret auxiliary of the hostile power, and thus force Spain to pursue those measures which the interests of its subjects and the security of its ports would require.

The king, my master, however, has ordered me to convey to his Swedish majesty an account of this grievous insult offered to his flag; and not doubting of the resentment he will feel on account of a proceeding so base and disloyal, on the part of the naval officers of his Britannic majesty, he expects that

the court of Stockholm will require of the English ministry, in the most urgent manner, that the officers who have rendered themselves culpable on this occasion shall be severely punished, and that the two Spanish frigates surprised and carried from the road of Barcelona by a stratagem so contrary to the rights of nations and the rules of war, shall be immediately restored, with their cargoes, as being illegally captured by means of a neutral vessel, which served as an instrument in the hands of the assailants.

His catholic majesty thinks himself so much better founded to consider the success of this remonstrance as certain, since the English government itself cannot dissemble, that its enemies, by following this example, might employ neutral vessels in the like manner, to infest its harbours, and to occasion great damage in all its ports. But if, contrary to all expectation, the steps taken by his Swedish majesty, to obtain from the court of London reparation for the insult offered to his flag, as well as restitution of the two frigates, should not be attended with success before the end of this year, his majesty will see himself obliged, though with regret, to pursue, in regard to the Swedish flag, such measures of precaution as may in future protect his ports and harbours from an abuse so dangerous, and so insulting as that which has been lately committed by the English.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) The Chevalier d'Urquijo.

At St. Ildephonso, September 19, 1800.

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*Note*

*Note transmitted by the Swedish Ministry to the Minister of his Catholic Majesty at Stockholm, in Answer to the Representations of the Spanish Court; dated Ildephonso, September 17, 1800.*

**H**IS Swedish majesty has understood, with the utmost concern, the violence used by some officers of the English navy, towards a merchant-ship from Swedish Pomerania, by employing the same in a hostile enterprise against two frigates in the road of Barcelona.

He perfectly accords with his Catholic majesty with respect to the light in which this new abuse of power is to be considered, and the common danger which such examples must occasion both to neutral and belligerent powers. His majesty will therefore immediately make remonstrances to the court of London, to which he is equally induced by his friendly connections with the Spanish court, and the violation of the neutrality of his flag.

In these remonstrances, which will have for their first object the rights of the Swedish flag and of Swedish subjects, his Catholic majesty will certainly admit it to be right that the king should consider himself as the principal party; but while he attends to his own interests, he will not neglect those of Spain. Justice requires that what has been obtained in an unjustifiable manner shall be restored. His majesty will demand, but without answering for the consequence of this measure. He will, when it shall be time, make confidential communications to the Spanish court, with respect to the dispositions which the English government shall manifest on the subject; but the justice of

his Catholic majesty will undoubtedly leave to him the free choice of the forms and means to be employed in this negotiation, nor attempt to limit any precise time or mode of restoration. Spain and all Europe is acquainted with the long process which Sweden has carried on in London on the subject of restoration, and there can be no reason to expect that speedier justice will be done in a cause which requires restitution to be made to an enemy.

In the mean time his Swedish majesty cannot consider himself as liable to any kind of responsibility with respect to an affair to the causes of which he was an entire stranger. According to the statement of the Spanish court itself, it was, under the circumstances with which it took place, not supposed that the Swedish government and nation were involved in it. It would be much to be lamented, should the injustice of a third power be able to break connections which several direct discussions during the war have not altered. Unfortunate events of this nature have frequently taken place, and some as if they were peculiar to the Spanish ports. A Swedish ship which was taken in the harbour of Passage itself, a second Swede plundered and entirely destroyed by the French in Alicant, and several others taken by the French privateers at the entrance of the harbour of Malaga, have occasioned his Swedish majesty to make friendly representations and remonstrances to the court of Spain, to procure respect and security to the trade of his kingdom. His majesty would have been happy to have then seen the same energy with which it now makes complaints; but the fruitlessness of his remonstrances never

never induced him to pass the bounds of that moderation and candour, which should be cultivated by friendly courts, and to which his majesty trusts the court of Spain will return, when it shall have carefully inquired into the true causes of the different accidents which have occasionally taken place in its ports.

The undersigned, chancellor of the court, has the honour to make the present representations to the chevalier de la Huerta, envoy extraordinary from his Catholic majesty, as an answer to his communication of the 17th of September, and avails himself with pleasure of the opportunity to express his esteem, &c.

(Signed) F. Von. Ehrenheim.  
Drottningholm,  
October 22, 1800.

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*Note from the Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Minister of his Prussian Majesty at Stockholm, on the Subject of the Affair at Barcelona.*

**H**AVING stated to the king the manner in which his Prussian majesty has viewed the memorial of the court of Spain, on the subject of an insult offered to the Swedish flag by the English, the undersigned, chancellor of the court, has been commanded to express to M. de Tarach the grateful acknowledgements of his majesty for the constant attention which the court of Berlin has shewn to the interests of the neutral flags, and the full confidence which he reposes in the mode in which they are regarded by that court. The king has viewed with surprise the public responsibility to which the court of Spain

has called Sweden upon this occasion, and the menaces which it has thereto added: notwithstanding all the vexations to which neutral flags have been exposed during the present war, this is the most oppressive proceeding which they have yet experienced. Being thus incessantly placed between the offence and the reparation, they must soon be dragged into a concern in the war, or cease to appear on the seas where it is carried on. These truths, involving consequences so important to the other neutral powers as well as to Sweden, his Swedish majesty could not, in general, take upon himself any share of responsibility for the improper use which the belligerent powers may make of the Swedish vessels which they may seize upon. This principle appears to his Swedish majesty so well founded, that he flatters himself the court of Berlin will give it all the support which justice and the common interest appear equally to demand; and it has been hitherto respected amidst all the outrages which have been committed on both sides, without which the war must have become general. Had the Ottoman Porte, Russia, and England, attached such responsibility to all the flags in the port of Alexandria; had they claimed the restitution of Egypt from the respective governments, because their merchant-vessels had been compelled to carry French troops to take that country by surprise; and had they used the same forms of application, and insisted on the same peremptory terms and conditions, all commerce, all neutrality must have been at once annihilated. His majesty, therefore, conceived that the violence offered to the Swedish flag at Barcelona

was

was not to be treated in any other manner than that of which he had previously to complain, and he reserves to himself the privilege of demanding reparation for the injuries done to his subjects or his flag at such opportunity, and by such means, as the particular situation may afford. His majesty, however, ought not to conceal, that, in the present case, the injury which has thence resulted to a friendly power gives him so much the more uneasiness, as he regards the capture made by the English as very illegal, and he is anxiously desirous of being able, by his representations, to contribute to its restitution. His majesty will certainly make every exertion to effect an arrangement upon which the continuance of amicable relations between Sweden and Spain is unexpectedly made to depend; but he cannot, at present, take those steps with respect to the two frigates which he has not hitherto taken with respect to his own convoys, nor give the court of Spain any better hopes than he has himself.

The undersigned embraces this occasion, &c.

D'Ehrenheim.

*Reply of the Spanish Minister to the Note transmitted to him by the Swedish Minister, October 22.*

*Stockholm, Dec. 29, 1800.*

Sir,

I have this moment received from my court an answer to the dispatches, in which I communicated the first steps I had taken with his Swedish majesty, when I had the honour to present my first note on the subject of the outrage of which the English were guilty in the road of Barcelona.

The king, my master, has ob-

served with regret the coldness with which the Swedish court has received the complaint, while it has confined itself to feeble and indecisive measures, from which it does not even indulge the hope of any advantage. This view of the matter shews the small interest with which Sweden is prepared to act in the business. I cannot conceal from you, sir, that this inactivity, which is observed in the applications of the court of Sweden to that of London, might afford room to believe that this negociation will be connected with other objects of private interest which demand temporising measures, incompatible with that energy and zeal which his Catholic majesty expected to see displayed by his Swedish majesty, in regard to an affair, which, as it involves the honour of his flag, would have afforded him an occasion to prove to Europe the warm part he takes in the interest of the maritime powers, as well as to testify the value he puts upon the good understanding which hitherto has prevailed between the two courts. In pursuance of a new order from my court, I repeat, and formally insist upon what I demanded in my last note of the 17th October. I fondly flatter myself, that his Swedish majesty will adopt far more active measures than the contents of your note allowed me to hope. It is not probable that you will expose Swedish ships to all the severity of the measures which circumstances require to be exercised against suspected vessels, and whose conduct might be considered as connived at, unless the Swedish court receives from England the most ample reparation respecting the affair of Barcelona.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) The chevalier de Huerta.

*Declaration*

*Declaration issued by the Prussian Commandant on his entering Ritzbuttel.*

**B**Y the express supreme command of his majesty the king of Prussia, Frederick William III. my most gracious master, it is hereby made known, that the march of the troops intrusted to my command, forming a part of the combined army of observation, employed in the protection of the neutrality of the north of Germany, and the temporary occupation of the bailiwick of Ritzbuttel, and the village of Cuxhaven, by these troops, has been caused by a misunderstanding which had happened with respect to a Prussian ship. Though after several fruitless requests and amicable attempts had been made, this misunderstanding is now happily done away, yet as the marching of troops, rendered necessary by the inefficacy of these requests and amicable attempts in the beginning, had once been ordered, and already commenced, his majesty must have deemed it the more expedient to let it be continued, for the purpose of occupying the bailiwick of Ritzbuttel, to prevent similar events, and henceforth to watch himself over the maintenance of the neutrality, and over the security (agreeably to the principles of neutrality) of this place so important for all states situated within the line of demarcation. This is the sole object of the arrival of the troops intrusted to my command. As their commanding officer, I shall therefore be particularly solicitous in maintaining public tranquillity and security, especially with respect to relations of neutrality; and in vigorously protecting the civil branches of the Hamburg

government of this place, as well as all other inhabitants and strangers arriving here, with all their rights, legal relations, affairs, business, and property, wherever it may be requisite; but principally commerce and navigation, which shall not in the least be injured or restrained, but, on the contrary, better secured and preserved in their tranquil and undisturbed course, without, however, making the least alteration in the constitution and public measures of the place; on the other hand, every person must behave in a peaceable, quiet, and proper manner to the king's troops under my command; otherwise he will have to ascribe to himself the disagreeable consequences which will inevitably arise from a contrary behaviour.

(Signed) Wedell,  
Colonel and commander  
of the royal Prussian  
regiment of infantry,  
von Schladen.

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*Russian Edit.*

**I**N consequence of the order of his excellency chevalier Popoff, major-general commandant at Riga, of the 28th instant (August), it is hereby made known to your honourable senate, that his imperial majesty, after having received the account of the violent behaviour of the English against Denmark, and also that one of their fleets had passed the Sound, by which, the passage being blocked up, may have great influence on the whole trade of the Baltic seas, he has been pleased to order, that, for the security against any disadvantage that may arise to the Russian commerce, so long

long as the real intention of the English court shall be unknown, there shall be laid a sequestration upon all property belonging to the English; and that it be observed, in the strictest manner, that none thereof be transported out of Russia without permission of his majesty; that, however, no part of the property be taken away from them, nor themselves be disturbed in their business; according to all which, every one is to govern himself in the most particular manner.

(Signed) Schwart, secretary.  
Given at Riga Senate-house,  
the 29th August, 1800.

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*Notice published in the Petersburg Gazette of the 10th of September.*

SEVERAL political circumstances inducing his majesty the emperor to think that a rupture of the friendship with England may ensue, an army, consisting of five corps, is, on this account, to be collected, by his majesty's supreme command, under the orders of the general of cavalry von der Pahlen, viz. near Goldingen, under the command of general baron Springporten, of four regiments of horse, six of infantry, four battalions, and 45 field-pieces; near Lemsel, under the command of the general of cavalry, prince Alexander of Wirtemberg, three regiments and five squadrons of horse, and six regiments and four battalions of foot; near Rumler, under his imperial highness the grand duke Czarevitch Constantine Pavlovitch, four regiments of horse, six regiments and four battalions of foot, and 45 pieces of artillery; near Coporie, under the grand duke and successor to the throne,

Alexander Pavlovitch, three regiments and eleven squadrons of horse, all the regiments of guards, and 33 pieces of ordnance; near Arensburg, under lieutenant-general Tuschkow, three regiments of infantry, three squadrons of horse, and 21 pieces of cannon.

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*Letter from the Russian Ambassador at Berlin, to the Russian Consul at Hamburg.*

September 22.

I HAVE this moment received a letter from M. count Rastopshin, in which his excellency mentions, that his imperial majesty, our gracious monarch, has been pleased to take off the embargo on English ships, and on the property of Englishmen in Russia.

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*Refusal of the Emperor of Russia to receive an Ambassador from the Emperor of Germany.—(From the Petersburg Gazette of October 15.)*

ACCORDING to advices received from the privy counsellor, M. de Kalistchew, it has been made known that the emperor of Germany intended to send an extraordinary embassy to the court of his imperial majesty, to offer excuses for what happened at Ancona; and for this purpose he had named the prince of Auersperg, a lieutenant-general of the armies, and knight of the golden fleece, as his ambassador. It has not, however, pleased his imperial majesty either to accept the embassy or the ambassador, particularly in the person of the prince of Auersperg, who during the journey of her imperial highness the grand



grand duchess Alexandra Pavlovna, allowed himself to offer her several indignities (*grossièrétés*). His majesty orders that no answer shall be returned to this notification.

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*Substance of the Declaration of the Emperor of Russia relative to an armed Neutrality by Sea.*

**T**HAT on mounting his throne he found his states involved in a war, provoked by a great nation; which had fallen into dissolution; that conceiving the coalition a mere measure of preservation, this motive induced him to join it; that he did not at that time think it necessary to adopt the system of an armed neutrality on sea for the protection of commerce, not doubting but that the sincerity of his allies, and their reciprocal interests, would be sufficient to secure the flag of the northern powers from insult. But that being disappointed in this expectation by the perfidious enterprises of a great power, which had sought to enchain the liberty of the seas by capturing Danish convoys, the independence of the maritime powers of the North appeared to him to be openly menaced. He consequently considers it a measure of necessity to have recourse to an armed neutrality, the success of which was acknowledged in the time of the American war.

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*Extract from the Petersburg Court Gazette of the 7th of Nov. 1800.*

**W**HEREAS we have learned that the island of Malta, lately in possession of the French, has been surrendered to the English

troops; but as it is yet uncertain whether the agreement entered into on the 30th of December, 1798, will be fulfilled, according to which, this island, after capture, is to be restored to the order of St. John of Jerusalem, of which his majesty, the emperor of all the Russias is grand-master, his imperial majesty being determined to defend his rights, has been pleased to command that an embargo shall be laid on all English ships in the ports of his empire till the above-mentioned convention shall be fulfilled.

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*Order of the Emperor of Russia laying an Embargo on English Vessels. (From the Court Gazette.)*

*Petersburgh, Nov. 18 and 23.*

**T**HE crews of two English ships in the harbour of Narva, on the arrival of a military force to put them under arrest, in consequence of the embargo laid on them, having made resistance, fired pistols, and forced a Russian sailor into the water, and afterwards weighed anchor, and sailed away: his imperial majesty has been pleased to order that the remainder of the vessels in that harbour shall be burned.

His imperial majesty having received from his chamberlain, Italskoi, at Palermo, an account of the taking of Malta, has been pleased to direct that the following note shall be transmitted to all the diplomatic corps residing at his court by the minister presiding in the college for foreign affairs, count Rostoptschin, and the vice chancellor, count Panin:

“ His majesty, the emperor of all the Russias, having received the circumstantial account of the surrender

render of Malta, by which it is fully confirmed that the English generals, notwithstanding repeated representations of his imperial majesty's minister, and the ministers of the king of the Two Sicilies, have taken possession of Valetta and the island of Malta in the name of the king of Great Britain, and hoisted the English flag alone; his majesty sees with just displeasure such a breach of good faith, and has resolved that the embargo laid on all the English vessels in the Russian harbours shall not be taken off till the conditions of the convention concluded in the year 1798 shall be punctually fulfilled."

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*Proclamation of his Imperial Majesty, Emperor of all the Russias, &c. &c.*

**W**HEREAS it has been represented by many subjects of Russia, that large sums of money are due to them from English merchants resident in Russia, and that payment of such debts cannot be obtained; his imperial majesty's college of commerce at St. Petersburg, by virtue of powers vested in them for the purpose of promoting an adjustment and liquidation of the debts due to the Russian merchants from the English merchants, have ordained an especial commission, or board of commissioners, for managing English property, and they direct the said board to be constituted, and their operations and proceedings to be guided by the following regulations:

I. It shall consist of two Russian, two English, and two merchants of other nations, all of whom shall be

men of known good character, and the English shall be chosen or selected by the English merchants; to whom shall be added one of the members of the imperial college of commerce in St. Petersburg.

II. All matters that come under their cognizance shall be adjusted conformably to the accustomed rules and established usage in trade; they are to decide among themselves, by a majority of votes, upon matters under discussion; but in case of any points involving the interests of the Russian commerce, the opinion of his imperial majesty's counsellor of the college of commerce is to supersede the majority of votes, subject, however, to the concurrence of the college of commerce.

III. Every British merchant resident in Russia, without excepting such as have subscribed themselves visitors, shall deliver to the commissioners, in writing, a statement of all the balances of accounts in their books, and a schedule of effects and goods in their possession; and they shall, when required, deliver to the commissioners their books of accounts out of their accounting-houses.

IV. Every Russian subject, who has any claim or demand upon an Englishman, of whatever nature or kind it may be, or who is indebted to a British subject, shall transmit an account of the particulars of such debts or claims, to the commissioners, within four months from the date of the publication of this ordinance in the newspapers, and in default thereof, the commissioners are not to take cognizance of any claims after that period.

V. The commissioners are to dispose of all English effects now sequestered, and to receive all balances

ances of accounts, and to bring the whole into one general mass.

VI. The Russian subjects shall receive out of the fund of the English property, (collected as before directed,) after admission of the validity and justice of the claims, an equal dividend upon their respective demands, and full satisfaction.

VII. In case the fund of English property does not prove adequate to the demands of the Russian creditors, or that there shall remain a surplus, then the result shall be communicated to the college of commerce at St. Petersburg.

VIII. The commissioners shall not be accountable or responsible for their decisions, nor shall there be any appeal from their determinations, either by petition or in any other way, on any account whatever.

IX. To defray the expense and management of the board of commissioners, and for the salary of their clerks and agents, both debtors and creditors shall allow them one-half per cent. upon the amount of the respective sums brought under their consideration.

St. Petersburg, Nov. 17, 1800.

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*Note from Lord Carysfort to Count Haugwitz.*

*Berlin, Nov. 16, 1800.*

**T**HE instant lord Carysfort, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, learned that his Prussian majesty was preparing to order a detachment of his troops to enter Cuxhaven, and that the reason which he in public thought proper to assign for that measure, was the re-

susal given by the government of Hamburg to cause a vessel to be released, which, taken by one of the ships of war of his Britannic majesty, had been compelled, in order to avoid the dangers of the sea, to enter that port, he thought it his duty to demand an audience of his excellency count Haugwitz, minister of state and of the cabinet, for the purpose of obtaining information with respect to that affair. He received from his excellency the assurance that the intentions of his Prussian majesty were in no view hostile or contrary to the interests of Great Britain; but that the occupation of Cuxhaven had for its principal object the maintenance of the authority of his Prussian majesty, in his character of chief and protector of the neutrality of the north of Germany, and that it was conducted with the consent of the city of Hamburg itself. Lord Carysfort not being exactly acquainted with the circumstances under which the vessel in question found itself, deferred to another occasion the observations which he might have wished to submit to his excellency. He has now grounds to believe that, laden with contraband goods, it was captured by one of his Britannic majesty's ships as it was entering into the Texel; that is to say, into a port belonging to the enemies of his majesty; and that it was restored as soon as the officer who had the charge of it could be informed of the orders of his superiors.

With respect to the occupation of the town of Cuxhaven by the Prussian troops, which must have been founded on particular conventions between his Prussian majesty and the senate of Hamburg, he does  
not

not think himself called upon to take part in that discussion; but he feels himself authorised to claim in favour of the subjects and vessels of the king, his master, all the rights to which they have a just pretension in a neutral port belonging to a republic, whose connections with the states of his majesty are very ancient, and generally known. No convention made between the city of Hamburg and his Prussian majesty being capable of invalidating or altering his rights.

In consequence of these considerations, he dares hope that his Prussian majesty may still suspend the occupation of Cuxhaven, until the two courts shall have the means of entering into mutual explanations, more particularly since such an occupation, in the actual circumstances, might give room to ill-disposed minds to attribute to his Prussian majesty views not less opposite to the sentiments of justice and moderation which govern all his measures, than to the friendship and the good harmony which subsist between him and his Britannic majesty.

At all events it will not escape the wisdom and humanity of his majesty, that the entrance of a numerous corps of troops into a village both poor and with a small extent of territory, would probably augment the misery of the inhabitants; and that the city of Hamburg having always possessed that place, so indispensably necessary to the preservation of the navigation of the Elbe, all which may trouble that possession, derange ancient customs, and influence the pilots there at present to seek a refuge elsewhere, would strike a sensible blow at the commerce of all the countries of

the north of Germany, and even at that of the states of his Prussian majesty.

(Signed) Carysfort.

*From the same to the same.*

Berlin, Nov. 18, 1800.

The undersigned extraordinary envoy and minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty thinks himself obliged again to address himself to his excellency count Haugwitz, relative to the intention of his Prussian majesty, in taking military possession of Cuxhaven. When the undersigned had the honour of transmitting to his excellency the verbal note of the 16th, it was not exactly known, "that the Prussian vessel brought into that port had been restored." The fact being now certain, as well as the zeal manifested by the senate of Hamburg to fulfil the wishes of the king; the surprise and consternation excited from the moment when the orders for marching a detachment of troops were known, would be raised to their utmost height, if it were ascertained, that notwithstanding the complete satisfaction given to his Prussian majesty on all the points respecting which he thought proper to complain, he should not appear less attached to his determination of causing Cuxhaven to be occupied by his troops. In fact, it appears at first sight that this occupation would be so calculated to give the most serious alarms to all commercial nations, that, without alluding to the interpretations which calumny might be desirous of giving to the measure, strong hopes are entertained from the justice and moderation of his Prussian majesty, for that reason only, that he will come to the

the resolution of not carrying it into effect.

The undersigned would not, however, think he had executed his duty, should he neglect to represent to his excellency the lively alarms which necessarily result from the uncertainty in which the affair remains. The reiterated assurances which the undersigned has received from his excellency of the friendship and good wishes of his Prussian majesty towards the king of Great Britain, do not allow him to believe that any misunderstanding can arise between the two courts; but he cannot avoid thinking that the enemies of humanity and of public tranquillity will endeavour to turn to their purposes the alarm which is generally diffused, in order to scatter discord among the powers, who should all unite to maintain the safety and independence of Europe at large.

(Signed) Carysfort.

*Answer of Count Haugwitz.*

The undersigned minister of state, and of the cabinet, is authorised, by the orders of the king, to tranquillize completely the anxieties and apprehensions which my lord Carysfort, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, expressed to him in his two notes of the 16th and 18th of November. The Prussian vessel, the Triton, has, it is true, been restored to its owner; but the mode of release was in every respect as irregular as the proceedings which had previously taken place with respect to it; and after an examination of all the circumstances relative to the incident, which forms the subject of complaint, there appears

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throughout the whole a manifest infraction of the principles of the neutrality of the north of Germany. It is this superior consideration, added to the unjust refusal of the magistracy of Hamburgh, which dictated to the king the resolution of causing a body of his troops to occupy the port of Cuxhaven and the balliwick of Ritzebuttle. This measure was executed the moment it was determined upon, and it is no longer capable of being revoked; the example of what has taken place imposing on his majesty the necessity of effectually watching over the maintenance of that neutrality which he has guaranteed to his co-estates. The king cannot imagine that his Britannic majesty, after participating, in his character of elector of Hanover, in the advantages and benefits of this happy neutrality, can conceive the smallest alarm at seeing a Prussian garrison enter into the port which England has fixed on as her point of communication with the north of Germany. Being thus placed under the immediate guarantee of the king, it will be the more effectually put out of the reach of all violation, and the troops of his majesty will have no other duty to perform than that of causing the laws of good order and equality to be respected. The utmost confidence may be placed in the prudent dispositions of the reigning duke of Brunswick, who is invested with the command of the line of demarcation.

But if more particular assurances be requisite upon this subject, the king feels a pleasure in giving them by the present communication to his Britannic majesty, and in declaring to him, in express and positive

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tive terms, that the present order of things will in no respect interrupt the freedom of commerce and navigation in the port of Cuxhaven; nor, above all, the continuation of the correspondence with England. On the contrary, the officer commanding the troops of the king garrisoned in the balliwic of Ritzbüttel will make it his duty to give it every possible facility.

On the whole, the proceeding which the king has, from necessity, been obliged to follow, does not admit of any equivocal interpretation. It has no other object than the maintenance of the system of which he is the author and defender; and this object shall not be exceeded. His views and conduct have procured him the confidence of all Europe, and they never will be found inconsistent; and though it is not to be anticipated that the other powers will be disposed to misconceive the purity of his views in the present case, yet his majesty reserves to himself the privilege of explaining himself farther, and in a suitable manner, to those who may be entitled to such explanation.

(Signed) Haugwitz.

*Note transmitted by Mr. Drummond to the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs, dated Dec. 27, 1800.*

**T**HE court of London, informed that Denmark is carrying on with activity negociations very hostile to the interests of the British empire, thinks that it cannot better fulfil the duties which such a circumstance prescribes, than by addressing itself directly to the minister of his Danish majesty, to demand from him a frank and satis-

factory explanation. In all the courts of Europe, they speak openly of a confederacy between Denmark and some other powers, to oppose, by force, the exercise of those principles of maritime law on which the naval power of the British empire in a great measure rests, and which, in all wars, have been followed by the maritime states, and acknowledged by their tribunals.—His Britannic majesty, relying with confidence upon the faith of the engagements recently contracted between the two courts, has not demanded from him any explanation on this head. It was his wish to wait for the moment when the court of Denmark should think it its duty to contradict those reports, so injurious to its good faith, and so little compatible with the maintenance of the good understanding which had been re-established between the two countries. At present, the conduct and the public declaration of one of the powers, which it is pretended has entered into this confederacy, do not permit his majesty to preserve any longer towards the rest the same silence which he has hitherto observed.—The undersigned, therefore, finds himself bound to demand from his excellency count de Bernstorff, a plain, open, and satisfactory answer on the nature, object, and extent of the obligations which his Danish majesty may have contracted, or the negociations which he is carrying on with respect to a matter which so nearly concerns the dignity of his Britannic majesty, and the interests of his people. His Britannic majesty, always ready to return all the marks of friendship which he may receive on the part of his Danish majesty, hopes to find, in the answer



swer of the court of Copenhagen to this request, only a new occasion of manifesting these dispositions. In transmitting this note to the secretary of state, the undersigned avails himself, with pleasure, of this opportunity, to assure him of the high consideration with which he has the honour to be his very humble and very obedient servant,

W. Drummond.

*Answer of Count Bernstorff.*

The undersigned secretary of state for foreign affairs, having given an account to the king, his master, of the contents of the note which Mr. Drummond has done him the honour to transmit to him on the 27th instant, is authorised to return the answer which follows: the court of London must have received very incorrect information, to have been able for a moment to presume, that Denmark had conceived projects hostile against it, or incompatible with the maintenance of the good understanding which subsists between the two crowns; and the king is very much obliged to his Britannic majesty, for having furnished him with the opportunity of contradicting, in the most positive manner, reports as ill founded, as contrary to his most decided sentiments. The negotiation which is carrying on at St. Petersburg, between Russia, Prussia, Sweden and Denmark, has no other object than the renewal of the engagements, which, in the years 1780 and 1781, were contracted by the same powers for the safety of their navigation, and of which a communication was at that time made to all the courts of Europe. His majesty, the emperor of Russia, having proposed to

the powers of the north to re-establish these engagements in their original form, Denmark has so much the less hesitated to consent to it, as, far from having ever abandoned the principles professed in 1780, she has thought it her duty to maintain them, and claim them upon all occasions, and not allow herself to admit in respect of them any other modifications than those which result from her treaties with the belligerent powers. Very far from wishing to interrupt those powers in the exercise of rights which the war gives them, Denmark introduces into the negotiation with her allies none but views absolutely defensive, pacific, and incapable of giving offence or provocation to any one. The engagements she will make will be founded upon the strictest fulfilment of the duties of neutrality, and of the obligations which her treaties impose upon her; and if she wishes to shelter her innocent navigation from the manifest abuses and violence which the maritime war produces but too easily, she thinks she pays respect to the belligerent powers, by supposing, that, far from wishing to authorise or tolerate these abuses, they would, on their side, adopt measures best calculated to prevent or repress them. Denmark has not made a mystery to any one of the object of her negotiation, upon the nature of which some suspicion has been infused into the court of London; but she has not thought that she departed from the usual forms, in wishing to wait the definitive result of it, in order to communicate an official account of it to the powers at war. The undersigned, not knowing that any of the powers engaged in this negotiation has made

a declaration,

a declaration, or adopted measures relative to this object, at which Great Britain might take offence or umbrage, cannot, without ulterior explanation, reply to this point of Mr. Drummond's note. Much less does he conceive in what respect the engagement taken by the previous convention of the 29th of August last, can be considered as contrary to those which Denmark is about to enter into with the neutral and united powers of the north: and in all cases in which he shall find himself called upon to combat or remove the doubts that shall have been conceived with respect to the good faith of the king, he shall consider his task to be very easy, as long as this good faith shall be introduced into the reproaches or the suspicions advanced against his majesty. He flatters himself that the English government, after having received the required explanations, will have the frankness to allow, that the provisional and momentary abandonment, not of a principle, the question with respect to which remained undecided, but of a measure, whose right has never been, nor ever can be contested, cannot be found at all in opposition to the general and permanent principles, relative to which the powers of the north are upon the point of establishing a co-operation, which, so far from being calculated to compromise their neutrality, is destined only to strengthen it. The undersigned would fain believe, that these explanations will appear satisfactory to the court of London; and that the latter will do justice to the intentions and sentiments of the king, and particularly to his majesty's invariable desire to maintain and cement, by all the means in his power,

the friendship and good understanding which subsist between Denmark and Great Britain. He has the honour to offer to Mr. Drummond the assurance of his most distinguished consideration.

(Signed) Bernstorff.

Copenhagen, Dec. 31, 1800.

*Convention for the Re-establishment of an armed Neutrality, between his Majesty the King of Sweden, on the one Part, and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, on the other Part, concluded and signed at St. Peterburgh, the 4th (15th of December), 1800, accepted and ratified by his Swedish Majesty on the 20th December, and by his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias on the 6th (19th December) in the same Year.*

In the name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity,

**I**N order that the freedom of navigation, and the security of the merchandize of the neutral powers, may be established, and the principles of the laws of nations be fully ascertained, during the continuance of the present maritime war, his majesty the king of Sweden and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, actuated by their love of justice, and by a reciprocal desire to promote whatever may be for the public advantage of their respective states, have to that effect determined to give a new sanction to those principles of their neutrality, which are in their nature indissoluble, and require that it may be respected by all the powers interested in their preservation. With this view their majesties

majesties have, by their declaration of the 15th August to the northern courts, who are equally concerned in the maintenance of those general regulations anciently recognized, given them to understand how sincerely it is the object of their hearts to restore, in its full independence, the general right of all nations to convoy their ships and merchandize freely, and without being subject to the controul of the powers at war. His Swedish majesty imparted his wishes and his sentiments to his great ally, and a happy conformity of their mutual interests has induced them to adopt the resolution of re-establishing that system of an armed neutrality which was attended with such advantages during the American war, and to renew its beneficial principles in a convention adapted to the present circumstances. To this end his majesty the king of Sweden, and his imperial majesty of all the Russias, have nominated as their plenipotentiaries, namely, his Swedish majesty, baron Curt von Stedingk, ambassador extraordinary to his imperial majesty of all the Russias, lieutenant-general, chamberlain of the queen dowager, colonel of a regiment of infantry, knight, and commander of the order of the sword, and knight of the French order *pour les merites militaires*; and his imperial majesty of all the Russias, baron count Theodore Rostopschin, his right trusty privy councillor, member of the council, principal minister of the college of foreign affairs, director general of the posts of the empire, grand chancellor and grand cross of the sovereign order of St. John of Jerusalem, knight of the first class of the orders of St. Andrew, St. Alexander Nefsky, and St. Anne,

knight of the order of St. Lazarus, *de l'Aunonciade*, of St. Morrice and St. Lazarus, of St. Ferdinand and St. Hubert; who, after exchanging their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:—

Art. I. His majesty the king of Sweden, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, declare, that they will strictly prohibit the exportation of contraband merchandize on the part of their subjects with every power whatever, whether at present engaged in war, or which may hereafter be engaged in war.

Art. II. In order to prevent all doubts and misunderstandings as to what shall be considered contraband, his majesty the king of Sweden, and his imperial majesty of all the Russias, declare, that they will acknowledge the following articles as contraband, namely, cannons, mortars, fire-arms, balls, flints, flint-stones, matches, gunpowder, saltpetre, sulphurs, helmets, pikes, swords, hangers, cartridge-boxes, saddles and bridles, with the exception of such a quantity of the above articles as may be necessary for the defence of the ships and their crew; all other articles not herein enumerated shall not be considered as war or naval stores, they shall not be subject to confiscation, but shall pass free and without restraint. It is also hereby agreed, that the present article shall be without prejudice to the particular stipulations of former treaties with the powers at war, by virtue of which the things above-mentioned are allowed or prohibited.

Art. III. And whereas it is resolved, that whatever, by virtue of the foregoing article, can be deemed contraband, shall be excluded from

the commerce of neutral nations; in like manner his majesty the king of Sweden, and his imperial majesty of all the Russias, will and determine, that all other merchandize shall be and remain free; and in order that the general principles of the laws of nature, of which the freedom of trade and navigation, as well as the rights of neutral nations, are the immediate consequence, may be placed under a competent and sure safeguard, they have resolved no longer to delay that voluntary explanation from which they have hitherto been restrained by motives of their separate and temporary interests. With this view they have hereby determined,

1st. That every ship may freely navigate from one harbour to another, and on the coast of the belligerent nations.

2d. That the effects which belong to the subjects of the belligerent powers in neutral ships, with the exception of contraband goods, shall be free.

3d. That in order to determine what shall be considered as a blockaded harbour, such denomination shall be admitted to apply only where the disposition and number of the ships of the power by which it is invested, shall be such as to render it apparently hazardous to enter, and that every ship which shall go into a blockaded harbour, that is evidently so blockaded, violates the present convention as much as if the commander of the blockade had previously advised it of the state of the harbour, and it had nevertheless endeavoured, by force or artifice, to obtain admission.

4th. That with regard to neutral ships, except those which, for just reasons, and upon evident grounds, shall be detained, sentence shall be

pronounced without delay; the proceedings against them shall be uniform, prompt, and lawful.— Over and above the indemnity to which they shall be entitled for the damage they shall have sustained, complete satisfaction shall be given for the insult committed against the flag of their majesties.

5th. That the declaration of the officers who shall command the ship of war, or ships of war, of the king or emperor, which shall be conveying one or more merchant ships, that the convoy has no contraband goods on board, shall be sufficient; and that no search of his ship, or the other ships of the convoy, shall be permitted. And the better to insure respect to those principles, and the stipulations founded upon them, which their disinterested wishes to preserve the imprescriptible rights of neutral nations have suggested, the high contracting parties, to prove their sincerity and justice, will give the strictest orders to their captains, as well of their ships of war, as of their merchant-ships, to load no part of their ships, or secretly to have on board, any articles, which, by virtue of this present convention, may be considered as contraband: and for the more completely carrying into execution this command, they will respectively take care to give directions to their courts of admiralty to publish it wherever they shall think it necessary, and to this end the regulation which shall contain this prohibition, under the several penalties, shall be printed at the end of the present act, that no one may plead ignorance.

Art. IV. In order to place the commerce of their subjects upon the most legal and permanent basis, his majesty

majesty the king of Sweden, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, have deemed it expedient to equip a number of ships of war and frigates, which shall be charged to see that object obtained, and the squadrons of each power shall take those stations and protect those convoys, which their commerce and their navigation may require, and which shall be conformable to the course of trade of each nation.

Art. V. To provide against all inconveniences which may proceed from any nation abusing the privilege of their flag, it is established as a regulation not to be departed from, that every transport, be it whose it may, belonging to the country whose flag it bears, shall have on board a captain and the half of the crew composed of the subjects of that country, and the passport shall be drawn up in due and regular form. Every transport which shall not observe these regulations, or shall violate the command printed at the end of this present convention, shall forfeit all right to the protection of the contracting parties, and the government to which it may belong shall alone be responsible for all the loss, damage, or inconvenience it may sustain.

Art. VI. Should it nevertheless happen that the merchant-ship of one of the powers should find itself in a situation where the ships of war of that nation are not stationed, and where they cannot have the protection of their own convoys, in such case the commandant of the ship of war of the other power, if it shall be required, shall duly and faithfully afford such assistance as may be necessary. The ships of war and frigates of the one nation shall afford protection and assistance to the mer-

chant-vessels of the other, provided, in the mean time, that the vessel requiring such assistance shall not have violated the principles of the neutrality, by having carried on an illicit commerce.

Art. VII. This convention shall have no retrospective operation, and consequently it shall have no reference to any differences that existed previous to its conclusion. Its application shall only be to future acts of violence and aggression, and it shall form the basis of a system for the protection of all the neutral nations of Europe, whose rights may hereafter be denied or violated.

Art. VIII. Should it, notwithstanding all the possible care of the two powers, and notwithstanding the observance of the most perfect neutrality on their sides, so happen that the merchant-ships of his majesty the king of Sweden, or of his imperial majesty of all the Russias, should be insulted, plundered, or taken by the ships of war or privateers of one or other of the belligerent powers, the minister of the injured party shall forthwith represent the same to the government whose ship of war or privateer shall have committed such act of violence; he shall reclaim the captured vessel, demand due satisfaction, and by no means lose sight of the insult offered to the flag. The ministers of the other contracting power shall also enforce the complaint in the most energetic and determined manner possible, and they shall generally and uniformly act in concert together. Should their just complaint meet with no redress, or should it be postponed from time to time, then shall their majesties have recourse to reprisals against such

power as shall have refused to do justice; and they shall endeavour, by every possible means, to give effect to such reprisals.

Art. IX. Should it happen that one or the other of the two powers, or both, on account of, or from dislike to, the present convention, or any circumstance connected with it, should be disquieted, molested, or attacked; in such case it is agreed, that the two powers shall make it a common cause mutually to defend each other; and they shall reciprocally employ every exertion to obtain full and complete satisfaction, as well for the insult done to their flag, as for the injury sustained by their subjects.

Art. X. The principles and regulations stipulated and settled by this present act shall apply to every maritime war by which Europe may unhappily be disquieted. These stipulations shall also be considered as perpetual, and upon all occasions shall be appealed to by the contracting powers for the regulation of their commerce and navigation, and for the maintenance of the rights of neutral nations.

Art. XI. As the object and main consideration of this convention is to assure the general freedom of commerce and navigation, his majesty the king of Sweden, and his imperial majesty of all the Russias, hereby agree, and bind themselves to each other, to give their consent that other neutral powers may become parties to it, adopt its principles, conform to its obligations, and partake of its advantages.

Art. XII. In order that the belligerent powers may not have to plead ignorance of the arrangements concluded between their said majesties, information shall be given

to such belligerent powers of the regulations they have determined upon, which are so little of a hostile nature, that they can be detrimental to no other country whatever, but, on the contrary, are only calculated to secure the commerce and navigation of their respective subjects.

Art. XIII. The present convention shall be ratified by the two contracting parties, and the ratification shall be exchanged, in due and good form, within six weeks, or sooner, if possible, from the day of signing it.

In testimony of the same, we, the undersigned, furnished with full powers, have hereunto signed our names and affixed our seals.

Given at St. Petersburg, the 4th (15th) of December, 1800.

(Signed) Curt von Stedingk.  
Rostopschin.

*Regulation alluded to in the above Convention, as published by the King of Sweden.*

The preamble states the necessity of rendering the rights of commerce clear and explicit. For this effect, in order to secure the protection of the government, the commerce of Sweden must observe the following requisites:

1st. In order that a ship be entitled to be considered as a Swede, she must be built in Sweden, or the provinces under her dominion; or shipwrecked on the Swedish coast, and there sold or bought in a foreign country by a legal and authentic contract. If such purchase is made in a country threatened with war, it shall be considered as lawful, as soon as three months have elapsed before its actually breaking

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out. Every ship purchased must be naturalized. As, however, the naturalization of ships, bought in a foreign country, and afterwards taken by a cruizer belonging to any of the belligerent powers, may frequently produce disagreeable explanations in the sequel, it is hereby declared, that in time of war ships shall not be allowed to be naturalized, which have formerly been the property of the belligerents or their subjects: nevertheless, with the exception of all ships that were naturalized before the present regulation was adopted, which shall enjoy all the rights which are connected with the character of neutrals and Swedes.

2d. The captain of the ship must be provided with all papers requisite and proper for the security of his voyage. Of this kind are (in case the ship goes through the Sound) a certificate of the place where the vessel was built, an invoice, letters shewing the cargoes not contraband, Turkish and Latin passports, a certificate by the magistrate of the place, a pass for the crew, a copy of the oath for the owner, a charter-party with the subscription of the freighter, the captain, and the person freighting the vessel, a manifest with the like subscriptions, containing a list of the different articles of the lading, and the conditions of the intended voyage, and a bill of health, where the same is necessary. If the voyage be merely to the ports of the Baltic, or the Sound, the Turkish and Latin passes are not necessary; but the captain must have all the other papers enumerated, without exception.

3d. All these documents must be made out and delivered in a Swe-

dish port, unless when a ship has lost her papers by accident, or where they have been forcibly taken away, in which case these documents may be renewed in a foreign port, if the captain, immediately on his arrival, takes the precaution to exhibit an authentic and properly certified declaration by which the accident is proved, or the grounds stated on which he desires the renewal.

4th. The captain is prohibited from having false acts or certificates, or duplicates thereof. He is likewise prohibited from making use of a foreign flag.

5th. It is required that the captain and half of the crew shall be Swedish subjects.

6th. Captains going to the main ocean shall be bound to follow the course pointed out in their instructions, and agreeable to the contents of their certification.

7th. Ships destined for the ports of a belligerent power must, with the utmost care, and under the severest penalties, avoid carrying any contraband commodities. To prevent all doubts or misunderstanding respecting what is contraband, it is agreed that the following goods shall be considered contraband. [The remainder of this article is a transcript of the article of the convention.]

8th. All Swedish subjects are prohibited to fit out privateers against the belligerents, their subjects and property.

9th. A Swedish ship cannot be employed by a belligerent power to transport troops, arms, or any warlike implements. Should any captain be compelled to do so by superior force, he is bound at least to exhibit a formal protest against such violence.

10th.

10th. When a merchant-ship is not under convoy, and happens to be brought to by a ship of war or privateer belonging to any of the belligerents, the captain shall not, in that case, oppose the searching of his vessel; but be bound faithfully to shew all acts and documents which relate to her cargo. The captain and his people are strictly prohibited from keeping back or destroying any of their papers.

11th. If, however, such ship makes part of a convoy, the foregoing article shall not serve as the rule, but the captain's duty consists in punctually obeying the signals of the commodore of the convoy, for which purpose, therefore, he shall separate as little as possible from the convoy.

12th. All captains are expressly forbidden to attempt going into a blockaded port, as soon as they are formally apprized by the officer commanding the blockade. In order to ascertain what a blockaded harbour is, this appellation is confined to those to which, by the exertions of the blockading power with ships destined and adequate to the object, it is evidently dangerous to attempt running in.

13th. In case any Swedish merchant-ship is captured by a ship of war or privateer of any of the belligerents, the captain shall immediately transmit a circumstantial account, and duly explained, to the Swedish consul or vice consul of the place to which the ship is taken; and, should there be no consul or vice consul there, he shall transmit a memorial to the Swedish consul of the district to which the place into which his ship is taken belongs.

14th. Every captain of a Swedish

merchantman, who strictly observes the above regulations and orders, shall enjoy a free voyage, protected by the laws of nations and the provision of treaties; and to this end, all public agents and Swedish consuls are required, in case of attack or insult, to give their support to the just and well-founded complaints on the subject. But those who in any point whatever neglect or violate their orders, must answer for the consequences of their conduct, without relying upon the protection of his majesty.

15th. By the contents of a recent order, his majesty has prohibited the privateers of a foreign nation to enter, or bring their prizes into the ports of his kingdom, except in case of their being driven in by stress of weather. In this case it is expressly prohibited to all whatsoever to buy the prizes, or any of the effects which the privateers have taken.

To which end, publication, &c.  
Given at St. Petersburg,

Dec. 23, 1800.

(Signed) Gustavus Adolphus.

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*Letter from Mr. Shairp, relative to the British Prisoners in Russia.*

**V**ARIOUS reports having been circulated respecting the unfortunate British subjects now in Russia, I send you the following authentic information:

The persons of the British merchants have hitherto remained unmolested; and what ready money they had in their possession has not been seized; but their warehouses are sealed, and all their property is under sequestration. All the British ships and their cargoes are seized by

by the Russian government. The captains and crews are marched into the interior of the country, in companies of one captain and ten or twelve seamen. They are distributed in above a hundred different towns, at one hundred to one thousand miles distance from the capital. The Russian government allows for their subsistence daily five copeeks in money (about three halfpence), a small measure of rye flour, and one of buck wheat.

My brother and some other British merchants at St. Petersburg, advanced about forty thousand rubles (a ruble is about half-a-crown) for their better accommodation, from which he furnished every captain with two hundred rubles for the use of himself and ten men, and bought for every man a sheep's-skin coat, a fur cap, a sash, a pair of gloves, some warm shoes, and two pair of stockings. Kibitkas, or common carts of the country, are bought for most of the captains and some old men; the rest walk, and the peasants furnish horses for the baggage. On the 21st of November, fifty captains and five hundred sailors were thus dispatched from St. Petersburg, and the remainder were daily setting off on their melancholy journey.

Stephen Shairp,  
consul-general of Russia.

No. 73, Gower-street,  
Nov. 17, 1800.

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*Note from the Governor of Cadiz to  
the English Admiral.*

**T**HE affliction which carries off,  
in this city and its environs,

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thousands of victims, and which threatens not to suspend its ravages until it has cut off all who have hitherto escaped, being calculated to excite compassion, it is with surprise that I see the Squadron, under the command of your excellency, come to augment the consternation of the inhabitants. I have too exalted an opinion of the humanity of the English people, and of yours in particular, to think that you would wish to render our condition more deplorable. However, if, in consequence of the orders your excellency has received, you are inclined to draw down upon yourself the execration of all nations, to cover yourself with disgrace in the eyes of the whole universe, by oppressing the unfortunate, and attacking those who are supposed to be incapable of defence; I declare to you, that the garrison under my orders, accustomed to behold death with a serene countenance, and to brave dangers much greater than all the perils of war, know how to make resistance, which shall not terminate but with their entire destruction. I hope that the answer of your excellency will inform me, whether I am to speak the language of consolation to the unfortunate inhabitants, or whether I am to rouse them to indignation and vengeance.

May God preserve your excellency.

Thomas de Moria,  
October 5, 1800.

The vessels employed in the blockade have not, till now, prevented the fishers from exercising their harmless industry. It must excite astonishment, that your excellency should deprive us of this small comfort.

*Answer*

*Answer to the above by the Commanders-in-Chief of the Sea and Land Forces of his Britannic Majesty, forming the Expedition before Cadiz.*

*On board his Britannic Majesty's Ship the Foudroyant, off Cadiz, October 5.*

We have had the honour of receiving your excellency's letter of this date, in which you describe to us the deplorable state of this city. We are deeply afflicted at this calamity, though we have good reason to believe that its effects have been much less disastrous.

We are not ignorant that a great number of his catholic majesty's vessels are armed, in order to join the naval forces of the French, and to be employed in prolonging the troubles which afflict all the nations of Europe, disturb public order, and destroy the happiness of individuals. We have received orders from our sovereign to use every effort to defeat the projects of the common enemy, by endeavouring to take or destroy the ships of war which are in the harbour and arsenal of Cadiz.

The number of troops intrusted to our command leave but little doubt as to the success of the enterprise. We are little disposed to multiply unnecessarily the evils inseparable from war. Should your excellency consent to give up to us the vessels armed or arming, in order to act against our king, and to prolong the misfortunes of neighbouring nations, your crews and officers shall be at liberty; and our fleet shall withdraw; otherwise we must act conformably to the orders

which have been given to us, and your excellency cannot attribute to any other than yourself the additional evils which you fear.

We have the honour to be, with respect, &c.

R. Abercromby.  
Keith.

A frigate will remain in the harbour, to wait for the answer of your excellency, that there may be no delay.

*Reply to the Commanders of his Britannic Majesty's Sea and Land Forces.*

When I represented to your excellencies the melancholy condition of this city, with the view of engaging your humanity, not to aggravate it by acts of hostility, I could not have supposed that my request would have been regarded as the effect of fear or weakness. Unfortunately I find that your excellencies have misinterpreted my expressions, since they have led to a proposal as insulting to the person to whom it is addressed, as it is but little honourable to those who have made it. Your excellencies will take this as sufficient information that you must make more suitable propositions, if you intend that they shall be accepted.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Thomas de Mola,  
October 6, 1800.

*Proclamation of the Consuls of the Republic to the French.*

Paris, March 7.

Frenchmen,  
YOU are desirous of peace; your government are desirous of it with

with still greater ardour. Their first wishes, their persevering measures, have been for peace. The English minister repels it: the English minister has betrayed the secret of his horrible system of politics. To ravage France, to destroy her marine and her ports; to efface her from the map of Europe, or to degrade her to the rank of a secondary power; to keep all the nations of the continent divided, in order to get possession of the commerce of all, and to enrich herself by their spoils; it is to obtain these frightful successes, that England is prodigal of gold, profuse of promises, and that she multiplies intrigues.

But neither the gold, nor the promises, nor the intrigues of England, will chain to her views the powers of the continent. They have heard the wish of France; they know the moderation of the principles that guide her; they will listen to the voice of humanity, and the powerful voice of their interest.

Were it otherwise, the government which has not feared to offer and solicit peace, will remember that it is for you to command it. To command it, we must have money, iron, and soldiers.

Let all make haste to pay the tribute which they owe to the common defence; let the young citizens march. It is no longer for factions—it is no longer for the choice of tyrants, that they are going to arm; it is for the guarantee of all that is most dear to them; it is for the honour of France; it is for the sacred interest of humanity and of liberty. Already have the armies resumed that attitude, the promise and the prelude of victory; at the sight of them—at the sight of the whole nation united in the same

interests and the same wishes, do not doubt, Frenchmen, that you will have any more enemies upon the continent. The first consul has promised peace; he will go and conquer it at the head of those warriors whom he has more than once led to victory. With them he will know how to find again those fields still full of the remembrance of their exploits; yet in the midst of battle, he will still invoke peace, and he swears to fight only for the happiness of France, and the repose of the world!

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*Letter written by the General-in-Chief of the Army of St. Domingo to the Authorities civil and military, and all other Citizens of the City of Cayes, and Instructions given to the Deputies sent by him to the said City, Bearers of the said Letter.*

*Leogane, 20th Messidor (10th of July), 8th Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.*

*Toussaint Louverture, General-in-Chief of the Army of St. Domingo, to the Magistrates of the People, and all the French Citizens of the Department of the South, civil and military.*

I Avail myself of the opportunity of citizen Vincent, chef de brigade, director-general of the fortifications of the colony, sent by the French government to be an eye-witness of the events and calamities of the civil war produced by the conduct of the evil-disposed, and the enemies of public tranquillity. I join to him a deputation of two citizens, Arrault, and Cesar, the late

late member of the civil tribunal of the South, in consequence of the orders which I have received from government, and the confidence which it reposes in me to restore peace and tranquillity. These citizens will communicate to you my mode of thinking, and will assure you that I am disposed to grant to people of every description a general amnesty, to pardon and forget the past, provided they shall return to order, and that all men deceived or led astray shall return into the bosom of their families, and that all the cultivators forced to leave their houses shall rejoin their respective habitations.

It is my duty to inform you of some passages in the letter of the minister of marine and colonies, of which the following is an extract:

“ A strong government has succeeded an executive power, feeble and divided.

“ I depend on your zeal and your fidelity. Inform the troops under your command that the time of schisms is past. Unite all around the new social compact of the French people.

The rank of general-in-chief, with which the republic has honoured you, and which the new government has confirmed, is the first of the military militia. It requires prudence and moderation. Use your influence, your talents, to calm all hatred; stifle all resentment, and be great by the good which you do.

“ The first consul places confidence in you. You will show yourself deserving of it by restoring peace in the fine colony of St. Domingo, which interests the whole nation in so many points of view.

“ The government expects that the

first advices, which you shall dispatch, will announce that by your cares and your prudence peace has been re-established at St. Domingo. (Signed) “ Forfait.

“ Toussaint Louverture.”

[A true copy.]

In conformity with humanity, which is always my guide, and the letter of the minister, I protest to you that I have forgot and pardon every thing. I hold out my arms to receive you: should you still resist my call, it is no longer my fault.

An immediate answer, yes or no.

Health to the French republic.

Toussaint Louverture.

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*Convention between the General-in-Chief of the French and Imperial Armies in Italy, with the Alterations made in it.*

I. **T**HERE shall be an armistice and suspension of hostilities between the army of his imperial majesty and that of the French republic in Italy, till an answer shall be received from the court of Vienna.

II. The imperial army shall occupy all the country between the Mincio, Felsa-Mestre, and the Po; which includes Mantua, Peschiera, and Borgo-Forte; and from thence the left bank of the Po, and on the right bank the town and citadel of Ferrara.

III. The imperial army shall in like manner hold Tuscany and Ancona.

IV. The French army shall occupy the countries comprehended between the Chiusa, the Oglio, and the Po.

V. The



V. The country between the Chiusa and the Mincio shall not be occupied by either army. The imperial army may procure provisions from a part of the duchy of Mantua. The French arms may procure provisions from a part of the Brescia.

VI. The citadels of Tortona, Alessandria, Milan, Turin, Pizzighitone, Arona, and Placentia, shall be delivered up to the French army between the 16th and 20th of June.

VII. The citadels of Coni, Ceva, Savona, and the city of Genoa, between the 16th and 24th.

VIII. Fort Urbino shall be given up on the 26th of June.

IX. The artillery of the garrisons shall be classed in the following manner:—All the Austrian heavy artillery and foundries shall appertain to the Austrian army; the artillery of Italians, Piedmontese, and French calibres and foundries to the French army. The provision shall be divided—one half to be at the disposal of the commissary of ordnance of the Austrian army, and one half at that of the French.

X. The garrisons shall march out with military honours, and shall repair, with their arms and baggage, by the shortest road to Mantua.

XI. The Austrian army shall direct its march to Mantua, in three columns, by Placentia: the first between the 16th and 20th; the second between the 20th and 24th; and the third between the 24th and 26th.

XII. General St. Julien of the artillery, de Brun of the engineers, Telsiege, commissary of provisions, citizen Dejean, counsellor of state, and Daru, inspector of reviews, adjutant-general Leopold Stobenzett, and the chief of brigade Mos-

set, are named commissioners, in order to provide for the details of the execution of the present convention, either for the formation of inventories, or to provide for subsistence and conveyances.

XIII. No individual shall be ill-treated on account of having rendered any services to the Austrian army, or for his political opinions. The Austrian commander shall release every individual who shall have been arrested in the Cisalpine republic for his political opinions.

XIV. Whatever may be the answer of the court of Vienna, neither of the two armies can renew the attack without giving ten days notice.

XV. During the armistice neither army shall send detachments to Germany.

Done at Alessandria, the 16th June, 1800.

(Signed) Alex. Berthier.  
Melas.

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*Preliminaries of Peace between France and Austria.*

**H**IS majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, &c. and the first consul of the republic, in the name of the French people, equally animated with the desire of putting a term to the evils of the war, by a prompt, just, and solid peace, have agreed upon the following preliminary articles:

Art. 1. There shall be peace, friendship, and good understanding between his majesty the emperor and king, and the French republic.

Art 2. Until the conclusion of a definitive treaty, the armies, both in Italy and Germany, shall respectively remain in the position in which they are, without extending their positions

positions more to the south of Italy. On his side, his imperial majesty engages to concentrate all the forces he may have in the states of the Pope, in the fortrefs of Ancona; to put an end to the extraordinary levy which is making in Tuscany; and to prevent all debarkation of the enemies of the French republic at Leghorn, or any other point of the coasts.

Art. 3. The treaty of Campo Formio shall be taken as the basis of the definitive pacification, excepting however the changes become necessary.

Art. 4. His imperial majesty does not oppose the French republic keeping the limits of the Rhine, such as they were agreed upon at Rastadt, i. e. the left bank of the Rhine, from the spot where the Rhine leaves the territory of Switzerland, to the point where it enters the territory of the Batavian republic; and engages moreover to cede to the French republic the sovereignty and property of Frickthal, and all that belongs to the house of Austria between Zurzach and Bâle.

Art. 5. The French republic is not understood to keep Cassel, Kehl, Ehrenbreitstein, and Dusseldorff.—These places will be razed, on condition that there shall not be raised on the right bank of the Rhine, and for the distance of three miles, any fortifications, either in stone-work or in earth.

Art 6. The indemnities which his imperial majesty the emperor and king is to have in Germany, in virtue of the secret articles of the treaty of Campo Formio, shall be taken in Italy; and therefore it shall be reserved until the definitive treaty, to agree on the position and the quota of

the said indemnities: nevertheless it shall be established as the basis, that his imperial majesty the emperor and king shall possess, besides the country which had been granted to him in Italy by the treaty of Campo Formio, an equivalent to the possession of the archbishopric of Salzburg, the rivers of the Inn and the Sabra, and the Tyrol, comprising the town of Wasserbourg, on the left bank of the Inn, within a circuit of 3000 toises, and the Frickthal, which he cedes to the French republic.

Art. 7. The ratification of the present preliminary articles shall be exchanged at Vienna before August 15.

Art. 8. Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, the negotiations for a definitive peace shall continue; both sides shall agree upon a place for negotiation; the plenipotentiaries shall be there in twenty days at the latest, after the exchange.

Art 9. His majesty the emperor and king, and the first consul of the French republic, reciprocally engage on their word of honour to keep the present articles secret till ratification.

Art. 10. The powers of M. de St. Julien being contained in a letter from the emperor to the first consul, the full powers, invested with the usual formalities, shall be exchanged with the ratification of the present preliminaries, which shall not bind the respective governments till after the ratification.

We, the undersigned, have agreed upon and signed the present preliminaries at Paris, the 8th of July, 1800.

(Signed) Count de St. Julien.  
C. M. Talleyrand.

*Armistice*

*Armistice concluded at Steyer, the 25th of December, 1800.*

*Army of the Rhine.—The General of Division, Chief of the Staff, to the Minister of War.*

*Head-quarters at Steyer,  
Dec. 26, 9th Year of  
the French Republic,  
one and indivisible.*

Citizen minister,

**T**HE archduke Charles has proposed an armistice to the general-in-chief, by announcing to him that the emperor had sent a courier to M. de Cobentzel with orders to sign a peace.

The general-in-chief, considering that the line of the Traun and the Inn was forced, that we were advanced one hundred leagues before the other armies, and were already near the rear-guard of the Austrian army in Italy; that, consequently, M. de Bellegarde could avail himself of the possession of Salzburg and Inspruck, as the two grand openings by which he could send troops to join those that were left in the Tyrol, and by attacking our rear with these, might cut off our communication with the Traun; for these reasons he thought proper to agree to a suspension of arms, which procuring great advantages for us, would put us in a condition to learn the movements of the army of Italy, of which we had as yet heard no account.

The character of the archduke Charles, and his well-known loyalty, gave us sufficient assurances of the emperor's desire to put an end to the war. He was also impelled to it by the deplorable condition of his army, which having in the course

of twenty days lost seventy leagues of territory, twenty-five thousand prisoners, twelve or fifteen thousand in killed or wounded, one hundred and forty pieces of cannon, and immense magazines, was no longer able, nor could it be able in three months, to hinder our army from conquering all Austria, and dictating laws in the capital. But, in order to effect this without danger, it would have been necessary for the army of Italy to be already in possession of the defiles of Carinthia.

Besides, the general-in-chief was of opinion, that to stop in the most brilliant victories was conformable to the character of moderation by which the first consul manifests himself to Europe.

I have the honour to present you with a copy of the convention of the armistice. The emperor immediately entered into a treaty; and our line running along the Danube to the mountains of the Tyrol, putting us in possession of Kufstein, Schœrnitz, Braunau, &c. will enable us to recommence the war with great advantages, and, above all, with great security. Health and respect.

(Signed) Dessolles.

#### ARMISTICE.

His majesty the emperor and king wishing to treat immediately for peace with the French republic, whatever the determination of his allies may be; the generals-in-chief of the French army and of the imperial army in Germany, desirous of putting a stop, as far as is in their power, to the evils inseparable from war, have agreed to treat for an armistice and suspension of arms: for this purpose they have respectively charged with special powers

the following persons, viz. the general-in-chief Moreau has authorized the general of brigade, Victor Faneau Laherie, and his royal highness the archduke Charles, major comte de Grime, and colonel Wairother de Vetal, of the staff, who have agreed to the following conditions:

Art. 1. The line of demarcation between the portion of the Gallo-Batavian army in Germany, under the orders of general Augerau, in the circles of Westphalia, the Upper Rhine, and Franconia, as far as Bayersdorf, shall be specially determined upon between that general and the general of the imperial and royal army opposed to him. From Bayersdorf that line passes to Harlard, Nuremberg, Neumark, Parsberg, Laver, Stadtamhoff, and Ratisbon, where it crosses the Danube, along the right bank of which it extends to the Erlaph, and then proceeds to the source of that river; passes through Markgamingen, Kogelback, Goulingen, Hammox, Monlerg, Leopoldscin, Heissomach, Vorderenberg, and Leoben; runs along the left bank of the Muhr to the spot where that river crosses the way from Salzburg to Klagenfurt, which it pursues to the Spiritat; then goes through Brixen to Botzen, and at last reaches Bormio in the Valteline, where it joins the army of Italy.

Art. 2. Chauchard's map of Germany shall regulate any differences that may arise concerning the line of demarcation.

Art. 3. Upon the rivers which shall separate the two armies, the destruction or the preservation of bridges shall be regulated by particular arrangements, according to

what may be judged useful either for the wants of the armies, or for those of the communes. The generals-in-chief of the respective armies shall either be acquainted with those objects, or shall leave it to the generals commanding in those places to settle them. The navigation of the rivers shall be free, as well to the armies as to the people of the country.

Art. 4. The French army shall not only occupy exclusively all the points of the above line of demarcation; but, in order to place a continued interval between both armies, the line of the advanced posts of the imperial and royal army shall, with the exception of the Danube, be distant at least one German mile (four English ones) from that of the French army.

Art. 5. With the exception of the safeguards, or those of the police, which shall be sent into the Tyrol by the two respective armies, and in equal numbers, but which shall be as few as possible, there shall remain no other troops of his imperial majesty within the compass of the line of demarcation. Those which are now in the Grisons, the Tyrol, and in Carinthia, must retire immediately by the route of Klagenfurt to Pruck, in order to join the imperial army in Germany, without their being able to proceed towards Italy.

They shall set out from the places where they are as soon as they hear of the present convention; and they shall march on foot at the rate of one German post and a half per day.

The general-in-chief of the French army of the Rhine is authorized to ensure the execution of this article.

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by means of persons deputed by him to follow the march of the imperial troops as far as Pruck.

The imperial troops which may have occasion to withdraw from the Upper Palatinate, from Suabia or Franconia, shall go the shortest way to the line of demarcation.

The execution of this article must not be delayed, under any pretence whatever, beyond the necessary time, allowing for the distances.

Art. 6. The fortresses of Kufstein, Schœrnitz, and the points of permanent fortification in the Tyrol, shall be given up as a security to the French army, to be restored in the same state in which they are found at the conclusion and ratification of peace, should it follow, this armistice without the resumption of hostilities.

The defiles of Fintltermunz, Naudert, and the other fortifications of the Tyrol, shall be surrendered to the disposition of the French army.

Art. 7. The magazines in that country belonging to the imperial army are left at their disposal.

Art. 8. The fortress of Wurtzbourg, in Franconia, and the place of Braunau, in Bavaria, shall be also given up to the French army, to be restored according to the same conditions as the fortresses of Kufstein and Schœrnitz.

Art. 9. The troops, both those belonging to the empire and those of his imperial and royal majesty, which occupy the places, shall evacuate them; that is to say, the garrison of Wurtzbourg on the 4th of January, 1801; that of Braunau on the same day, and those in the fortresses of Tyrol on the 8th of January.

Art. 10. All the garrisons shall march out with the honours of war,

and repair with their arms and baggage by the shortest way to the imperial army. Nothing shall be taken away by them with respect to artillery and stores of all kinds, with the exception of necessary subsistence for them on their march beyond the line of demarcation.

Art. 11. Deputies shall be sent respectively appointed to ascertain the state of the places in question; but it is clearly understood that any delay of theirs shall not retard the evacuation.

Art. 12. The extraordinary levies ordered in the Tyrol shall be immediately disbanded, and the inhabitants sent back to their homes.

The order and execution of this disbandment shall not be retarded under any pretext.

Art. 13. The general-in-chief of the army of the Rhine being desirous to give on his part to his royal highness the archduke Charles an unequivocal proof of the motives which have determined him to demand the evacuation of the Tyrol, declares, that with the exception of the fortresses of Kufstein, Schœrnitz, and Fintltermunz, he will confine himself to having in the Tyrol safeguards or guards of police, agreed to in the 5th article, for the purpose of securing the communications. He will also at the same time furnish the inhabitants with all the facilities in his power for their subsistence, and the French army shall not interfere in any respect with the government of the country.

Art. 14. The portion of the territory of the empire, and of the states of his imperial majesty in the Tyrol, is put under the protection of the French army, for the purpose of maintaining the right of property and the actual forms of government.

The inhabitants of these countries shall not be molested on account of any services rendered by them to the Imperial army, nor for any political opinion, or for having taken an active part in the war.

Art. 15. In consequence of the above-mentioned arrangements—there shall be between the Gallo-Batavian army in Germany and that of the Rhine, and the armies of his imperial majesty and of his allies in the Germanic empire, an armistice and suspension of arms, which shall not be of a less duration than for thirty days. At the expiration of this delay, hostilities shall not be resumed until after a notice of fifteen days, to date from the hour in which the notification of the rupture shall be made known; and the armistice shall be indefinitely prolonged until the notice of rupture.

Art. 16. No corps or detachment, either of the army of the Rhine or of that of his imperial majesty in Germany, shall be sent to the respective armies in Italy, as long as there shall be no armistice between the French and the imperial armies in that country. The violation of this article shall be considered as an immediate rupture of the armistice.

Art. 17. The general-in-chief of the army of the Rhine shall transmit, with the utmost dispatch, the present convention to the generals-in-chief of the armies, Gallo-Batavian, in the Grisons, and of Italy, with the most pressing invitation, particularly to the commander-in-chief of the army of Italy, to conclude, on his part, a suspension of hostilities.

There shall be afforded, at the same time, every kind of facility for the passage of officers and couriers whom his highness the arch-

duke Charles may think it necessary to send, either to the places which are to be evacuated, or to the Tyrol; and in general to the country comprehended within the line of demarcation during the armistice.

Done at Steyer, the 25th of December, in the ninth year.

(A true copy) Dessolles,  
The general of division,  
and chief of the general staff.

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*Treaty concluded between the French and Batavian Republics.*

**T**HE Batavian and French republics, willing to settle some disputed points between them amicably and reciprocally advantageous to the two contracting powers, have appointed to come to an agreement on these several subjects; that is to say, the executive directory of the Batavian republic, citizen Schimmelpennick, its ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the French republic, and the first consul of the French republic, citizen Talleyrand, minister for foreign affairs, who, after exchanging their full powers, have agreed to the following articles:

Art. 1. The French republic abandons, cedes, and transfers to the Batavian republic all its pretensions and all its rights, of whatever nature they may be at present, or might be hereafter, of every denomination, to the *bons* of every kind possessed within the extent of the Batavian republic, or upon its inhabitants, by the French emigrants and those of the countries united to France. The French clergy, and those of the nine united departments, forming ci-devant Belgium;

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the elector Palatine, as proprietor of Ravenstein, Mezen, and other places; the house of Zalsback, comprising the seignior of Bonmer; the house of Salm, comprising the seignior of Anholt, in the canton of Zutphen; and in general on all the property (*biens*) of all the other princes and barons of the empire, who, having possessions in Holland before the present war, have lost there, in consequence of the war, all pretension to the exercise of their rights, and to the enjoyment of their properties.

The little city of Huffer, situate in the isle of Betau, on the left bank of the Rhine, and its territory, comprising Melbergen and Hulhuysen, as also some villages in the country of Kuyck, contained within the territory of the Batavian republic, constitute part of the present cession.

The renunciation of ecclesiastical properties (*biens*) agreed to in favour of the Batavian republic, shall extend equally in proportion as the reform shall be effected on those which depend upon the four new departments acquired on the left bank of the Rhine, and which are situated on the Batavian soil, and also upon all the rights which might appertain to the French republic on the said territory in consequence of the definitive union of these same four departments, in such a manner that it shall not afford any pretence for any repetition whatever.

The present concession involves in it, to the advantage of the Batavian republic, the abandonment of the rents and revenues in arrear, and now due out of the properties of which this transaction assures it the right and possession.

Art. 2. The French republic, in

transferring from the French to the Batavian republic the occupation and possession of all the properties (*biens*) and rights which belonged to the elector Palatine, and all the other princes and barons of the empire with whom it has been at war, and which are situated within the extent of the Batavian republic, promises and engages farther, on a general peace with the empire, to procure for it the abandonment of the absolute and irrevocable property by the parties interested, to interpose for this purpose its good offices, and to employ for this effect all the means which it shall use to secure for itself the free and peaceable possession of such countries as it shall think fit to retain.

Art. 3. The cession of the seignior of Ravenstein, stipulated in the first article, comprises only the part of it within the Batavian territory.

Art. 4. The present cession carries with it the whole of the rights belonging to the French republic within the extent of the Batavian possessions, with the exception of the house of France at the Hague, which formerly belonged to the French legation.

Art. 5. In consideration of the concessions stipulated by the preceding articles, the Batavian republic shall pay to the French republic, after the exchange of the respective ratifications of the present treaty, and in the terms agreed upon between the two governments, a sum of 6,000,000 francs.

Art. 6. The present transaction shall not take effect until after having been ratified by the contracting parties, and the ratification shall be exchanged at Paris with the least possible delay, reckoning from the

15th Nivose (4th January). This delay shall not exceed a fortnight.

In faith of which, we the undersigned minister plenipotentiary of the Batavian republic, and ambassador extraordinary of the French republic, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present treaty, and thereunto put our respective seals.

Done at Paris, January 4, 1800,  
6th year of Batavian liberty.

R. J. Schimmelpennick.

Ch. M. Talleyrand.

*Additional Article.*

The countries, such as Ravenstein, the villages and communes, the sovereignty of which is transferred by the present treaty to the Batavian republic, are ceded, and recorded under the title of account upon the territorial indemnity promised to the Batavian republic by the 16th article of the treaty of the Hague; the two republics proposing to come to an agreement upon the means of arriving at a complete extension of the 16th article of the treaty of the Hague.

Ch. M. Talleyrand.

R. J. Schimmelpennick.

*Contention between Russia and the Porte, respecting the Ex-Venetian Islands.*

In the name of the Almighty God!

THOSE countries which were originally subject to the republic of Venice, and which afterwards fell into the hands of the French, having been since delivered from their yoke, by means of the united fleets of Russia and the sublime Porte, aided by the su-

preme arbiter of victory, and approved by the unanimous wishes and efforts of the inhabitants, his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, and his majesty the Ottoman emperor, being resolved to observe those principles of justice, moderation, and disinterestedness, the practice of which they solemnly promised in their treaty of alliance, and as the dignity of the two courts requires that a promise publicly made should be executed by both parties, they have agreed to establish in the said countries such a form of government as may leave no grounds of apprehension for the repose and safety of the states of the sublime Porte; notwithstanding its vicinity, and which may at the same time accord with the habits, usages, religion, and wishes of the inhabitants. To accomplish this salutary work, his majesty the emperor of Russia has named as his plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary to the Ottoman Porte, the high and noble Vassily Tamara, knight of the order of St. Ann, of the first class, commander of the sovereign order of St. John of Jerusalem; and his majesty the Ottoman emperor, the illustrious and estimable Ismet Bey and Ahmed Alif Reis-Effendi: who after exchanging their full powers, have agreed on the following articles:

Art. 1. The said Ex-Venetian isles shall form a republic, which shall be governed by the notables of the country, and which, like Ragusa, shall be as a vassal under the protection of the Porte, and shall acknowledge its superiority. Russia guarantees the integrity of this republic.

Art. 2. These isles, which are Corfu, Cephalonia, Cerigo, Maure, Ithaca,

Ithaca, &c. shall be called "The Seven United Islands" and shall enjoy the same privileges as Ragusa. The two powers shall ratify the new constitution of the republic, after it shall have been accepted.

Art. 3. The inhabitants of the said isles shall enjoy the same privileges in Turkey as the Ragusans. They shall have in that country their own consul, and their ships shall be protected from the corsairs of the states of Barbary.

Art. 4. The republic shall pay every year to the Porte 75,000 piaſtres, which it shall send, as Ragusa does, by a solemn embassy; and in consequence of this tribute the subjects of the new states shall in Turkey be exempted from every other imposition.

Art. 5. In case of necessity, Russia and the Porte shall send to these isles during the present war, but not beyond that period, the troops and vessels requisite for their defence.

Art. 6. The ships of the republic may in future navigate freely by the Black Sea under their new flag.

Art. 7. First, the Ex-Venetian countries, such as Preveſa, Parga, Vonitz, and Butrinto, which are situated on the continent and border on Albania, shall hereafter belong to the Porte, and the Christians of those countries shall be subject to a Turkish commandant, as well as those of Wallachia and Moldavia. The Mahometans shall not be allowed to purchase there any property. The Raja princes of these Ex-Venetian countries shall be at liberty to rebuild their churches, and for two years they shall be exempt from all imposition, and shall pay hereafter to the Porte only what they before paid to Venice.—Se-

condly, as a testimony of the friendship which unites his majesty the emperor of Russia to his majesty the Ottoman emperor, and at the same time to show how much the former is interested in the happiness of the sublime Porte and its allies, he promises to employ his good offices to cause his allies and the other powers, who shall be invited for that purpose, when a general peace takes place, to accept and guarantee every thing contained in the 2d, 5th, 7th, and 8th articles of this convention, and every thing that relates to the political existence of these islands.

Art. 8. The present convention shall be ratified within the course of two months.

Done at Constantinople,

March 21, 1800.

(Signed) Effendi Ibrahim Ismet Bey.

Ahmed Aliſ Reis-Effendi.

V. Tamara.

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*Speech of his Swedish Majesty to the Diet, assembled at Norweping, March 19.*

High and well-born, noble and well-born, reverend, worthy, well-learned, noble-born, wise, respectable, brave, and honest, good lords, and men of Sweden.

WITH the utmost pleasure I see you this day assembled, for the first time, before my throne, convinced that I may confide my cares for the welfare of faithful subjects in their bosom. Eight years have now elapsed since the last diet: it was then when my deceased father addressed you for the last time from this throne, and expressed his pleasure to be king of a

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faithful

faithful people, whom he had called together to consult with them in confidence and harmony on the affairs of the kingdom, and this at a time when a fanatical fury convulsed almost every country, which afterwards laid waste and destroyed some of them in the most licentious and inhuman manner, and dissolved even the most sacred ties and connections.

He also said, that few in a similar station would expose themselves to the ferments which are often occasioned by large assemblies—' But I,' these were his own words, ' did not dread them, relying on your attachment, and on the frankness with which I shall lay before you the affairs on which we must deliberate; and if your confidence meets mine, the general good can only result from it, the kingdom will become strong, and gain the esteem and veneration of foreign nations.' He then expressed his sincere love for his people, and his hopes that, at the conclusion of the diet, he might be able, with similar pleasure, to communicate his satisfaction on the harmony which guided your deliberations. He then did not think his death to be so near, which he had so often braved on the field of battle against the enemies of his country, but which he had no reason to expect from some of his own treacherous subjects.

It is a melancholy and painful duty to me, that, on addressing my faithful subjects for the first time from the throne, I must renew the recollection of a crime which ought to have remained unknown, and considered impossible in this country. This recollection, however, would excite still more horrid sensations within me, had I not the con-

solation of being surrounded by faithful subjects, who, as much as myself, abhor such a crime, and who still bewail the loss of a just and gracious king and father. The happiness, honour, and independence of the kingdom were the objects of his endeavours; and we must hope that the purity of his intentions is no longer misconceived; the time in which we live, and the events which we have witnessed, must convince us more and more of the wisdom of his measures, and the sincerity of his endeavours. As I have inherited the throne of my father, together with his love for his people, I wish to experience from you the same fidelity and attachment for me, which you have shown for him; and that that harmony might reign among you, during the diet, to the maintenance of which he has so often admonished you, as without it an independent country cannot exist.

Thus reminding you, my faithful subjects, of the fulfilment of your duties and connections, with respect to myself and you, I ought not to forget the vast extent of the difficulties concerning me. On ascending the throne from which so many great kings have governed Sweden, I had reason to fear that I might not be able to fulfil my sacred duties as I wished it; but when I considered, on the other hand, my sincere endeavours to do justice to those duties, since I have prayed for the assistance and the grace of the Almighty, and hope more and more to be convinced that I reign over subjects who, as well as myself, without any private views, make the welfare of the country the sole object of their endeavours: who voluntarily meet me in support-

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ing the kingdom with every thing requisite for repairing the breach, which, if not speedily remedied, might undermine its welfare—I have in that conviction, in the course of the last three years, faced with intrepidity all difficulties and obstacles, in searching myself after the means, by useful arrangement and strict economy, to increase the revenues of the kingdom, in full confidence thus to discover the genuine source for the stability and the dignity of an independent country.

The revenues and expenses, together with the wants of the state, I have caused to be estimated, that they may this day be laid before the members of the diet, to prove what I have been able to effect for the benefit of the empire, and what farther measures may be necessary for fulfilling our first and mutual endeavours to ameliorate and fix the standard of the price of money. The low course of exchange, arising from the pressing debts of the empire, have always thwarted my best designs and plans for the welfare of the state. Every individual feels this oppressive evil, more or less, but the government feels it more sensibly; for it has not only diminished the revenues of the state, but opened a wide field to selfishness and usury, than which nothing can operate more prejudicially to the fellow-citizens of greedy speculators, who ought to be shunned and detested by every honest man.

Two oppressive and disastrous years have not a little contributed to the present high prices of corn and provisions; and the state, as much as the individual, has felt the deficiency of crops, and other heavy losses. I shall, nevertheless, find

great consolation in any efficacious means to enable me to succour my distressed subjects, and to furnish them with farther proofs of my solicitude for their welfare.

I have thus purposely called this diet, to advise with you how to obviate the existing evils, and how to prevent similar ones in future. To effect this important end, it is necessary that I should be crowned king of Sweden, in order to cement the sacred bonds of union in the most solemn manner, which ought ever to unite the sovereign with the nation. I conceived the most propitious period for this solemnity would be that after the birth of my beloved son Gustav, the fruit of my happy union with my beloved consort. I want words to express to you the joy I felt, on seeing the throne of Sweden, by the grace of the Most High, still more fortified than before; and this happy sensation was mixed with the natural satisfaction of being a father. And if I this day recall those unspeakable sensations to my bosom, it is in the fond hope, the perfect conviction, that my beloved and faithful subjects here assembled partake them with their prince.

When I gave a name to my son, which in so many respects must be dear to us and our common country, I was in great hopes to educate him in such a manner as to render him worthy of that name; that, whenever I shall be no more, he may render his people happy. I shall ever represent to him the great destiny of Providence, in order that, from his infant days, he may be impressed with the great importance of his future duty; and that he may never forget that he is born and destined to reign over a free, integral,

integral, or self-subsistent nation, and to promote its happiness; thus to enjoy the only, but the greatest consolation which a sovereign can wish for his manifold troubles and cares. I shall moreover assure him, that he will have to reign over a faithful nation, always submissive to the laws of the country; and which, by its trust in God, by its faith, sincerity, harmony, and unity, constitutes a great people.

Since I have opened to you, in this solemn place, the inmost of my thoughts and principles, with sincerity and confidence, I have reason to expect that you, my faithful subjects, will answer my wishes. Be assured that, when in your deliberations with me, unity, harmony, and sincerity, shall be found to reign, we may expect from the grace of God, that this diet will terminate to the welfare of the empire. Then shall I think myself amply rewarded for all my past care and solicitude; and who among you will not feel within himself the lively satisfaction of having laboured and contributed to the real prosperity of his country?

Convinced that you, as faithful Swedish subjects, worthy of your ancestors, partake of my sentiments, I wish that the heavenly grace and blessing of the Almighty God may attend your deliberations, and remain with royal grace and good will, your affectionate, &c.

His majesty having ended his address, baron Ehrenheim read the articles proposed by the king as the subjects of the deliberations, which principally relate to the regulation of the finances, the amendment of several civil laws, and to measures of economy and police.

*Convention between the French Republic and the United States of America.*

THE chief consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, and the president of the United States of America, equally animated with a desire to put an end to the differences which have arisen between the two states, have respectively named their plenipotentiaries, and have given them full powers to negotiate concerning these differences, and to terminate them; that is to say, the chief consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, has nominated, as plenipotentiaries of the said republic, citizens Joseph Bonaparte, late ambassador of the French republic at Rome, and counsellor of state; Charles Peter Claret Fleuriu, member of the national institution, and of the board of longitude, counsellor of state, and president of the section of marine; and Peter Lewis Roederer, member of the national institute, counsellor of state, and president of the section of the interior; and the president of the United States of America, by and with the advice and consent of the senate of the said states, has nominated, as their plenipotentiaries, Oliver Ellsworth, chief-justice of the United States; William Richardson Davie, late governor of South Carolina, and William Vans Murray, resident minister of the United States at the Hague:

Who, after having exchanged their credentials, and long and maturely discussed the respective interests of the two states, have agreed to the following conditions:

1st. There



1st. There shall be a firm, inviolable, and universal peace, and a true and sincere friendship between the French republic and the United States of America, as well as between their countries, territories, cities, and towns, and between their citizens and inhabitants, without exception of persons or places.

2d. The minister plenipotentiary of the two parties not being able, for the present, to come to an agreement with regard to the treaty of alliance of the 6th of February, 1778, the treaty of friendship and commerce of the same date, and the convention under date of the 14th of November, 1778; nor, likewise, with regard to the indemnities mutually due or reclaimed; the parties will negotiate ultimately upon those points at a convenient time; and till they have come to a definitive agreement, the said treaties and conventions shall have no effect, and the relations of the two states shall be regulated as follows:

3d. The vessels belonging to government, which have been taken on both sides, or may be taken before the exchange of the ratifications, shall be restored.

4th. The property captured and not yet definitively condemned, or which may be captured before the exchange of the ratifications, except contraband merchandise destined for an enemy's port, shall be mutually restored upon the following proofs of property, viz.

On both sides the proofs of property, with regard to merchant-vessels, armed, or not armed, shall be a passport in the following form:

"To all those to whom these presents may come, be it known,

that freedom and permission have been granted to —, master or commander of the ship called —, of the city of —, of the burden of — tons, or thereabout, at present in the port and harbour of —, and bound for —, laden with —; that after his ship has been visited, and before his departure, he shall make oath before the officers authorized for that purpose, that the said ship belongs to one or more of the subjects of —, whose agreement shall be subjoined at the bottom of the passport; likewise, that he will observe, and make be observed by his crew, the maritime ordinances and regulations; and he shall deliver a list signed and attested by witnesses, containing the names and surnames, the births, places and residences, of the persons composing the crew of his ship, and of all those who shall embark with him, whom he shall not receive on board without the permission of the authorized officers; and in every port or harbour he shall enter with his ship, he shall show the present permission to the officers authorized for this purpose, and shall give them a faithful account of what has happened during his voyage; and he shall carry the colours, arms, and ensign [of the French republic, or of the United States] during his said voyage.— In witness whereof we have signed this paper, have made it be countersigned by —, and have affixed to it seals bearing our arms.

"Given at —, the year of our Lord —."

And this passport shall of itself be sufficient, notwithstanding all regulations to the contrary. It shall not be required that this passport be renewed or revoked, whatever number

number of voyages the vessel may make, at least if she has not touched at her own port during the course of a year.

With regard to the cargo, the proofs shall be certificates containing an account of the place from which the vessel has sailed, and that to which she is bound; so that prohibited and contraband goods may be distinguished by certificates, which certificates shall have been made by the officers of the place from which the vessel shall have sailed, in the usual form of the country; and if these passports, or certificates, or either of them, have been destroyed by accident, or seized by violence, the want of them may be supplied by all the other proofs of property admissible according to the general usage of nations.

For other than merchant ships, the proofs shall be the commission which they bear.

This article shall take effect from the date of the signature of the present convention; and if, after the date of the said signature, property shall be condemned, contrary to the spirit of the said convention, before this stipulation is known, the property thus condemned shall, without delay, be restored, or paid for.

Art. 5. The debts contracted by one of the two nations to individuals of the other, or by individuals of the one to individuals of the other, shall be paid, or their payment shall be sued for, as if there had been no misunderstanding between the two states; but this clause shall not extend to indemnities claimed for captures or condemnations.

6th. The commerce between the two parties shall be free; the

vessels of the two nations, and their privateers, as well as their prizes, shall be treated, in the respective ports, as those of the most favoured nations; and in general the two parties shall enjoy in the ports of each other, in what respects commerce and navigation, all the privileges of the most favoured nations.

7th. The citizens and inhabitants of the United States shall be allowed to dispose, by testament, gift, or otherwise, of their property, real and personal, possessed in the European territories of the French republic; and the citizens of the French republic shall have the same power with regard to real and personal property possessed in the territories of the United States, in favour of such persons as to them shall seem good. The citizens and inhabitants of one of the two states who shall be heirs to property, real or personal, situated in the other, shall succeed *ab intestato*, without there being occasion for letters of naturalization, and without it being possible for the effect of this stipulation to be denied or disputed under any pretext whatsoever; and the said heirs, whether by will or *ab intestato*, shall, in both nations, be free from every tax. It is stipulated that this article shall, in no wise, infringe the laws which are now in force in the two nations, or which may hereafter be enacted against emigration; and likewise, that, in case the laws of one of the two states should limit the rights of foreigners to real property, it shall be lawful to sell such property, or to dispose of it otherwise, in favour of the inhabitants or citizens of the country in which it is situated; and the other nation shall be at liberty

berty to establish similar regulations.

8th. In order mutually to promote the operations of commerce, it is agreed, that if (which the Lord forbid!) war should break out between the two countries, there shall be allowed, mutually, to the merchants and other citizens, or respective inhabitants, six months after the declaration of war, during which period they will have the permission to retire with such goods and effects as they may be able to carry off, or to sell the whole; agreeably to their own option, without the interposition of any restraint. Not only their goods, much less their persons, can be seized on, during the prescribed period of six months. On the contrary, they shall be furnished with passports, to secure their safe return home. These passports shall avail them as guarantees against every insult and seizure on the part of privateers, who may attempt to capture their goods or their persons; and if, within the term above mentioned, they should sustain from any of the parties, their fellow-citizens, or abettors, any damage or injury, either in their persons or property, they shall receive complete satisfaction thereof.

9th. The debts due by the individuals of one or the other nation to the individuals of the other, shall not, in any case of hostility or national disagreement, be sequestered or confiscated, no more than the deposits that are placed in the public funds, or in the houses of public or private bankers.

10th. The two contracting parties may appoint, for the protection of commerce, commercial agents, who shall reside in France

and in the United States. Each party may point out the spot where they may wish their agents to be placed. Before any agent can exercise his functions, he must be received in the usual forms by the party among whom he is to reside; and when he is received, and provided with his *exequatur*, he shall enjoy the rights and privileges that are to be enjoyed by the most favoured nations.

11th. The citizens of the French republic shall not pay in the ports, harbours, creeks, islands, districts, or in any part of the United States, any higher imposts on entries of whatsoever nature or denomination than those that are or must be paid by the most favoured nations and they shall enjoy all the rights, liberties, privileges, immunities, and exemptions, as far as regards trade, navigation, and commerce, whether in passing from any one of the ports to the other of the said United States, or in going thither or coming from thence, or whether they be destined for any other part of the world, provided the above-mentioned powers are participants, or may participate therein. And, reciprocally, the citizens of the United States shall enjoy within the territory of the French republic in Europe, the same privileges, immunities, &c. &c. not only with regard to their persons and property, but also as to what relates to trade, navigation, and commerce.

12th. The citizens of the two nations may convey their ships and merchandise, excepting always contraband goods, into any port belonging to the enemy of the other country. They may navigate and trade, in full freedom and security, with their merchandise and ships in

in the country, ports, &c. of the enemies of either party, without encountering any obstacle or control; and not only pass directly from the ports and fortresses of the enemy above mentioned into neutral ports and fortresses, but, moreover, from any place belonging to an enemy into any other appertaining to another enemy, whether it be or be not subjected to the same jurisdiction, unless these ports or fortresses be actually besieged, blockaded, or invested.

And in case, as it often happens, that vessels sail for a fortress or port belonging to an enemy, without knowing that they are besieged, blockaded, or invested, it is provided, that every ship that shall be found in such circumstances shall veer off from such harbour or fortress, without being exposed to be detained or confiscated in any part of its cargo (unless it be contraband, or that it be proved that the said ship, after having been apprized of the said blockade, &c. had attempted to enter into such harbour); but it shall be empowered to go into any other port or harbour it may deem convenient. No ship belonging to either nation, that enters into a port or fortress before it be really put in a state of siege or blockade by the other, shall be prevented from sailing out with its cargo.

13th. In order to regulate what is understood by contraband during war, under that head are to be comprised gunpowder, saltpetre, petards, matches, balls, bullets, bomb-shells, pistols, halberds, cannon, harnesses, artillery of all sorts, and, in general, all kinds of arms and implements for the equipment of troops. All the above-

mentioned articles, whenever they shall be found destined for an enemy's port, shall be declared contraband, and justly exposed to confiscation. But the ship with which they were freighted, as well as the rest of the cargo, shall be regarded as free, and in no manner shall be vitiated by the contraband goods, whether they belong to many, or to one and the same proprietor.

14th. It is stipulated by the present treaty, that free ships shall likewise ensure the freedom of goods, and that all things on board shall be reckoned free belonging to the citizens of one of the contracting parties, although the cargo, or part of it, should belong to the enemies of the two; it being understood, nevertheless, that contraband goods will always be excepted. It is, likewise, agreed, that this freedom shall extend to the persons of those who shall be found on board the free ships, although they should be enemies to one of the two contracting parties; and it shall not be lawful to take them from the said free ships, at least if they are not soldiers, and actually in the service of the enemy.

15th. It is agreed, on the other hand, that all goods found put by the respective citizens on board ships belonging to the enemy of the other party, or to their subjects, shall be confiscated, without distinction of prohibited or non-prohibited, and, likewise, if they belong to the enemy, to the exception always of effects and merchandises which shall have been put on board the said ships before the declaration of war, or even after the above declaration, if it could not be known at the moment of lading; so that the merchandises of the citizens of the two parties,

parties, whether they are contraband or otherwise, which, as has been said, shall have been put on board a vessel belonging to an enemy before the war, or even after the declaration of war, when it was not known, shall in no wise be subject to confiscation, but shall faithfully and *bona fide* be restored, without delay, to their proprietors, who shall claim them; it being, nevertheless, understood that it is unlawful to carry into the enemy's ports any goods which are contraband. The two contracting parties agree that two months having elapsed after the declaration of war, their respective citizens, from whatever part of the world they come, shall not be allowed to allege the ignorance in question in the present article.

16th. Merchant-ships belonging to the citizens of either of the two contracting parties, where they would wish to enter the ports of the enemy of one of the two parties, if voyage or cargo give just cause of suspicion, the said ships shall be obliged to exhibit on the high seas, as well as in harbours or roads, not only their passports but likewise their certificates, proving that these effects are not of the same kind as those contraband articles specified in Article 13 of the present convention.

17th. And to avoid captures upon frivolous suspicions, and to prevent the mischief which results from them it is agreed, that when one of the two parties shall be at war, and the other neutral, the vessels of the neutral party shall be furnished with passports similar to those specified in Article 4, so that it may thus appear that the vessels belong truly to the neutral party.

These passports shall be valid for any number of voyages; but they shall be renewed every year, if the vessel returns home during the course of a year.

If these ships are laden, they shall be furnished, not only with the passports above-mentioned, but likewise with the certificates described in the same article, so that it may be known whether any contraband merchandise is on board. There shall not be demanded any other document, notwithstanding all usages to the contrary; and if it does not appear by these certificates that there is any contraband merchandise on board, the vessels shall be allowed to proceed on their voyages. If, on the contrary, it appears by these certificates that the vessels have contraband merchandises on board, and the master offers to deliver them up, the offer shall be accepted, and the ship shall be left at liberty to proceed on her voyage, at least if the quantity of contraband merchandise is not too great to be conveniently taken on board a ship of war or privateer; in that case, it shall be lawful to take the ship into a harbour, there to deliver the said merchandise.

If a ship is found without the passport or the certificates thus demanded, the affair shall be examined by the judges, or competent tribunals; and if it appears, by other documents or proofs admissible by the usage of nations, that the ship belongs to the citizens of the neutral party, she shall not be condemned, but shall be let at liberty with her cargo, the contraband goods excepted, and shall be at liberty to proceed on her voyage.

If the captain, named in the passport of the ship, should die, or cease  
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to command her, from any cause, and another is appointed in his stead, the ship and her cargo shall not be less secure, and the passport shall remain in all its force.

18th. If the ships of the citizens of either are met on the coast, or on the high seas, by any ship of war or privateer of the other, to prevent all disorder, the said ships of war or privateers shall keep out of cannon-shot, and shall send their boats to the merchant-vessel they shall meet: it shall not be lawful for more than two or three to go on board, and to ask the master to produce the passport concerning the property of the ship, drawn out according to the formula prescribed in Article 4. as well as the certificates above-mentioned with regard to the cargo. It is expressly agreed, that the neutral shall not be obliged to go on board the visiting vessel, there to produce his papers, or give any information whatever.

19th. It is expressly agreed by the parties, that the above stipulations, with regard to the conduct to be held on the sea by the cruisers of the belligerent party to the traders of the neutral party, shall not apply but to vessels sailing without convoy; and in case the said ships shall be convoyed, the intention of the parties being to pay all respect due to the protection of the flag carried by ships belonging to the nation, it shall not be lawful to visit them. But the verbal declaration of the commandant of the escort, that the vessels under his convoy belong to the nation whose flag he carries, and that they have nothing contraband on board, shall be considered by the respective cruisers as fully sufficient; the two parties reciprocally engaging not to admit under

the protection of their convoys any vessels carrying prohibited goods to an enemy's port.

20th. Where vessels shall be taken or stopped under pretence of carrying some contraband article to the enemy, the captors shall give a receipt of the papers of the ship which he shall retain, which receipt shall be joined to a correct invoice of the said papers: it shall not be permitted to force nor to break open drawers, chests, trunks, boxes, bales, or vases, found on board of the said ship, nor to carry off the least article of the effects before the cargo has been disembarked in presence of the competent officers, who shall make an inventory of the said effects: they cannot in any manner be sold, exchanged, or alienated, at least till, after a legal process, the competent judge or judges have passed sentence of confiscation (always excepting, however, the ship and other articles which she contains).

21st. That the ship and cargo may be watched over with care, and to prevent waste, it is determined, that the master, captain, or supercargo, of the captured vessel shall not be removed from on board, either while the ship shall be at sea, after having been taken, or during the proceedings which take place against her, her cargo, or something relating to her.

Where the ship belonging to the citizens of either of the parties shall be taken, seized, or detained, to be tried, her officers, passengers, and crew, shall be treated with humanity; they shall not be imprisoned, nor stripped of their clothes, nor of money for their private use, which must not exceed, for the captain, supercargo, or mate, 500 dollars each, and for the sailors and passengers 100 dollars each.

22d. It



22d. It is farther agreed, that in all cases the tribunals established for prize-causes in the countries to which the prizes shall be conducted, shall alone be competent to take cognizance of them; and whatever judgement the tribunal of one party pronounces against any ship or merchandizes, or property claimed by citizens of the other, the sentence shall make mention of the reasons or motives which have led to this judgement, an authentic copy of which, together with all the proceedings relating to it, shall be delivered upon demand, without delay, to the captain or agent of the said ship, upon his paying the fees.

23d. And to provide more effectually for the safety of the citizens of the two contracting parties, and to prevent the injuries they might have to fear from the ships of war or privateers of each other, all commanders of ships of war, or of privateers, and all other citizens of one of the two parties, shall abstain from doing any damage to the citizens of the other, and from offering any insult to their persons. If they do the contrary, they shall be punished, and held to give, in their persons and property, satisfaction and reparation, with interest, for the injury, of whatever kind it may have been.

For this purpose, all captains of privateers, before receiving their commissions, shall enter into an obligation, before a competent judge, to give a guarantee, at least, by two responsible sureties, who shall have no interest in the said privateers, and each of whom, as well as the captain, shall engage particularly and indefeasibly for the sum of 7000 dollars, or 30,820

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francs; and if the said vessels carry more than 150 sailors, or soldiers, for the sum of 14,000 dollars, or 73,640 francs, which shall serve to compensate for the injuries or damages which the said privateers, their officers, crews, or any of them, shall have done or committed during their cruise, contrary to the conditions of the present convention, or to the laws and instructions which ought to be the rule of their conduct; in addition to which, the said commissions shall be revoked and annulled, in all cases where there has been any aggression.

24th. When the ships of war belonging to the two contracting parties, or those which their citizens may have armed as privateers, shall be admitted to take their prizes into the ports of one of the two parties, the said ships, whether public or private property, as well as their captors, shall not be obliged to pay any duties, either to the officers on the spot or to the judges, or any other authorities whatever. The above-mentioned prizes, when they enter the ports or harbours of one of the two parties, cannot be seized or stopped; and the officers of the place cannot take any cognizance of the validity of such prizes, which shall be at liberty to go out and sail, without any control, to such places as the captains of such ships shall show them to be bound to. It is uniformly to be understood, that the stipulations of this article shall not be extended beyond the privileges of the most favoured nations.

25th. All privateers, bearing commissions from a state or prince at war with one or the other nation, shall not fit out their ships in the ports of one or the other nation,

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nation, nor there sell their prizes; neither shall they be permitted to purchase more provisions than what may be necessary to enable them to make the nearest harbour of that state or prince from whom they have received their commission.

26th. It is moreover agreed, that none of the contracting parties, not only shall not admit pirates into their ports, harbours, or towns, nor shall they permit any of the inhabitants to receive, protect, or conceal them in any manner; but, moreover, that a just punishment shall be inflicted on such of the inhabitants who may be guilty of such offences. The ships belonging to such pirates, together with the goods taken by them, and carried into the ports of one or the other nation, shall be seized upon wherever they may be found, and restored to their owners, or their agents or factors, duly by them authorized; provided always they shall have proved, before a competent tribunal, their right of property.

And if after the said effects should have passed by sale into other hands, and it appears that the captors were, or might have been, so informed, and it should also be proved that the said effects had been carried off by pirates, they shall, nevertheless, be, in like manner, restored.

27th. Neither of the two nations shall participate in the fisheries of the other on its coasts, nor disturb it in the rights which it now enjoys, or may enjoy, on the coasts of Newfoundland, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, or in any other place, whatever on the coast of America, to the north of the United States. But the whale-fishery shall be open to both nations in all parts of the globe.

This convention shall be ratified on both sides in full and due form, and the ratifications shall be exchanged within the space of six months, or sooner, if possible.

In testimony whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the above articles, both in the English and French languages, and have thereto affixed their seals, declaring, moreover, that their signature in both languages shall not be adduced as a precedent, and shall no wise prove disadvantageous to either party.

Done at Paris, the 8th Vendemaire, 9th year of the French republic, 30th September, 1800.

(Signed) Joseph Bonaparte, C. P.  
Fleurieu. Roederer.  
Oliver Ellsworth.  
W. R. Davie.  
W. V. Murray.

(A true copy.) C. M. Talleyrand.

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*Treaty of Amity and Commerce between the King of Prussia and the United States of America.*

**H**IS majesty the king of Prussia, and the United States of America, desiring to maintain, on a stable and permanent footing, the connections of good understanding, which have hitherto so happily subsisted between their respective states, and for this purpose to renew the treaty of amity and commerce concluded between the two powers, at the Hague, on the 10th of September, 1785, for the term of ten years, his Prussian majesty has nominated and constituted as his plenipotentiaries, the count Charles William de Finckenstein, his minister of state, of war, and of the cabinet, knight of the

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the orders of the black eagle and the red eagle, and commander of that of St. John of Jerusalem; the baron Philip Charles d'Alvensleben, his minister of state, of war, and of the cabinet, knight of the orders of the black eagle and of the red eagle, and that of St. John of Jerusalem; and the count Christian Henry Curt de Haugwitz, his minister of state, of war, and of the cabinet, knight of the orders of the black eagle and of the red eagle; and the president of the United States has furnished with their full powers John Quincy Adams, a citizen of the United States, and their minister plenipotentiary at the court of his Prussian majesty:

Which plenipotentiaries, after having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have concluded, settled, and signed the following articles:

Art. 1. There shall be in future, as there has been hitherto, a firm, inviolable, and universal peace, a sincere friendship, between his majesty the king of Prussia, his heirs, successors and subjects on the one part, and the United States of America, and their citizens, on the other, without the exception of persons or places.

Art. 2. The subjects of his majesty the king of Prussia may frequent all the coasts and countries of the United States of America, and reside and trade there, in all sorts of produce, manufactures, and merchandize, and shall pay there no other or greater duties, charges, or fees whatsoever, than the most favoured nations are or shall be obliged to pay. They shall also enjoy, in navigation and commerce, all the rights, privileges, and exemptions, which the most favour-

ed nation does enjoy, submitting themselves, nevertheless, to the established laws and usages, to which are submitted the citizens of the United States and the most favoured nations.

Art. 3. In like manner the citizens of the United States of America may frequent all the coasts and countries of his majesty the king of Prussia, and reside and trade there, in all sorts of produce, manufactures, and merchandize, and shall pay in the dominions of his said majesty, no other or greater duties, charges, or fees whatever, than the most favoured nation is or shall be obliged to pay; and they shall enjoy all the rights, privileges, and exemptions in navigation and commerce, which the most favoured nation does or shall enjoy; submitting themselves, nevertheless, to the established laws and usages to which are submitted the subjects of his majesty the king of Prussia, and the subjects and citizens of the most favoured nations.

Art. 4. More especially, each party shall have a right to carry their own produce, manufactures, and merchandize, in their own or any other vessels, to any parts of the dominions of the other, where it shall be lawful for all the subjects and citizens of that other freely to purchase them, and thence to take the produce, manufactures, and merchandize of the other, which all the said citizens or subjects shall in like manner be free to sell there, paying, in both cases, such duties, charges, and fees only, as are or shall be paid by the most favoured nation. Nevertheless, his majesty the king of Prussia and the United States, respectively, reserve to themselves the right, where any nation

restrains the transportation of merchandize to the vessels of the country of which it is the growth or manufacture, to establish against such nation retaliating regulations; and also the right to prohibit in their respective countries the importation and exportation of all merchandize whatsoever, when reasons of state shall require it. In this case, the subjects or citizens of either of the contracting parties shall not import or export the merchandize prohibited by the other. But if one of the contracting parties permits any other nation to import or export the same merchandize, the citizens or subjects of the other shall immediately enjoy the same liberty.

Art. 5. The merchants, commanders of vessels, or other subjects or citizens of either party, shall not, within the ports or jurisdiction of the other, be forced to unload any sort of merchandise in any other vessels, nor receive them into their own, nor to wait for their being loaded longer than they please.

Art. 6. That the vessels of either party, loading within the ports of jurisdiction of the other, may not be uselessly harrassed, or detained, it is agreed, that all examinations of goods, required by the laws, shall be made before they are laden on board the vessel, and that there shall be no examination after; nor shall the vessel be searched, at any time, unless articles shall have been laden therein clandestinely and illegally; in which case the person by whose order they were carried on board, or who carried them without order, shall be liable to the laws of the land in which he is; but no other person shall be molested, nor shall any other goods, nor the ves-

sel, be seized or detained for that cause.

Art. 7. Each party shall endeavour, by all the means in their power, to protect and defend all vessels and other effects belonging to the citizens or subjects of the other, which shall be within the extent of their jurisdiction by sea or by land; and shall use all their efforts to recover, and cause to be restored to the right owners, their vessels and their effects, which shall be taken from them within the extent of their said jurisdiction.

Art. 8. The vessels of the subjects or citizens of either party, coming on any coast belonging to the other, but not willing to enter into port, or who entering into port are not willing to unload their cargoes or break bulk, shall have liberty to depart, and to pursue their voyage, without molestation, and without being obliged to render any account of their cargo, or to pay any duties, charges or fees whatsoever, except those established for vessels entered into port, and appropriated to the maintenance of the port itself, or of other establishments for the safety and convenience of navigators; which duties, charges, and fees shall be the same, and shall be paid on the same footing, as in the case of subjects or citizens of the country where they are established.

Art. 9. When any vessel of either party shall be wrecked, foundered, or otherwise damaged on the coasts or within the dominions of the other, their respective citizens or subjects shall receive, as well for themselves as for their vessels and effects, the same assistance which would be due to the inhabitants of the country where the damage happens.

pent, and shall pay the same charges and dues only as the said inhabitants would be subject to pay in a like case; and if the operations of repair shall require that the whole or any part of the cargo be unloaded, they shall pay no duties, charges, or fees upon the part which they shall reload and carry away.

—The ancient and barbarous right to wrecks of the sea shall be entirely abolished with respect to the subjects or citizens of the two contracting parties.

Art. 10. The citizens or subjects of each party shall have power to dispose of their personal goods within the jurisdiction of the other, by testament, donation, or otherwise; and their representatives, being subjects or citizens of the other party, shall succeed to their said personal goods, whether by testament or *ab intestato*, and may take possession thereof, either by themselves or by others acting for them, and dispose of the same at their will, paying such dues only as the inhabitants of the country wherein the said goods are, shall be subject to pay in like cases. And in case of the absence of the representative, such care shall be taken of the said goods as would be taken of the goods of a native in like case, until the lawful owner may take measures for receiving them. And if question should arise among several claimants, to which of them the said goods belong, the same shall be decided finally by the laws and judges of the land wherein the said goods are. And where, on the death of any person, holding real estate within the territories of the one party, such real estate would, by the laws of the land, descend on a citizen or subject of the other, were he not disqualified by alienage,

such subject shall be allowed a reasonable time to sell the same, and to withdraw the proceeds, without molestation, and exempt from all rights of detraction on the part of the governments of the respective states. But this article shall not derogate in any manner from the force of the laws already published, or hereafter to be published by his majesty the king of Prussia, to prevent the emigration of his subjects.

Art. 11. The most perfect freedom of conscience and of worship is granted to the citizens or subjects of either party, within the jurisdiction of the other, and no person shall be molested in that respect, for any cause other than an insult on the religion of others. Moreover, when the subjects or citizens of the one party shall die within the jurisdiction of the other, their bodies shall be buried in the usual burying grounds, or other decent and suitable places, and shall be protected from violation or disturbance.

Art. 12. Experience having proved, that the principle adopted in the twelfth article of the treaty of 1785, according to which free ships make free goods, has not been sufficiently respected during the two last wars, and especially in that which still continues, the two contracting parties propose, after the return of a general peace, to agree either separately between themselves, or jointly with other powers alike interested, to concert with the great maritime powers of Europe, such arrangements and such permanent principles as may serve to consolidate the liberty and the safety of the neutral navigation and commerce in future wars. And if, in the interval, either of the contracting parties should be engaged in a war,

war, in which the other should remain neutral, the ships of war and privateers of the belligerent power shall conduct themselves towards the merchant-vessels of the neutral power, as favourably as the course of the war then existing may permit, observing the principles and rules of the law of nations, generally acknowledged.

Art. 13. And in the same case of one of the contracting parties being engaged in war with any other power, to prevent all the difficulties and misunderstandings that usually arise respecting merchandize of contraband, such as arms, ammunition, and military stores of every kind, no such articles carried in the vessels, or by the subjects or citizens of either party, to the enemies of the other, shall be deemed contraband, so as to induce confiscation or condemnation, and a loss of property to individuals. Nevertheless, it shall be lawful to stop such vessels and articles, and to detain them for such length of time as the captors may think necessary to prevent the inconvenience or damage that might ensue from their proceeding, paying, however, a reasonable compensation for the loss, such arrest shall occasion to the proprietors; and it shall farther be allowed to use in the service of the captors the whole or any part of the military-stores so detained, paying the owners the full value of the same, to be ascertained by the current price at the place of its destination. But in a case supposed of a vessel stopped for articles of contraband, if the master of the vessel stopped will deliver out the goods supposed to be of contraband nature, he shall be admitted to do it,

and the vessel shall not, in that case, be carried into any port, nor farther detained, but shall be allowed to proceed on her voyage.

All cannons, mortars, fire-arms, pistols, bombs, grenades, bullets, balls, muskets, flints, matches, powder, saltpetre, sulphur, cuirasses, pikes, swords, belts, cartouch-boxes, saddles and bridles, beyond the quantity necessary for the use of the ship, or beyond that which every man serving on board the vessel, or passenger, ought to have; and in general whatever is comprised under the denomination of arms and military stores of what description soever, shall be deemed objects of contraband.

Art. 14. To ensure to the vessels of the two contracting parties, the advantage of being readily and certainly known in time of war, it is agreed, that they shall be provided with the sea-letters and documents hereafter specified:

1st. A passport, expressing the name, the property, and the burden of the vessel, as also the name and dwelling of the master; which passport shall be made out in good and due form, shall be renewed as often as the vessel shall return into port, and shall be exhibited whenever required, as well in the open sea as in port. But if the vessel be under convoy of one or more vessels of war, belonging to the neutral party, the simple declaration of the officer commanding the convoy, that the said vessel belongs to the party of which he is, shall be considered as establishing the fact, and shall relieve both parties from the trouble of farther examination.

2d. A charter-party, that is to say, the contract passed for the freight



freight of the whole vessel, or the bills of lading given for the cargo in detail.

3d. The list of the ship's company, containing an indication by name, and in detail, of the persons composing the crew of the vessel. These documents shall always be authenticated according to the forms established at the place from which the vessel shall have sailed.

As their production ought to be exacted only when one of the contracting parties shall be at war, and as their exhibition ought to have no other object than to prove the neutrality of the vessel, its cargo, and company, they shall not be deemed absolutely necessary on board such vessels, belonging to the neutral party, as shall have sailed from its ports before or within three months after the government shall have been informed of the state of war, in which the belligerent party shall be engaged. In the interval, in default of these specific documents, the neutrality of the vessel may be established by such other evidence as the tribunals authorised to judge of the case may deem sufficient.

Art. 15. And to prevent entirely all disorder and violence in such cases, it is stipulated, that when the vessels of the neutral party, sailing without convoy, shall be met by any vessel of war, public or private, of the other party, such vessel of war shall not send more than two or three men in their boat on board the said neutral vessel, to examine her passport and documents. And all persons belonging to any vessel of war, public or private, who shall molest or insult, in any manner whatever, the people, vessels, or effects of the other party, shall be responsible in their persons and property

for damages and interest, sufficient security for which shall be given by all commanders of private armed vessels before they are commissioned.

Art. 16. In times of war, or in cases of urgent necessity, when either of the contracting parties shall be obliged to lay a general embargo, either in all its ports or in certain particular places, the vessels of the other party shall be subject to this measure, upon the same footing as those of the most favoured nations, but without having the right to claim the exemptions in their favour, stipulated in the 16th article of the former treaty of 1785. But on the other hand, the proprietors of the vessels which shall have been detained, whether for some military expedition, or for what other use soever, shall obtain from the government that shall have employed them, an equitable indemnity, as well for the freight as for the loss occasioned by the delay. And furthermore, in all cases of seizure, detention, or arrest, for debts contracted or offences committed by any citizen or subject of the one party, within the jurisdiction of the other, the same shall be made and prosecuted by order and authority of that only, and according to the regular course of proceedings used in such cases.

Art. 17. If any vessel or effects of the neutral power be taken by an enemy of the other, or by a pirate, and retaken by the power at war, they shall be restored to the first proprietor upon the conditions hereafter stipulated in the 21st article for cases of recapture.

Art. 18. If the citizens or subjects of either party in danger from tempests, pirates, enemies, or other accident, shall take refuge with their vessel,

vessels or effects within the harbours or jurisdiction of the other, they shall be received, protected, and treated with humanity and kindness, and shall be permitted to furnish themselves, at a reasonable price, with all refreshments, provisions, and other things necessary for their sustenance, health, and accommodation, and for the repair of their vessels.

Art. 19. The vessels of war, public and private, of both parties, shall carry freely, wheresoever they please, the vessels and effects taken from their enemies, without being obliged to pay any duties, charges, or fees to officers of admiralty, of the customs, or any others; nor shall such prizes be arrested, searched, or put under any legal process, when they come to and enter the ports of the other party, but may freely be carried out again at any time by their captors to the places expressed in their commissions, which the commanding officer of such vessel shall be obliged to show. But conformably to the treaties existing between the United States and Great Britain, no vessel that shall have made a prize upon British subjects, shall have a right to shelter in the ports of the United States; but if forced therein by tempests, or any other danger, or accident of the sea, they shall be obliged to depart as soon as possible.

Art. 20. No citizen or subject of either of the contracting parties shall take from any power with which the other may be at war, any commission or letter of marque for arming any vessel to act as a privateer against the other, on pain of being punished as a pirate: nor shall either party hire, send, or give any part of its naval or military

force to the enemy of the other to aid them offensively or defensively against the other.

Art. 21. If the two contracting parties should be engaged in a war against a common enemy, the following points shall be observed between them:

1st. If a vessel of one of the parties, taken by the enemy, shall, before being carried into a neutral or enemy's port, be taken by a ship of war or privateer of the other, it shall, with the cargo, be restored to the first owners, for a compensation of one-eighth part of the value of the said vessel and cargo, if the recapture be made by a public ship of war, and one-sixth part, if made by a privateer.

2d. The restitution in such cases shall be after due proof of property, and surety given for the part to which the recaptors are entitled.

3d. The vessels of war, public and private, of the two parties, shall reciprocally be admitted with their prizes into the respective ports of each; but the said prizes shall not be discharged or sold there, until their legality shall have been decided according to the laws and regulations of the state to which the captors belongs, but by the judicatories of the place into which the prize shall have been conducted.

4th. It shall be free to each party to make such regulations as they shall judge necessary for the conduct of their respective vessels of war, public and private, relative to the vessels which they shall take, and carry into the ports of the two parties.

Art. 22. When the contracting parties shall have a common enemy, or shall both be neutral, the vessels of war of each shall upon all occasions

sions take under their protection the vessels of the other going the same course, and shall defend such vessels as long as they hold the same course, against all force and violence, in the same manner as they ought to protect and defend vessels belonging to the party of which they are.

Art. 23. If war should arise between the two contracting parties, the merchants of either country, then residing in the other, shall be allowed to remain nine months to collect their debts and settle their affairs, and may depart freely, carrying off all their effects without molestation or hindrance; and all women and children, scholars of every faculty, cultivators of the earth, artisans, manufacturers, and fishermen, unarmed and inhabiting unfortified towns, villages, or places, and in general all others, whose occupations are for the common subsistence and benefit of mankind, shall be allowed to continue their respective employments, and shall not be molested in their persons, nor shall their houses or goods be burnt, or otherwise destroyed, nor their fields wasted by the armed force of the enemy, into whose power, by the events of war, they may happen to fall; but if any thing is necessary to be taken from them for the use of such armed force, the same shall be paid for at a reasonable price.

Art. 24. And to prevent the destruction of prisoners of war, by sending them into distant and inclement countries, or by crowding them into close and noxious places, the two contracting parties solemnly pledge themselves to the world and to each other, that they will not adopt any such practice; that nei-

ther will send the prisoners whom they may take from the other, into the East Indies, or any other part of Asia or Africa, but they shall be placed in some part of their dominions in Europe or America, in wholesome situations; that they shall not be confined in dungeons, prison-ships, nor prisons, nor be put in irons, nor bound, nor otherwise restrained in the use of their limbs; that the officers shall be enlarged on their paroles within convenient districts, and have comfortable quarters, and the common men be disposed in cantonments open and extensive enough for air and exercise, and lodged in barracks as roomy and good as are provided by the party in whose power they are, for their own troops: that the officers shall also be daily furnished by the party in whose power they are with as many rations, and of the same articles and quality as are allowed by them, either in kind, or by commutation, to officers of equal rank in their own army; and all others shall be daily furnished by them with such ration as they shall allow to a common soldier in their own service; the value whereof shall be paid by the other party on a mutual adjustment of accounts for the subsistence of prisoners at the close of the war; and the said accounts shall not be mingled with or set off against any others, nor the balances due on them be withheld as a satisfaction or reprisal for any other article, or for any other cause real or pretended whatever. That each party shall be allowed to keep a commissary of prisoners of their own appointment, with every separate cantonment of prisoners in possession of the other; which commissary

military shall see the prisoners as often as he pleases; shall be allowed to receive and distribute whatever comforts may be lent to them by their friends; and shall be free to make his reports in open letters to those who employ him; but if any officer shall break his parole, or any other prisoner shall escape from the limits of his cantonment, after they have been designated to him, such individual officer or other prisoner shall forfeit so much of the benefit of this article as provides for his enlargement on parole or cantonment.

And it is declared, that neither the pretence that war dissolves all treaties, nor any other whatever, shall be considered as annulling or suspending this and the next preceding article; but on the contrary, that the state of war is precisely that for which they are provided, and during which they are to be as sacredly observed as the most acknowledged articles in the law of nature and of nations.

Art. 25. The two contracting parties have granted to each other the liberty of having each in the ports of the other, consuls, vice-consuls, agents, and commissaries of their own appointment, who shall enjoy the same privileges and powers as those of the most favoured nations. But if any such consuls shall exercise commerce, they shall be submitted to the same laws and usages to which the private individuals of their nation are submitted in the same place.

Art. 26. If either party shall hereafter grant to any other nation any particular favour in navigation or commerce, it shall immediately become common to the other party, freely, where it is freely granted to

such other nation, or on yielding the same compensation when the grant is conditional.

Art. 27. His majesty the king of Prussia and the United States of America agree, that this treaty shall be in force during the term of ten years from the exchange of the ratifications; and if the expiration of that term should happen during the course of a war between them, then the articles before provided for the regulation of their conduct during such war, shall continue in force until the conclusion of the treaty which shall restore peace.

This treaty shall be ratified on both sides, and the ratification exchanged within one year from the day of its signature, or sooner if possible.

In testimony whereof the plenipotentiaries, before mentioned, have hereto subscribed their names and affixed their seals.

Done at Berlin, July 11, 1799.

(L. S.) Charles Guillaume comte de Finckenstein.

(L. S.) Philippe Charles d'Alvensleben.

(L. S.) Chretien Henri Carle comte d'Haugwitz.

(L. S.) John Quincy Adams.

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*Speech of the President of the United States of America, on the Meeting of both Houses of Congress, in the Senate Chamber, at Washington, on the 22d of November.*

Gentlemen of the senate, and gentlemen of the house of representatives.

**I**MMEDIATELY after the adjournment of congress, at their last session in Philadelphia, I gave directions, in compliance with the laws,

laws, for the removal of the public offices, records, and property. These directions have been executed, and the public officers have since resided and conducted the ordinary business of the government in this place.

I congratulate the people of the United States on the assembling of congress at the permanent seat of their government, and I congratulate you, gentlemen, on the prospect of a residence not to be changed. Although there is cause to apprehend that accommodations are not now so complete as might be wished, yet there is great reason to believe that this inconvenience will cease with the present session.

It would be unbecoming the representatives of the nation to assemble, for the first time in this solemn temple, without looking up to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, and imploring his blessing. May this territory be the residence of virtue and happiness! In this city may that piety and virtue, that wisdom and magnanimity, that constancy and self-government, which adorned the great character whose name it bears, be for ever held in veneration! Here, and throughout our country, may simple manners, pure morals, and true religion, flourish for ever!

It is with you, gentleman, to consider whether the local powers over the district of Columbia, vested by the constitution in the congress of the United States, shall be immediately exercised. If, in your opinion, this important trust ought now to be executed, you cannot fail, while performing it, to take into view the future probable situation of the territory, for the happiness of which you are about to

provide. You will consider it as the capital of a great nation, advancing with unexampled rapidity in arts, in commerce, in wealth, and in population; and possessing within itself those energies and resources, which, if not thrown away, or lamentably mis-directed, secure to it a long course of prosperity and self-government.

In compliance with a law of the last session of congress, the officers and soldiers of the temporary army have been discharged. It affords real pleasure to recollect the honourable testimony they gave of the patriotic motives which brought them into the service of their country, by the readiness and regularity with which they returned to the station of private citizens.

It is in every point of view, of such primary importance to carry the laws into prompt and faithful execution, and to render that part of the administration of justice, which the constitution and laws devolve on the federal courts, as convenient to the people as may consist with their present circumstances, that I cannot omit once more to recommend to your serious consideration the judiciary system of the United States. No subject is more interesting than this to the public happiness, and to none can those improvements, which may have been suggested by experience, be more beneficially applied.

A treaty of amity and commerce with the king of Prussia has been concluded and ratified. The ratifications have been exchanged, and I have directed the treaty to be promulgated by proclamation.

The difficulties which suspended the execution of the sixth article of our treaty of amity, commerce, and navi-

navigation with Great Britain, have not yet been removed. The negotiation on this subject is still depending. As it must be for the interest and honour of both nations to adjust this difference with good faith, I indulge confidently the expectation, that the sincere endeavours of the government of the United States to bring it to an amicable termination, will not be disappointed.

The envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary from the United States to France were received by the first consul with the respect due to their character, and three persons with equal powers were appointed to treat with them. Although at the date of the last official intelligence the negotiation had not terminated, yet it is to be hoped, that our efforts to effect an accommodation will at length meet with a success proportioned to the sincerity with which they have been so often repeated.

While our best endeavours for the preservation of harmony with all nations will continue to be used, the experience of the world—our own experience—admonish us of the insecurity of trusting too confidently to their success. We cannot, without committing a dangerous imprudence, abandon those measures of self-protection, which are adapted to our situation, and to which, notwithstanding our pacific policy, the violence and injustice of others may again compel us to resort. While our vast extent of sea-coast, the commercial and agricultural habits of our people, the great capital they will continue to trust on the ocean, suggest the system of defence which will be most beneficial to ourselves—our distance from

Europe, and our resources for maritime strength, will enable us to employ it with effect. Seasonable and systematic arrangements, so far as our resources will justify, for a navy adapted to defensive war, and which may, in case of necessity, be quickly brought into use, seem to be as much recommended by a wise and true economy, as by a just regard for our future tranquillity, for the safety of our shores, and for the protection of our property committed to the ocean. The present navy of the United States, called suddenly into existence by a great national exigency, has raised us in our esteem, and, by the protection afforded to our commerce, has effected, to the extent of our expectations, the object for which it was created.

In connection with a navy ought to be contemplated the fortification of some of our principal sea-ports and harbours. A variety of considerations, which will readily suggest themselves, urge an attention to this measure of precaution. To give security to our principal ports, considerable sums have already been expended, but the works remain incomplete. It is for congress to determine whether additional appropriations shall be made, in order to render competent to the intended purposes the fortifications which have been commenced.

The manufacture of arms within the United States still invites the attention of the national legislature. At a considerable expense to the public, this manufactory has been brought to such a state of maturity, as, with continued encouragement, will supersede the necessity of future importations from foreign countries.

Gentlemen



Gentlemen of the house of representatives,

I shall direct the estimates of the appropriations necessary for the ensuing year, together with an account of the public revenue and expenditure, to a late period, to be laid before you. I observe with much satisfaction, that the product of the revenue, during the present year, has been more considerable than during any former equal period. This result affords conclusive evidence of the great resources of this country, and of the wisdom and efficiency of the measures which have been adopted by congress, for the protection of commerce and preservation of public credit.

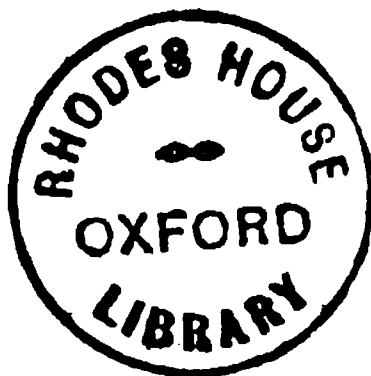
Gentlemen of the senate, and gentlemen of the house of representatives,

As one of the grand community of nations, our attention is irresistibly drawn to the important scenes which surround us. If they have exhibited an uncommon portion of calamity, it is the province of hu-

manity to deplore, and of wisdom to avoid the causes which may have produced it. If, turning our eyes homeward, we find reason to rejoice at the prospect which presents itself; if we perceive the interior of our country prosperous, free, and happy; if all enjoy in safety, under the protection of laws emanating only from the general will, the fruits of their own labour, we ought to fortify and cling to those institutions, which have been the source of such real felicity, and resist, with unabated perseverance, the progress of those dangerous innovations, which may diminish their influence.

To your patriotism, gentlemen, has been confided the honourable duty of guarding the public interests; and while the past is to your country a sure pledge that it will be faithfully discharged, permit me to assure you that your labours to promote the general happiness will receive from me the most zealous co-operation.

(Signed) John Adams.



## CHARACTERS.

*Particulars relating to the Inhabitants of the Kingdom of Birman; from Major Symes's Account of his Embassy to Ava.*

**T**HE court-dress of the Birman nobility is very becoming; it consists of a long robe, either of flowered satin or velvet, reaching to the ankles, with an open collar and loose sleeves; over this there is a scarf, or flowing mantle, that hangs from the shoulders, and on their heads they wear high caps made of velvet, either plain, or of silk embroidered with flowers of gold, according to the rank of the wearer. Ear-rings are a part of male dress; persons of condition use tubes of gold about three inches long and as thick as a large quill, which expands at one end like the mouth of a speaking trumpet.

The Birmans in their features bear a nearer resemblance to the Chinese than the natives of Hindustan. The women, especially in the northern part of the empire, are fairer than the Hindu females, but not so delicately formed; they are, however, well made, and in general inclined to corpulence: their hair is black, coarse, and long.—The men are not tall in stature, but active and athletic; they have a very youthful appearance, from the custom of plucking their beards

Instead of using the razor: they tattoo their thighs and arms into various fantastic shapes and figures, which they believe operate as a charm against the weapons of their enemies. Neither the men nor women are so cleanly in their persons as the Hindus of India, among whom diurnal ablution is a religious as well as a moral duty. Marriages among the Birmans are not contracted till the age of puberty; the contract is purely civil; and the law prohibits polygamy though concubinage be admitted. They burn their dead on a funeral pile six or eight feet high, made of billets of dried wood, laid across, with intervals to admit a circulation of air, and increase the flame. The priests walk round the pile, reciting prayers to Gautama until the fire reaches the body, when the whole is quickly reduced to ashes: the bones are afterwards gathered and deposited in a grave. Persons of high distinction are embalmed, and their remains preserved six weeks or two months after their decease, before they are committed to the funeral pile.

Of the population of the Birman dominions, I could only form a conclusion, from the information I received of the number of cities, towns, and villages in the empire; these, I was assured by a person who might be supposed to know,

and

and had no motive to deceive me, amount to 8000, not including the recent addition of Aracan. If this be true, which I have no reason to doubt, and we suppose each town on an average, to contain 300 houses, and each house six persons, the result will determine the population at fourteen millions, four hundred thousand. Few of the inhabitants live in solitary habitations; they mostly form themselves into small societies, and their dwellings thus collected compose their ruas, or villages; if, therefore, we reckon their numbers, including Aracan, at seventeen millions, the calculation may not be widely erroneous; I believe it rather falls short of than exceeds the truth.

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*Ceremonial of the Presentation of the English Ambassador to the King of Birman; from the same.*

ON approaching the gate, the greater part of our attendants were stopped, and not permitted to follow us; and we were desired to put off our shoes, with which we immediately complied. The area we now entered was spacious, and contained the lotu or grand hall of consultation and of audience; where the wangis meet in council, and where affairs of state are discussed and determined. Within this inclosure there is an inner court, separated by a brick wall, which comprehends the palace, and all the buildings annexed to the royal residence. Within the gate a troop of tumblers were performing their feats, while dancing girls were exhibiting their graces in the open air, and on the bare ground, to the sound of no very harmonious music.

We were next ushered up a flight of stairs into a very noble saloon, or open hall, called the lotu, where the court was assembled in all the pomp that Birman grandeur could display. On entering this hall, a stranger cannot fail to be surprised at the magnificence of its appearance; it is supported by seventy-seven pillars, disposed in eleven rows, each consisting of seven. The space between the pillars I judge to be about twelve feet, except the centre row, which was probably two feet wider. The roof of the building is composed of distinct stages, the highest in the centre. The row of pillars that supported the middle, or most lofty roof, we judged to be thirty-five or forty feet in height; the others gradually diminish as they approach the extremities of the building, and those which sustain the balcony are not more than twelve or fourteen feet. At the farther part of the hall, there is a high gilded lattice, extending quite across the building, and in the centre of the lattice is a gilded door, which, when opened, displays the throne; this door is elevated five or six feet from the floor, so that the throne must be ascended by means of steps at the back, which are not visible, nor is the seat of the throne to be seen, except when the king comes in person to the lotu. At the bottom of the lattice there is a gilt balustrade, three or four feet high, in which the umbrellas and several other insignia of state were deposited. The royal colour is white, and the umbrellas were made of silk of that colour, richly bespangled with gold. Within this magnificent saloon were seated, on their inverted legs, (the posture of respect) all the princes and

and principal nobility of the Birman empire, each person in the place appropriated to his particular rank and station: proximity to the throne is, of course, the most honourable station, and this station was occupied by the princes of the blood and great officers of state. The heir apparent sat on a small stool, about six inches high; the other princes on fine mats. The space between the central pillars that front the throne, is always left vacant, for this curious reason, that his majesty's eyes may not be obliged to behold those, whom he does not mean to honour with a look.

In a few minutes, eight Brahmans dressed in white sacerdotal gowns and silk caps of the same colour, studded with gold, assembled round the foot of the throne, within the balustrade, and recited a long prayer in not unpleasing recitative; this ceremony lasted a quarter of an hour. When they had withdrawn, the letter from the governor-general, which I delivered to the wundoc, was placed on a silver tray in front of the railing, and the reader advanced into the vacant space, and made three prostrations, touching the ground each time with his forehead; he then read, or rather chanted, in a loud voice, what I understood was a Birman translation of the letter. When this was done, the reader repeated his prostrations, and next proclaimed a list of presents for the king. These several readings being finished, he repeated his obeisances and retired; after an interval of a few minutes, an officer advanced, and proposed a question to me, as if from his majesty; on receiving my answer he withdrew, as it might be supposed, to communicate the reply; and returned in

an adequate time to ask another: thus he put three separate questions to me, which were as follows: You come from a distant country; how long is it since you arrived? How were the king, queen, and royal family of England, when the last accounts came from thence? Was England at peace or war with other nations? and was your country in a state of disturbance?

These were all the questions that were proposed, neither the Chinese nor any other person being interrogated. In a few minutes after my last reply had been conveyed, a very handsome desert was brought in, and set before us; it consisted of a variety of sweetmeats, as well of China as Birman; pickled tea-leaf, and beetle, formed part of the entertainment, which was served up in silver, china, and glass-ware; there appeared to be not less than a hundred different small dishes; we tasted of a few, and found some of them very palatable; but none of the courtiers partook, or moved from their places.

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*The English Ambassador's Audience of Leave; from the same.*

WE had been seated little more than a quarter of an hour, when the folding doors that concealed the throne opened with a loud noise, and discovered his majesty ascending a flight of steps, that led up to it from an inner apartment; he advanced but slowly, and seemed not to possess a free use of his limbs, being obliged to support himself with his hands on the balustrade. I was informed, however, that this appearance of weakness did not proceed from any bodily

dily infirmity, but from the weight of the regal habiliments in which he was clad; and if what we were told was true, that he carried on his dress upwards of fifty pounds avoirdupois of gold, his difficulty of ascent was not surprising. On reaching the top he stood for a minute, as though to take breath, and then sat down on an embroidered cushion with his legs inverted. His crown was a high conical cap, richly studded with precious stones; his fingers were covered with rings, and in his dress he bore the appearance of a man cased in golden armour, whilst a gilded, or probably a golden wing on each shoulder, did not add much lightness to his figure. His looks denoted him to be between 50 and 60 years old, of a strong make, in stature rather beneath the middle height, with hard features and of a dark complexion; yet the expression of his countenance was not unpleasing, and seemed, I thought, to indicate an intelligent and inquiring mind.

On the first appearance of his majesty, all the courtiers bent their bodies, and held their hands joined in an attitude of supplication. Nothing farther was required of us, than to lean a little forward, and to turn in our legs as much as we could; not any act being so unpolite, or contrary to etiquette, as to present the soles of the feet towards the face of a dignified person. Four persons, dressed in white caps and gowns, chanted the usual prayer at the foot of the throne: an officer then advanced into the vacant space before the king, and recited in a musical cadence, the name of each person who was to be introduced on that day, and the present of

which, in the character of a suppliant, he entreated his majesty's acceptance. My offering consisted of two pieces of Benares gold brocade; Dr. Buchanan and Mr. Wood each presented one. When our names were mentioned, we were separately desired to take a few grains of rice in our hands, and joining them, to bow to the king as low as we conveniently could, with which we immediately complied. When this ceremony was finished, the king uttered a few indistinct words, to convey, as I was informed, an order for investing some persons present, with the insignia of a certain degree of nobility: the imperial mandate was instantly proclaimed aloud by heralds in the court. His majesty remained only a few minutes longer, and during that time he looked at us attentively, but did not honour us with any verbal notice, or speak at all, except to give the order abovementioned. When he rose to depart, he manifested the same signs of infirmity as on his entrance: after he had withdrawn, the folding doors were closed, and the court broke up.

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*Elevation of the House of Hapsburg, in the Person of Rudolph. From Planta's History of the Helvetic Confederacy.*

**R**UDOLPH had now reached his twenty-second year, when his father Albert, who was odious to the Swiss, on account of his rigour in the office of imperial commissary, died on a distant pilgrimage. Albert's share of the estates of Hapsburg devolved to Rudolph; but a great part of the hereditary domains of his house was in the hands

hands of his paternal uncle, \* who, with his five sons, lived at Lauffenburg, on the Rhine. The property Rudolph inherited was moderate: his lands were all in sight of the great hall in his castle. Some advocacies extended his influence to more distant parts; but the power annexed to the title of landgrave of Alsace, to which he succeeded, was, by the refractory spirit of the times, rendered almost nugatory. In the eager pursuit of his ambitious views, he despised the tardy means of prudence, and suffered the vehemence of his temper to betray him into indiscretions, which, in men less audacious, would have led to ruin. Before the age of forty he had already incurred the odium of his whole family, been disinherited by his maternal uncle, the count of Kyburg, and twice excommunicated by the church. His first contest was with his uncle of Lauffenburg, whom he taxed with having made an unfair partition of the family estates: but the helpless debility of the old count was so effectually protected by his son Godfried, that Rudolph soon beheld from his castle, the flames which consumed his principal town of Bruck; and was compelled to acquiesce in the grant the old count made of the castle of new Hapsburgh on the lake of Lucern, to the nunnery at Zurich. He next gave offence to his uncle Hartman, who had no issue; and extorted from him a large sum, as a compensation for his claim upon the estates of

Kyburg: Hartman complied, that he might transfer the bulk of his property to the see of Strasburg; and in order to preclude all farther importunities from this intrusive nephew, he made his grant irrevocable. In a contest with the bishop of Basle, Rudolph approached with his forces, and burnt the convent of the penitent sisters in one of the suburbs of that city; for which sacrilegious deed he, and all his adherents, were put under a severe interdict. He then (perhaps as an atonement to the church) engaged with Ottocarus king of Bohemia, in the crusade against the infidels of Prussia, who were contending with the Teutonic knights for the gods, and the freedom of their ancestors. His fortunes, which his rashness more frequently obstructed than promoted, took a more favourable turn, as soon as adversity had tempered the impetuosity of his unruly passions.

His mother Hedwig lived to see him reconciled to her family, and to witness an alliance contracted between Hapsburg and Kyburg. Godfried of Lauffenburg† also became his friend. The days of the old count of Kyburg drawing near to a conclusion, Rudolph sought, both by persuasion and kind offices, to induce the bishop of Strasburg to relinquish the hasty grant of Hartman. In this however he failed; and thenceforth he espoused the cause of the citizens of Strasburg against their bishop, and seized on the towns of Colmar and Mulhan-

\* Likewise called Rudolph, who died in 1249.

† The son of this Godfried, who bore the same name as his father, is reported to have fled to England from the persecutions of his cousin Rudolph (in 1310), and under the name of Fielding, to have been the founder of the illustrious line of the earls of Denbigh. See Dugdale's English Baronage, t. ii. p. 440.



ten. He allowed no repose to this right reverend prelate during his life; and, after his death, intimidated his successor Henry to such a degree, that he gladly consented to surrender the grant.

Hartman the elder, of Kyburg, soon after this, sent a pressing message to Rudolph, to solicit his aid against the burghers of Winterthur, who, in a sudden insurrection, had attacked and nearly demolished his tower near their walls. Rudolph was hastening to his assistance, when news were brought him that Hartman, the last count of Kyburg and landgrave of Thurgau, had closed his illustrious line. All the nobles of the county of Kyburg,\* and from Baden, Thurgau, and the Gaster, who owed allegiance to this house; the magistrates of the several towns and cities, and the heads of the many convents that had been founded or patronized either by his ancestors or by himself, met hereupon at a general assembly; and count Hartman was entombed with his shield and helmet. Rudolph received the homage of the assembly, and pardoned the insult offered by the burghers of Winterthur. The house of Hapsburg had on no former occasion received so great an accession of power and dominions; but Rudolph, while he was listening to the congratulations of his friends and subjects, was little aware what far greater honours were yet reserved for him by his auspicious destiny.

Rudolph was high in stature, and of a graceful figure and deportment; he was bald, his complec-

tion pale, his nose, aquiline; his mien was grave, but so engaging as to command the confidence of all those who approached him. Both at the time when, with scanty means, he performed eminent achievements, and when, in his exalted station, a multitude of public concerns claimed incessant attention, he preserved a gay and tranquil mind, and a disposition to facetious mirth. His manners were simple and unassuming: his diet was plain; and he was still more temperate in the use of spirituous liquors. He once in the field appeased his hunger with raw turnips: he usually wore a plain blue coat; and his soldiers had often seen him darn his doublet with the same hand that grasped his conquering sword in fourteen battles. It is recorded, that he ever preserved his conjugal fidelity to his consort Gertrude, who bore him ten children. He enjoyed pleasures without being subservient to them; and hence did he never want either time for labour or relaxation, or in old age, health and vigour for powerful exertions.

Rudolph, in all his wars, treated the prelates, who were less tenacious of their spiritual dignity than of their temporal concerns, not as preachers of the gospel of peace, but in a manner conformable to the law of arms: on the other hand, he is reported to have shewn great deference to the clergy, and a zealous devotion to the sacred rites. One day while hunting, he met, near an overflowing brook, a parish priest, who was bearing the host to a dying patient: he compelled him to mount his horse; and expressed

\* This county appears in 1292, to have contained forty-four parishes, and above one hundred castles.

with fervour his lowly veneration for the supreme Being, to whom he owed all his many blessings, and the great prosperity he enjoyed. His piety was highly extolled at Zurich when, at a solemn festival, he exhibited to the assembled multitude many relics of the crucifixion. The new Augustin hermits whom he established in this city, and many other religious orders on whom he conferred ample donatives, spread the fame of his godliness throughout the land.

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*Account of the Emperor Rudolph's Death. From the same.*

**I**N the eighteenth year after 'the grace of God,' as he described his exaltation, 'had raised him from the huts of his ancestors to an imperial throne.' in the seventy-fourth year of his age, was Rudolph first attacked with symptoms of a dangerous malady. He was hastening to Spire to repose, as he intimated, amidst the tombs of many preceding kings and emperors, when his fate met him at Gemersheim on the Rhine, a town of his own foundation. His hereditary dominions had been enlarged by the acquisition of Kyburg, Lensburg, Baden, Zoffingen, and several advocacies: but his greatest accessions he owed to his victories over Ottocarus king of Bohemia, margrave of Moravia, and duke of Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, and Carniola, who had opposed his election to the empire. Five years after he had reduced that power,\* the king, adorned with all the pomp of royalty, and surrounded by all the princes, whose

concurrence was indispensable in all new regulations in the empire, seated himself on his throne in the palace at Augsburg, and declared, 'that in order to enable his sons, Albert and Rudolph, to display the full extent of their inviolable loyalty and zeal for the glory of the empire, he had resolved to raise them to an eminent rank in the college of princes.' Hereupon, in the plenitude of his power, and with the consent of the electors, he invested them, by the delivery of banners, with the dukedoms of Austria, Stiria, the Windismark, and Carniola: he soon after granted them also the margraviate of Burgau. To such eminence rose a single count, of a race whose very name had scarce reached the contiguous countries. By the enlargement of his bounds to the farthest confines of Alsace and Austria, he in a manner hemmed in all Upper Germany, and kept in awe the French king, and many of the Slavian princes. His house, by his address and wisdom, rose to a power which gradually subdued nations and countries, the very existence of which was then unknown. No race has so often endangered the freedom of Europe: and its splendid career has never met with any check, but what it derived from its own neglect of that moderation, which had ever been the great art of Rudolph.

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*Parallel between the Literary Characters of Fontenelle and La Motte; from Dr. Aikin's Translation of D'Alembert's Eulogies.*

\* December 22, 1282.

AGREEMENT

**A**GREEMENT in temper, in cast of genius, and in principles, had formed that solid union between our two academicians which does so much honour to their memory. Perhaps it may be interesting to examine in what these two writers, so similar in various respects, differed in others. Both of them, replenished with judgment, knowledge, and good sense, constantly display a superiority to prejudices, as well philosophical as literary; both attack them with that modest timidity under which the wise man will always shield himself when combating received opinions; a timidity which their enemies termed hypocritical gentleness, because hatred gives to prudence the name of cunning, and to art that of falsehood. Both of them have carried too far their decided, though apparently moderate, revolt from the gods and laws of Parnassus; but La Motte's free opinions seem more closely connected with his personal interest in supporting them; and Fontenelle's, with the general interest he took in the progress of reason in all departments. In the writings of both are to be found that method which is so satisfactory to correct minds, and that artful ingenuity which gives so much delight to delicate judges; but this last quality in La Motte is more developed; in Fontenelle it leaves more to be guessed by the reader. La Motte, without ever saying too much, forgets nothing that his subject offers, dexterously makes use of the whole, and seems to fear that he should lose some of his advantages by too subtle a concealment of his meaning: Fontenelle, without ever being obscure, except to those who do not deserve that an author should

be clear, gives himself at the same time the pleasure of reservation, and that of hoping to be thoroughly understood by readers worthy of understanding him. Both, too little sensible of the charms of poetry and the magic of versification, have sometimes become poets by the force of ability; but La Motte somewhat more frequently than Fontenelle, though he has often the double defect of weakness and harshness, while Fontenelle has only that of weakness: but the latter is almost always lifeless in his verses; whereas La Motte sometimes infuses soul and interest into his. Both were crowned with distinction at the lyric theatre; but Fontenelle was unfortunate on the French theatre, because he was absolutely destitute of that sensibility which is indispensable to a tragic poet, and of which nature had bestowed some sparks on La Motte.

Fontenelle and La Motte have both written in prose with great clearness, elegance, and even simplicity; but La Motte with a more natural, Fontenelle with a more studied simplicity; for this quality may be studied, and then it becomes manner, and ceases to be a model. What renders Fontenelle a mannerist in his simplicity is, that in order to present refined, or even grand ideas, under a more simple form, he sometimes falls into the dangerous path of familiarity, which contrasts with and trenches upon the delicacy or grandeur of the thought; an incongruity the more sensible, as he seems to affect it; whereas the familiarity of La Motte (for he, too, sometimes descends to it) is more sober and measured, more suited to its subject, and on a level with the things treated of.

Fontenelle was superior in extent of knowledge, with which he has had the art to adorn his writings, and which renders his philosophy the more worthy of being recollected and quoted; but la Motte has made his reader sensible that, in order to be equal in wealth and value to his friend, he only wanted, as Fontenelle himself said, "eyes and study." Both received from nature a flexibility of talent which fitted them for various kinds of writing; but they had the imprudence, or secret vanity, to try their powers in too many. Thus they weakened their reputation by attempting to extend it too far; but Fontenelle has solidly established his glory by his immortal "History of the Academy of Sciences," and especially by those interesting eulogies, full of refined and profound sense, which inspire the noblest emulation in rising genius, and will transmit to posterity the name of the author with that of the celebrated society whose worthy organ he was, and of the great men whose equal he rendered himself in becoming their panegyrist.

To conclude the parallel of these two celebrated men, it will not be useless, after having displayed them in their works or in the society of those of their own class, to paint them as they were in common society, and especially amid those two classes of it which demand the greatest caution in order to avoid giving offence—the sometimes formidable class of the great, and the always troublesome class of fools, so copiously diffused among all the others. Fontenelle and la Motte, always reserved, consequently always dignified, with the great, always on their guard before them without

showing it, never displaying more wit than was necessary to please them, without shocking their self-consequence, "save themselves," according to Montagne's expression, "from undergoing effectual tyranny from them, by their care in not making them undergo talking tyranny." Sometimes, however, in this society, as in their style, they gave way to a kind of familiarity; but with this difference, that la Motte's familiarity was more respectful and reserved; Fontenelle's more easy and free, yet always so circumspect as not to tempt any one to abuse it. Their conduct with fools was still more studied and cautious, as they too well knew that this kind of men, internally and deeply jealous of the splendor of those talents by which they are humiliated, never pardon persons of superior understanding, but in proportion to the indulgence they experience from them, and the care taken to conceal this indulgence. Fontenelle and la Motte, when in companies not made for them, never gave way to absence or disdain; they allowed the freest scope to folly of every kind, without suffering it to fear a check, or even to suspect that it was observed. But Fontenelle, never forward to talk, even among his equals, was contented with listening to those who were not worthy to hear him, and only studied to shew them a semblance of approbation, which might prevent them from taking his silence for contempt or weariness; la Motte, more complaisant, or even more philosophical, recollecting the Spanish proverb, "that there is no fool from whom a wise man may not learn something," took pains to discover, in persons the most void of parts, the favourable side, either for

for his own instruction, or the consolation of their vanity. He put them upon topics with which they were the best acquainted, and thus, without affectation, procured them the pleasure of an outward display of all the little they possessed; whence he derived the double advantage, of not being wearied in their company, and of rendering them happy beyond their hopes.— If they were satisfied with Fontenelle, they were enchanted with la Motte. May this example of philosophical charity serve as a lesson to those stern and untractable men of wit, whose intolerant pride is not satisfied without treating fools with humiliating disdain; while this unfeeling mode of teaching them what they are, still leaves them understanding enough to seek and to discover the means of revenge.

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*Anticipation of the Posthumous Character of Sir Richard Steele, written during his Life by Dr. Rundle; from Butler's Memoirs of Bishop Hildesley.*

ON the — day of — in the year —, died sir R. S. (in decency we must suppose him dead, when we sum up his actions.) It is pity there is no person of abilities left, to give his character to the world, who drew so many, so finely! In a well-written life of him might be seen an epitome of mankind; and the motto of his first Tatlers was as true of his example as of his writings.\* Surely, so many follies, and so much worth, were never blended together in any single person before. The last he resolved should be the guide of his beha-

viour, though he always followed the former.

He was a coquette to virtue; made continual advances, and seemed just yielding up himself to the comely dame who courted him, as she once did Hercules: when, on a sudden, he would flounce off, flirt back, and sink into the arms of pleasure. His soul, in his calm morning-hours, was truly great; and some design for public good, the improvement of knowledge, and the security of liberty (which he always esteemed the manhood of the mind), was formed in his thoughts, and was the delight of his meditations: and it must be owned that England is ungrateful, if she doth not confess, that the present happiness she enjoys was more guarded to her by him, than by any thousand other private men she can boast of. He had undaunted courage to oppose all mankind, for the sake of what was right; but still, his inborn imprudences generally rendered that courage feebly useful to the world; and his inability to withstand some evening's merriment ruined half his attempts.

But, notwithstanding the ridicule of such an alloy in his patriot ambition, he went on, like others, through good and ill report; and suffered himself to be laughed at and railed at, with all the indolence and insensibility of a Stoic.

No bribes of riches or greatness could have tempted him to do a base action; though the necessities into which his carelessness in the management of his fortune, and a thoughtless generosity, had thrown him, often compelled him to submit to baseness, almost as low as those

by which others raise estates, and become glorious in villainy. Yet, while he did it, he scorned and hated himself; and resolved to be rich, that he might be honest. But still, the want of money returned; and with it all the mean shifts to extricate himself from the fatigue of lying to his creditors.

Thus he went on, in a continual round of self-dislike, and doing actions which produced new self-dislike: but he had this to say for his worst conduct, that his vices were always encounters, and never meditated wickedness.

He was a pleasant companion, a generous enemy, and a zealous friend. His company was courted by every body, as more entertaining than a comedy: he never refused to forgive, and then forget, the injuries that had been done him by those, who desired they should be forgiven; and all his fortune was at the command of his friends, as well as his labour and reputation. He seemed to want gold only to give it away: his busy mind pursued project after project, in hopes to be rich; that by it he might be more eminently serviceable to his friends, and his country. He embraced every appearance that flattered this public spirited avarice, though the proposal were ever so wanton and improbable. In hopes of getting immense wealth, he ran after every whim, and so first aimed at the philosopher's stone; and when that would not do, he could condescend to be thought the author of the humble discovery of a new-fashioned hoop-petticoat: but still, it was with the sacred view of serving his country by his riches.

This briskness and quicksightedness, to find out mines of treasure

in a notion; made him inquire out great numbers of men of abilities, who were obscured by poverty; and animated them to exert their inventive talents; by high promises. When any of them had contrived a handsome scheme, he would, in the hurry of his approbation, expend his whole cash to promote it: and at last, when the project was almost ready to repay with interest his trouble and charges, the hopes would be blasted, for want of another ten pounds to complete the undertaking. Thus he rid hard, continually cursing after treasure; and, when his dog bore at the game, by a nimble unexpected turn, it always escaped from its mouth, and he returned empty: however, he comforted himself that he had brave sport, and went out again the next day, fresh and eager to the field. Thus, constantly, with high hopes and self-complacency, he renewed his project, as warm in expectation of success, as if he had met with no disappointment. He was often within a day of being the richest, and therefore the honestest man in England: but, before that ill-natured to-morrow came, he died! much lamented by all who value wit and good sense; and he must be owned to be, if not virtuous, yet a lover of virtue.

His writings will make him beloved by all, in ages to come, when his follies are forgot, or softened by time. To him we owe not only his own performances, but those of others likewise; and he was properly the man-midwife to all the children of the muses born in his own time, and was suspected very often to be their father also.

He would have been what he was, had Addison never been born: but



but Addison would have died with narrow fame, had he never had a friendship with sir R. whose compositions have done eminent service to mankind. To him we owe, that swearing is unfashionable, and that a regard to religion is become a part of good breeding.

He had learning; but it was seldom transfused into his performances. He studied nature more than books; and as Numa consulted with Egeria, and learnt his laws from that divine nymph, sir R. was in love with a more real goddess; and was taught by her, in reality, all his precepts. He had an art to make people hate their follies, without hating themselves for having them; and he shewed gentlemen a way of becoming virtuous with a good grace.

A bold free spirit, a lively humour, a quickness of thought, and the most delicate touches of the passions, inspire pleasure into all that read and understand his writings. He had not leisure and coolness enough to bear the fatigue of being correct: his observations on mankind crowded so fast upon him, that, for want of patience to write them down in a due studied natural order, he sometimes became obscure. His satire was severe and pointed; but, I think, he never once exerted that talent against his private, but always against his country's enemies; and therefore shewed good nature, even in his sharpest and bitterest invectives.

He had no genius for rhyme; and he knew that he had not, and therefore but seldom attempted it. Those who love S. will only admire Addison: he will never have many applauders; but those who can relish him, will never think any

writings equal to those he has left us.

How good his political judgement was, may be learnt from his letters to sir Miles Wharton, and to the bailiff of Stockbridge: how generous his sentiments of religion may be seen in his Epistle to the Pope. The justness of his wit, and his exact knowledge of true character, every body confessed, by their approbation of his plays and Tattlers.

Let thy faults; O! sir R. be buried in thy grave, and thy virtues be imitated by all! Let thy writings be beloved; for whoever doth that sincerely, will, before he thinks of it, become a lover, if not a practitioner of virtue; and the world may owe to thee the removal of superstitions, that are to be born again in centuries to come. Thy works will be a medicine of the mind, and cure all the green sickned appetites that will seize on the gay and the young, without so friendly a cordial. If all who have been, or shall be benefited by thy advice, will own themselves thy admirers, never could author boast a more universal or a better founded applause; and Socrates himself shall have fewer disciples than Steele.

T. Rundle.

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*Account of the Scotch Highlanders; from Belsham's History of Great Britain, from the Revolution to the Accession of the House of Hanover.*

THE viscount Dundee had inflamed his mind with the perusal of the ancient poets and historians, and yet more by listening to the heroic achievements celebrated in the popular and traditional songs of

of his countrymen. His army was entirely composed of Highlanders—a singular people, of whom it is not sufficient barely to mention the name. Amidst the clouds and darkness which envelop the high and remote periods of historic antiquity, it appears from strong presumptive evidence, that at this æra the Highland nation exhibited the unmixed remains of that vast Celtic empire which once stretched from the pillars of Hercules to the sea of Archangel. The Highlanders were composed of a number of tribes or clans, each of which bore a different name, and lived upon the lands of a different chieftain. The members of every clan were connected with each other not only by the feudal but the patriarchal bond; and each of them could recount with pride the degree of his affinity to the common head. The castle of the chieftain was open and easy of access to every individual of the tribe. There all were hospitably entertained in times of peace, and thither all resorted at the sound of war. They lived in villages built in glens or deep valleys, and for the most part by the sides of rivers. At the end of spring they sowed their grain, and at the commencement of winter they reaped their scanty harvest. The rest of the year was all their own for amusement or for war. In the short interval of summer they indulged themselves in the enjoyment of a bright and lengthened sun, and in ranging over a wild and romantic country, frequently passing whole nights in the open air among the mountains and the forests. They spent the winter in the chase while the sun was up; and in the evening, assembling round a blazing hearth, they entertained themselves with

the song, the tale, and the dance. Their vocal music was plaintive even to melancholy, but their instrumental was bold, martial, and animating. In order to cherish high sentiments in the minds of all, every considerable family had an historian who recounted, and a bard who sung, the deeds of the clan and its chieftain, or on more solemn occasions the glorious exploits of their heroic ancestors. The vastness of the objects which surrounded them, lakes, mountains, rocks, cataracts, seemed to expand and elevate their minds; and the severity of the climate, with the nature of the country, and their love, in common with other semi-barbarous nations, of the chase and of war, forced them to great corporeal exertions; while their want of regular occupation on the other hand led them to contemplation and social converse. They received the rare and occasional visits of strangers with a genuine and cordial hospitality, never indulging in a rude or contemptuous ridicule of manners opposite to their own.—Considering the inhabitants of the Lowlands in the light of invaders and usurpers, they thought themselves entitled to make reprisals at all convenient opportunities. What their enemies therefore called violence and rapine, they termed right and justice; and in the frequent practice of depredation they became bold, artful, and enterprising. An injury done to one of the clan was held, from the common relation of blood, to be an injury to all. Hence the Highlanders were in the habitual practice of war; and hence arose in various instances between clan and clan mortal and deadly feuds, descending from generation to generation. They usually went com-

completely armed with a broadsword, a dirk or dagger, a target, musket, and pistols. Their dress consisted of a jacket and loose lower garment, with a roll of light-woollen, called a plaid, wrapt round them so as to leave the right arm at full liberty. Thus equipped and accoutred, they would march forty or fifty miles in a day, sometimes even without food or halting, over mountains, along rocks, through morasses; and they would sleep on beds formed by tying bunches of heath hastily and carelessly together. Their advance to battle was rapid; and after discharging their muskets and pistols, they rushed into the ranks of the enemy with their broadswords; and in close fight, when unable to use their ordinary weapon, they suddenly stabbed with the dirk. Their religion, which they called Christianity, was strongly tinged with the ancient and barbarous superstitions of the country. They were universally believers in ghosts and preternatural appearances. They marked with eager attention the variable forms of their cloudy and changeful sky; from the different aspect of which, they foretold future and contingent events; and, absorbed in fantastical imaginations, they perceived in a sort of ecstatic vision things and persons separated from them by a vast interval of space. Each tribe had its peculiar dogmas and modes of faith, which the surrounding clans regarded with indifference, or at most with a cold dislike far removed from the rancour of religious hatred; and persecution for religion was happily a species of folly and wickedness unknown and unheard of amongst them.

*Introduction of Christianity into the Russian Empire; from Tooke's History of Russia.*

**V**LADIMIR resolved to return thanks to the gods for the success they had granted to his arms, by offering them a sacrifice of the prisoners of war. His courtiers, more cruel in their piety than even their prince, persuaded him that a victim selected from his own people would more worthily testify his gratitude for these signal dispensations of Heaven. The choice fell on a young Varagian, the son of a Christian, and brought up in that faith. The unhappy father refused the victim: the people enraged, as thinking their prince and their religion thus insulted at once, assailed the house; and, having beat in the doors, furiously murdered both father and son, enfolded in mutual embraces.

Thus it was that Vladimir thought to honour the gods. The zealous Olga had never been able to induce her son to embrace Christianity, and her grandson Vladimir was of all the Russian princes the most bigoted to idolatry. He augmented the number of the idols of Kief; he commissioned Dobryna, his uncle by the mother's side, to raise a superb statue at Novgorod to the deity Perune; his offerings enriched both the temples and the priests of his gods, while his zeal inflamed that of the nation. But the grandeur of the Russian monarch was already so conspicuous, as to strike the eyes of the neighbouring princes. All of them courted the friendship of Vladimir, and dreaded his arms: each was in hopes of fixing his attachment by the ties of one common religion.

religion. Accordingly he received, at almost the same time, deputies from the Pope, or rather from some Catholic prince who wished to attract him to the church of Rome; persons from Great Bulgaria, exhorting him to embrace the doctrines of Mohammed; and, it is even said, that some Jews, established among the Kozares, came to expound to him the law of Moses. But none of these deputies had any success. A mission more fortunate was that of a Greek, whom the chronicles call a philosopher, and yet perhaps he was not one. If he did not induce Vladimir to embrace the Greek ritual, at least he succeeded in making him think favourably of it, and returned to his country loaded with presents.

The discourse of the Greek had made a lively impression on the mind of the prince; and, desirous of gaining farther information concerning the various systems of faith, of which the missionary had spoken while recommending his own, he dispatched ten persons, in high reputation for wisdom, to observe in the countries where each was professed, the principles and the rites of these different religions.

These men repaired first to the Bulgarians, eastward of Russia, but they were not very sensibly struck with the devotion of the Manichees, or the Mohammedan worship: thence they proceeded to Germany, coldly considered the ceremonies as performed by some vulgar priest in taudry trappings in the poor Latin

churches there, and could take no interest in a sect which shewed so little magnificence, with its motley round of unmeaning gesticulations in its offices of worship. But when these barbarian sages were arrived at Constantinople, when they saw the imposing splendour of religious adoration, amid the gorgeous decorations in the proud basilicum of St. Sophia, they felt immediately touched by celestial grace, and confessed that the people whose religion displayed such pomp must have the sole possession of the true belief.

Their imagination still heated with the pompous spectacle of which they had been the astonished beholders, they returned to Vladimir, speaking with scorn of the Latin ceremonial, and describing with enthusiasm what they had seen in the imperial city. They thought themselves, they said, transported into the skies, and requested permission to return to Constantinople to receive the initiatory sacrament into so magnificent a religion.

The grandeur of their recital made an impression on Vladimir. The boyars of his council, who easily read what was passing in his mind, exclaimed, that the Greek religion must unquestionably be the true one, since the wise deputies had extolled it so much; and that, if it had not been the best, so prudent a prince as Olga would never have embraced it.\*

These arguments determined Vladimir to be baptised; but unfortunately he had no Greek priests at

\* This story, in conformity with the chronicles, is not therefore the less doubtful. In a Greek MS. belonging to the Colbertine library, published by Bandurius, the same facts are related at the reign of Basilus the Macedonian. Thus it would relate to the conversion of Oskhold and Dir, in whom the first dynasty of the sovereigns of Kief ended. We have seen that this conversion had but little influence on Russia, which in that did not become Christian till after the baptism of Vladimir.

hand. To ask them of the emperor, was a sort of homage, at the very idea of which his haughty soul revolted. He conceived a project worthy of his times, of his country, or perhaps only of himself: it was to commence a war against Greece, and by force of arms to extort instruction, priests, and the rite of baptism.

No sooner had he formed the design than he prepared for its execution, raised a formidable army, selected from all the nations of which his empire was composed, and repaired to the Chersonese, under the walls of Theodosia, now called Kaffa. If we give credit to one chronicle, he put up this prayer: "O God, grant me thy help to take this town, that I may carry from it Christians and priests to instruct me and my people, and convey the true religion into my dominions!" He laid siege to the city, destroyed the adversaries, lost a great number of his soldiers, and thousands of men were destroyed, because a barbarian would not suffer himself to be Christened like an ordinary person.

However, after carrying on the siege for six months, Vladimir had made no progress: he was even threatened with being obliged to raise the siege, and was in great danger of never becoming a Christian. But a traitorous citizen, according to some it was a priest, tied a letter to an arrow, and shot it from the top of the ramparts. The Russians learned by this paper, that behind their camp was a spring, which, by subterraneous pipes, was the sole supply of fresh water to the besieged. Vladimir ordered this source to be sought out; it was found; and, by breaking these channels, subjected the town to the

horrors of thirst, and forced it to surrender. Being in possession of Theodosia, he was master of the whole Chersonese.

In consequence of his victory, it was his own choice to receive baptism in the manner he desired. But this sacrament was not the sole object of his ambition: he aspired to an union by the ties of blood with the Cæsars of Byzantium. As was the case with most of the princes who adopted Christianity, so here political reasons had at least an equal influence with devotion; and when Vladimir, was baptised at Korsun, a town of Greece, in '988, and married Anna, the sister of the Grecian sovereign, it was as much his intention by this match to acquire a claim upon the Grecian empire, as by his baptism to have pretensions on the kingdom of heaven.

Vladimir then listened to some catechetical lectures, received the rite of baptism and the name of Basil, married the young princess Anna, restored to his brothers-in-law the conquests he had recently made, and brought off no other reward of his victories than some archimandrites and popes, a few sacred vessels and church-books, images of saints, and consecrated relics.

At his return to Kief, his mind was wholly intent on overthrowing the idols which but lately were the object of his adoration. As Perune was the greatest of deities to the idolatrous Russians, it was him that Vladimir, after his conversion, resolved to treat with the greatest ignominy. He had him tied to the tail of a horse, dragged to the Borysthenes, and all the way twelve vigorous soldiers with great cudgel,

rodgels, beat the deified log, which was afterwards thrown into the river. Nothing can more strongly mark the character of Vladimir than this conduct, alike brutish in worshipping a misshapen block, and in thinking to punish the insensible mass for the adorations he had lavished upon it.

People in a low state of civilization have too few ideas for acquiring a strong attachment to any religion. Thus the Russians easily abandoned the worship of their idols: for, though Vladimir caused it to be published that those who should persevere in idolatry should be regarded as enemies of Christ and of the prince, it does not appear that Russia underwent any persecutions, and yet it soon became Christian: of such force was the example of the sovereign. At Kief he one day issued a proclamation ordering all the inhabitants to repair the next morning to the banks of the river to be baptized; which they joyfully obeyed. "If it be not good to be baptised," said they, "the prince and the boyars would never submit to it."

Such a change was wrought in Vladimir afterwards, in this and many other respects, that the historians of that time are at a loss for words sufficiently strong to express their admiration of it. If before he had, besides five wives and eight hundred concubines, taken also women and girls wherever he would, yet, after his baptism, he contented himself with his Christian spouse alone. If, as a conqueror, he had caused many drops of inno-

cent blood to be shed, and set a very low value on the life of a man, yet, having adopted the religion of Jesus, he felt uneasy at sentencing one highway robber to death, of whom there were many at that time; and, as we read in the chronicles, exclaimed with emotion on such an occasion; "What am I that I should condemn a fellow-creature to death!" As his delight had been before in storming towns and obtaining battles, he now found his greatest pleasure in building churches and endowing schools.

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*Anecdotes of Mr. Robert Bloomfield, Author of the Farmer's Boy, a Poem.\* Abridged from a Letter from his Brother George to Capt Loft, Esq.*

**R**OBERT was the younger child of George Bloomfield, a tailor, at Honington.† His father died when he was an infant under a year old.‡ His mother was a school-mistress, and instructed her own children with the others. He thus learned to read as soon as he learned to speak.

Though the mother was left a widow with six small children, yet with the help of friends, she managed to give each of them a little schooling.

Robert was accordingly sent to Mr. Rodwell, of Ixworth, to be improved in writing: but he did not go to that school more than two or three months, nor was ever sent to any other; his mother again mar-

\* Of which we have given a specimen in the poetical part of this volume.

† This village is between Euston and Troston, and about eight miles N. E. of Bury.

‡ Our author was born Dec. 3, 1766.



rying when Robert was about seven years old.

By her second husband, John Glover, she had another family.

When Robert was not above eleven years old, the late Mr. W. Austin, of Sapiston, took him. And though it is customary for farmers to pay such boys only 1s. 6d. per week, yet he generously took him into the house. This relieved his mother of any other expense than only of finding him a few things to wear: and this was more than she well knew how to do.

"She wrote, therefore, to me and my brother Nat (then in London) to assist her; mentioning that he, Robert, was so small of his age that Mr. Austin said he was not likely to be able to get his living by hard labour."

Mr. G. Bloomfield, on this, informed his mother that, if she would let him take the boy with him, he would take him, and teach him to make shoes: and Nat promised to clothe him. The mother, upon this offer, took coach and came to London, to Mr. G. Bloomfield, with the boy: for she said, she never should have been happy if she had not put him herself into his hands.

"She charged me," he adds, "as I valued a mother's blessing, to watch over him, to set good examples for him, and never to forget that he had lost his father." These are Mr. G. Bloomfield's own words; and it would wrong all the parties concerned if in mentioning this pathetic and successful admonition, any other were to be used. He came from Mr. Austin's, June 29, 1781.

Mr. G. Bloomfield then lived at Mr. Simm's, No. 7, Pitcher's Court, Bell-alley, Coleman-street. "It is customary," he continues, in such

houses as are let to poor people in London, to have light garrets fit for mechanics to work in. In the garret, where we had two turn-up beds, and five of us worked, I received little Robert.

"As we were all single men, lodgers at a shilling per week each, our beds were coarse, and all things far from being clean and snug, like what Robert had left at Sapiston: Robert was our man, to fetch all things to hand. At noon he fetched our dinners from the cook's shop: and any one of our fellow workmen that wanted to have any thing fetched in, would send him, and assist in his work and teach him, for a recompence for his trouble.

"Every day when the boy from the public-house came for the pewter pots, and to hear what porter was wanted, he always brought the yesterday's news-paper. The reading of the paper we had been used to take by turns; but after Robert came, he mostly read for us, because his time was of least value.

"He frequently met with words that he was unacquainted with: of this he often complained. I one day happened at a book-stall to see a small dictionary, which had been very ill used. I bought it for him for 4d. By the help of this he in a little time could read and comprehend the long and beautiful speeches of Burke, Fox, or North.

"One Sunday, after an whole day's stroll in the country, we by accident went into a dissenting meeting-house, in the Old Jewry, where a gentleman was lecturing. This man filled Robert with astonishment. The house was amazingly crowded with the most genteel people; and though we were forced to stand still in the aisle, and were much

much pressed, yet Robert always quickened his steps to get into the town on a Sunday evening soon enough to attend this lecture.

"The preacher lived somewhere at the west end of the town, his name was Fawcet. His language, was just such as the Rambler is written in; his action like a person acting a tragedy; his discourse rational, and free from the cant of Methodism.

"Of him Robert learned to accent what he called hard words; and otherwise improved himself; and gained the most enlarged notions of Providence.

"He went sometimes with me to a debating-society at Coach-makers Hall, but not often; and a few times to Covent-garden theatre. These are all the opportunities he ever had to learn from public speakers. As to books, he had to wade through two or three folios: a History of England, British Traveller, and a Geography. But he always read them as a task, or to oblige us who bought them. And as they came in sixpenny numbers weekly, he had about as many hours to read as other boys spend in play.

"I at that time," proceeds his brother, "read the London Magazine; and in that work about two sheets were set apart for a review; Robert seemed always eager to read this review. Here he could see what the literary men were doing, and learn how to judge of the merits of the works that came out. And I observed that he always looked at the poet's corner. And one day he repeated a long which he composed to an old tune. I was much surprised that a boy of sixteen should make so smooth verses; so I persuaded him to try

whether the editor of our paper would give them a place in the poet's corner. And he succeeded, and they were printed.

"I remember," says Mr. G. Bloomfield, continuing his narrative, "a little piece which he called the Sailor's Return; in which he tried to describe the feelings of an honest tar, who after a long absence, saw his dear native village first rising into view. This, too, obtained a place in the poet's corner.

"And as he was so young," his brother proceeds, "it shews some genius in him, and some industry, to have acquired so much knowledge of the use of words in so little time. Indeed at this time myself and my fellow workmen in the garret began to gather instruction from him, though not more than sixteen years old.

"About this time there came a man to lodge at our lodgings that was troubled with fits. Robert was so much hurt to see this poor creature drawn into such frightful forms, and to hear his horrid screams, that I was forced to leave the lodging. We went to Blue-Hart-court, Bell-alley. In our new garret we found a singular character, James Kay, a native of Dundee. He was a middle-aged man, of a good understanding, and yet a furious Calvinist. He had many books, and some which he did not value: such as the Seasons, Paradise Lost, and some Novels. These books he lent to Robert; who spent all his leisure hours in reading the Seasons, which he was now capable of reading. I never heard him give so much praise to any book as to that.

"I think it was in the year 1784 that the question came to be decided

cided between the journeymen shoemakers; whether those who had learned without serving an apprenticeship could follow the trade.

"The man by whom Robert and I were employed, Mr. Chamberlayne, of Cheapside, took an active part against the lawful journeymen; and even went so far as to pay off every man that worked for him that had joined their clubs. This so exasperated the men, that their acting committee soon looked for unlawful men (as they called them) among Chamberlayne's workmen."

They found out little Robert, and threatened to prosecute Chamberlayne for employing him, and to prosecute his brother, Mr. G. Bloomfield, for teaching him. Chamberlayne requested of the brother to go and bring it to a trial; for that he would defend it; and that neither George nor Robert should be hurt.

In the mean time George was much insulted for having refused to join, upon this occasion, those who called themselves, exclusively, the lawful craftsmen. George, who says he was never famed for patience, (it is not indeed so much as might be sometimes wished, very often the lot of strong and acute minds to possess largely of this virtue,) took his pen and addressed a letter to one of the most active of their committee-men (a man of very bad character.) In this, after stating that he took Robert at his mother's request, he made free as well with the private character of this man as with the views of the committee. "This," says George, "was very foolish; for it made things worse: but I felt too much to refrain."

What connects this episcodical cir-  
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cumstance with the character of our author, follows in his brother's words.

"Robert, naturally fond of peace, and fearful for my personal safety, begged to be suffered to retire from the storm."

"He came home; and Mr. Austin kindly bade him take his house for his home till he could return to me. And here, with his mind glowing with the fine descriptions of rural scenery which he found in Thomson's Seasons, he again retraced the very fields where first he began to think. Here, free from the smoke, the noise, the contention of the city, he imbibed that love of rural simplicity and rural innocence, which fitted him, in a great degree, to be the writer of such a poem as the Farmer's Boy.

"Here he lived two months: at length, as the dispute in the trade still remained undecided, Mr. Dudbridge offered to take Robert apprentice, to secure him; at all events, from any consequences of the litigation."

He was bound by Mr. Ingram, of Bell-alley, to Mr. John Dudbridge. His brother George paid five shillings for Robert, by way of form, as a premium. Dudbridge was their landlord, and a freeman of the city of London. He acted most honourably, and took no advantage of the power which the indentures gave him. George Bloomfield staid with Robert till he found he could work as expertly as himself.

Mr. George Bloomfield adds, "When I left London he was turned of eighteen; and much of my happiness since has arisen from a constant correspondence which I have held with him.

Y

"After

"After I left him, he studied music, and was a good player on the violin.

"But as my brother Nat had married a Woolwich woman, it happened that Robert took a fancy to Mary-Anne Church, a comely young woman of that town, whose father is a boat-builder in the government yard there. He married her 12th December, 1790.

"Soon after he married, Robert told me, in a letter, that 'he had sold his fiddle and got a wife.'—Like most poor men, he got a wife first, and had to get household stuff afterwards. It took him some years to get out of ready-furnished lodgings. At length, by hard working, he acquired a bed of his own, and hired a room up one pair of stairs, at 14, Bell-alley, Coleman-street. The landlord kindly gave him leave to sit and work in the light garret, two pair of stairs higher.

"In this garret, amid six or seven other workmen, his active mind employed itself in composing the Farmer's Boy.

"In my correspondence I have seen several poetical effusions of his; all of them of a good moral tendency; but which he very likely would think do him little credit: on that account I have not preserved them.

"Robert is a lady's shoemaker, and works for Davies, Lombard-street. He is of a slender make; about 5 feet 4 inches high; very dark complexion.—His mother, who is a very religious member of the church of England, took all the pains she could in his infancy to make him pious: and, as his reason expanded, his love of God and man increased with it. I never

knew his fellow for mildness of temper and goodness of disposition. And since I left him, universally is he praised by those who know him best, for the best of husbands, an indulgent father, and quiet neighbour. He is between thirty three and four years old, and has three children; two daughters and a son."

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*Account of Robert Burns, the Ayrshire Ploughman, by himself, in a Letter to Dr. Mcere; from his Works lately edited by Dr. Currie.*

*Mauchline, August 2, 1787.*

Sir,

FOR some months past I have been rambling over the country, but I am now confined with some lingering complaints, originating, as I take it, in the stomach. To divert my spirits a little in this miserable fog of *ennui*, I have taken a whim to give you a history of myself. My name has made some little noise in this country; you have done me the honour to interest yourself very warmly in my behalf; and I think a faithful account of what character of a man I am, and how I came by that character, may perhaps amuse you in an idle moment. I will give you an honest narrative, though I know it will be often at my own expense; for I assure you, sir, I have like Solomon, whose character, excepting in the trifling article of wisdom, I sometimes think I resemble—I have, I say, like him, turned my eyes to behold madness and folly, and like him, too, frequently shaken hands with their intoxicating friendship.

After you have perused these pages, should you think them trifling and impertinent, I only beg leave

leave to tell you, that the poor author wrote them under some twitching qualms of conscience, arising from a suspicion that he was doing what he ought not to do; a predicament he has more than once been in before.

I have not the most distant pretensions to assume that character which the pyc-coated guardians of escutcheons call a gentleman.—When at Edinburgh last winter, I got acquainted in the Heralds-Office; and looking through that granary of honours, I there found almost every name of the kingdom; but for me,

My ancient, but ignoble blood,  
Has crept through scoundrels ever since the  
flood.

gules, purple, argent, &c. quite disowned me.

My father was of the north of Scotland, the son of a farmer, and was thrown by early misfortune on the world at large; where, after many years wanderings and sojournings, he picked up a pretty large quantity of observation and experience, to which I am indebted for most of my little pretensions to wisdom. I have met with few who understood men, their manners and their ways, equal to him; but stubborn ungainly integrity, and headstrong ungovernable irascibility, are disqualifying circumstances: consequently I was born a very poor man's son. For the first six or seven years of my life, my father was gardener to a worthy gentleman of small estate in the neighbourhood of Ayre. Had he continued in that station, I must have marched off to be one of the little underlings about a farm-house; but it was his dearest wish and prayer to have it in his

power to keep his children under his own eye, till they could discern between good and evil; so, with the assistance of his generous master, my father ventured on a small farm on his estate. At those years I was by no means a favourite with any body. I was a good deal noted for a retentive memory, a stubborn sturdy something in my disposition, and an enthusiastic idiot piety. I say, idiot piety, because I was then but a child. Though it cost the school-master some thrashings, I made an excellent English scholar; and by the time I was ten or eleven years of age, I was a critic in substantives, verbs, and particles. In my infant and boyish days too I owed much to an old woman who resided in the family, remarkable for her ignorance, credulity, and superstition. She had, I suppose, the largest collection in the country of tales and songs concerning devils, ghosts, fairies, brownies, witches, warlocks, spunkies, kelpies, elf candles, dead lights, wraiths, apparitions, cantraips, giants, enchanted towers, dragons, and other trumpery. This cultivated the latent seeds of poetry; but had so strong an effect on my imagination, that to this hour, in my nocturnal rambles, I sometimes keep a sharp look out in suspicious places; and though nobody can be more sceptical than I am in such matters, yet it often takes an effort of philosophy to shake off these idle terrors. The earliest composition that I recollect taking pleasure in was "The Vision of Mirza," and a hymn of Addison's, beginning—  
"How are thy servants blest, O Lord!" I particularly remember one half stanza which was music to my boyish ear—

Y 2

"For

"For though on dreadful whirls we hung,  
"High on the broken wave"—

I met with these pieces in Mason's English Collection, one of my school-books. The two first books I ever read in private, and which gave me more pleasure than any two books I ever read since, were The Life of Hannibal, and The History of Sir William Wallace.—Hannibal gave my young ideas such a turn, that I used to strut in raptures up and down after the recruiting drum and bagpipe, and wish myself tall enough to be a soldier; while the story of Wallace poured a Scottish prejudice into my veins, which will boil along there, till the flood-gates of life shut in eternal rest.

Polemical divinity about this time was putting the country half-mad, and I, ambitious of shining in conversation-parties on Sundays between sermons, at funerals, &c. used a few years afterwards to puzzle Calvinism with so much heat and indiscretion, that I raised a hue and cry of heresy against me, which has not ceased to this hour.

My vicinity to Ayr was of some advantage to me. My social disposition, when not checked by some mortification, or spited pride, was like our catechism definition of infinitude, without bounds or limits. I formed several connections with other youngsters who possessed superior advantages: the youngling actors who were busy in the rehearsal of parts in which they were shortly to appear on the stage of life, when, alas! I was destined to drudge behind the scenes. It is not commonly at this green age that our young gentry have a just sense of the immense distance between them and their ragged playfellows. It

takes a few dashes into the world to give the young great man that proper, decent, unnoticing disregard for the poor, insignificant, stupid devils, the mechanics and peasantry around him, who were, perhaps, born in the same village.—My young superiors never insulted the cloutery appearance of my plough-boy carcase, the two extremes of which were often exposed to all the inclemencies of all the seasons. They would give me stray volumes of books; among them, even then, I could pick up some observations; and one, whose heart, I am sure, not even the Munny Begum scenes have tainted, helped me to a little French. Parting with these my young friends and benefactors, as they occasionally went off for the East or West Indies, was often to me a sore affliction; but I was soon called to more serious evils. My father's generous master died; the farm proved a ruinous bargain; and to clinch the misfortune, we fell into the hands of a factor who sat for the picture I have drawn of one in my Tale of Two Dogs. My father was advanced in life when he married: I was the eldest of seven children; and he, worn out by early hardships, was unfit for labour. My father's spirit was soon irritated, but not easily broken. There was freedom in his lease for two years more; and to weather these two years, we retrenched our expenses. We lived very poorly: I was a dexterous ploughman for my age; and the next eldest to me was a brother (Gilbert), who could drive the plough very well, and help me to thrash the corn. A novel writer might, perhaps, have viewed these scenes with some satisfaction, but



did not I; my indignation yet boils at the recollection of the s—l factor's insolent threatening letters, which used to set us all in tears.

This kind of life—the cheerless gloom of a hermit, with the unceasing moil of a galley slave—brought me to my sixteenth year; a little before which period I first committed the sin of rhyme. You know our country customs of coupling a man and woman together as partners in the labours of harvest. In my sixteenth autumn, my partner was a bewitching creature, a year younger than myself. My scarcity of English denies me the power of doing her justice in that language, but you know the Scottish idiom; she was a bonnie, sweet, fonsie lass. In short, she altogether unwittingly to herself initiated me in that delicious passion, which, in spite of acid disappointment, gin-horn prudence, and book-worm philosophy, I hold to be the first of human joys, our dearest blessing here below! How she caught the contagion I cannot tell; yet medical people talk much of infection from breathing the same air, the touch, &c. but I never expressly said I loved her. Indeed I did not know myself why I liked so much to loiter behind with her, when returning in the evening from our labours; why the tones of her voice made my heart-strings thrill like an Æolian harp; and particularly why my pulse beat such a furious ratan when I looked and fingered over her little hand to pick out the cruel nettle stings and thistles. Among her other love-inspiring qualities, she sung sweetly; and it was her favourite reel to which I attempted giving an embodied vehicle in

rhyme. I was not so presumptuous as to imagine that I could make verses like printed ones, composed by men who had Greek and Latin; but my girl sung a song which was said to be composed by a small country laird's son, on one of his father's maids, with whom he was in love; and I saw no reason why I might not rhyme as well as he; for, excepting that he could shear sheep, and cast peats, his father living in the moorlands, he had no more scholar craft than myself.

Thus with me began love and poetry; which at times have been my only, and, till within the last twelve months, have been my highest enjoyment. My father struggled on till he reached the freedom in his lease, when he entered on a larger farm, about ten miles farther in the country. The nature of the bargain he made, was such as to throw a little ready money into his hands at the commencement of his lease, otherwise the affair would have been impracticable. For four years we lived comfortably here; but a difference commencing between him and his landlord as to terms, after three years tossing and whirling in the vortex of litigation, my father was just saved from the horrors of a jail, by a consumption, which, after two years promises, kindly stepped in, and carried him away, to where the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest!

It is during the time we lived on this farm that my little story is most eventful. I was at the beginning of this period, perhaps, the most ungainly awkward boy in the parish—no *solitaire* was less acquainted with the ways of the world. What I knew of ancient story was gathered from Salmon's and Guthrie's Geo-

graphical Grammars; and the ideas I had formed of modern manners, of literature, and criticism, I got from the *Spectator*. These, with Pope's Works, some plays of Shakspeare, Tull and Dickson on Agriculture, The Pantheon, Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding, Stackhouse's History of the Bible, Justice's British Gardener's Directory, Bayle's Lectures, Allan Ramsay's Works, Taylor's Scripture Doctrine of Original Sin, A Select Collection of English Songs, and Harvey's Meditations, had formed the whole of my reading. The collection of songs was my *rade mecum*. I pored over them driving my cart, or walking to labour, song by song, verse by verse; carefully noting the true tender, or sublime, from affectation and fustian. I am convinced I owe to this practice much of my critic craft, such as it is.

In my seventeenth year, to give my manners a brush, I went to a country dancing-school. My father had an unaccountable antipathy against those meetings, and my going was, what to this moment I repent, in opposition to his wishes. My father, as I said before, was subject to strong passions; from that instance of disobedience in me, he took a sort of dislike to me, which, I believe, was one cause of the dissipation which marked my succeeding years. I say, dissipation, comparatively with the strictness and sobriety, and regularity of presbyterian country life; for though the wil-o'-wisp meteors of thoughtless whim were also the sole lights of my path, yet early ingrained piety and virtue kept me for several years afterwards within the line of innocence. The great misfortune of my life was to

want an aim. I had felt early some stirrings of ambition, but they were the blind gropings of Homer's Cyclop round the walls of his cave. I saw my father's situation entailed on me perpetual labour. The only two openings by which I could enter the temple of fortune, was the gate of niggardly economy, or the path of little chicaning bargain-making. The first is so contracted an aperture, I never could squeeze myself into it; the last I always hated—there was contamination in the very entrance! Thus abandoned of aim or view in life, with a strong appetite for sociability, as well from native hilarity, as from a pride of observation and remark; a constitutional melancholy or hypochondriacism that made me fly solitude; add to these incentives to social life my reputation for bookish knowledge, a certain wild logical talent, and a strength of thought, something like the rudiments of good sense, and it will not seem surprising that I was generally a welcome guest where I visited, or any great wonder that always where two or three met together, there was I among them.—But far beyond all other impulses of my heart was *un penchant a l'admirable moiété du genre humain*. My heart was completely tinder, and was eternally lighted up by some goddess or other; and, as in every other warfare in this world, my fortune was various; sometimes I was received with favour, and sometimes I was mortified by a repulse. At the plough, scythe, or reap-hook, I feared no competitor, and thus I set absolute want at defiance; and as I never cared farther for my labours than while I was in actual exercise, I spent the evenings in the way after my own heart. A country

try had seldom carries on a love adventure without an assisting confidant. I possessed a curiosity, zeal, and intrepid dexterity, that recommended me as a proper second on these occasions; and I dare say I felt as much pleasure in being in the secret of half the loves of the parish of Tarbolton, as ever did a statesman in knowing the intrigues of half the courts of Europe. The very goose feather in my hand seems to know instinctively the well-known path of my imagination, the favourite theme of my song; and, is with difficulty restrained from giving you a couple of paragraphs on the love-adventures of my companions, the humble inmates of the farm-house and the cottage; but, the grave sons of science, ambition, or avarice, baptize these things by the name of follies. To the sons and daughters of labour and poverty they are matters of the most serious nature; to them the ardent hope, the stolen interview, the tender farewell, are the greatest and most delicious parts of their enjoyments.

Another circumstance in my life, which made some alteration in my mind and manners, was, that I spent my nineteenth summer on a smuggling coast, a good distance from home, at a noted school, to learn mensuration, surveying, dialling, &c. in which I made a pretty good progress. But I made a greater progress in the knowledge of mankind. The contraband trade was at that time very successful; and it sometimes happened to me to fall in with those who carried it on. Scenes of swaggering, riot, and roaring dissipation, were till this time new to me, but I was no enemy to social life. Here, though I learnt to fill

my glass, and to mix without fear in a drunken squabble, yet I went on with a high hand with my geometry, till the sun entered Virgo, a month which is always a carnival in my bosom, when a charming *filette*, who lived next door to the school, overset my trigonometry, and set me off at a tangent from the sphere of my studies. I, however, struggled on with my *sines* and *cosines* for a few days more; but stepping into the garden one charming noon to take the sun's altitude, there I met my angel,

Like Proserpine gathering flowers,  
Herself a fairer flower.—

It was in vain to think of doing any more good at school. The remaining week I stayed I did nothing but craze the faculties of my soul about her, or steal out to meet her; and the two last nights of my stay in the country, had sleep been a mortal sin, the image of this modest and innocent girl had kept me guiltless.

I returned home very considerably improved. My reading was enlarged with the very important addition of Thomson's and Shenstone's works; I had seen human nature in a new phasis; and I engaged several of my school-fellows to keep up a literary correspondence with me. This improved me in composition. I had met with a collection of letters by the wits of queen Anne's reign, and I pored over them most devoutly. I kept copies of any of my own letters that pleased me, and a comparison between them and the composition of most of my correspondents, flattered my vanity. I carried this whim so far, that though I had not three farthings worth of business in the world, yet almost

every post brought me as many letters as if I had been a broad plodding son of day-book and ledger.

My life flowed on much in the same course till my twenty-third year. *Vive l'amour, et vive la bagatelle*, were my sole principles of action. The addition of two more authors to my library gave me great pleasure—Sterne and M'Kensie.—*Tristram Shandy* and the *Man of Feeling* were my bosom favourites. Poetry was still a darling walk for my mind; but it was only indulged in according to the humour of the hour. I had usually half a dozen, or more, pieces on hand. I took up one or other as it suited the momentary tone of the mind, and dismissed the work as it bordered on fatigue. My passions, when once lighted up, raged like so many devils, till they got vent in rhyme; and then the conning over my verses, like a spell, soothed all into quiet! None of the rhymes of those days are in print, except, *Winter*, a dirge, the eldest of my printed pieces; *The Death of Poor Maillie*, *John Barleycorn*, and songs first, second, and third. Song second was the ebullition of that passion which ended the fore-mentioned school business.

My twenty-third year was to me an important æra. Partly through whim, and partly that I wished to set about doing something in life, I joined a flax-dresser in the neighbouring town (*Irvin*), to learn his trade. This was an unlucky affair. My \*\*\*\*\*; and to finish the whole, as we were giving a welcoming carousal to the new year, the shop took fire, and burnt to ashes; and I was left, like a true poet, not worth a sixpence.

I was obliged to give up this scheme; the clouds of misfortune

were gathering thick round my father's head; and what was worst of all, he was visibly far gone in a consumption; and to crown my distresses, a *belle fille*, whom I adored, and who had pledged her soul to meet me in the field of matrimony, jilted me, with peculiar circumstances of mortification. The finishing evil that brought up the rear of this infernal file, was my constitutional melancholy being increased to such a degree, that for three months I was in a state of mind scarcely to be envied by the hopeless wretches who have got their mittimus—Depart from me ye cursed.

From this adventure I learned something of a town life; but the principal thing which gave my mind a turn, was a friendship I formed with a young fellow, a very noble character, but a hapless son of misfortune. He was the son of a simple mechanic; but a great man in the neighbourhood taking him under his patronage, gave him a genteel education, with a view of bettering his situation in life. The patron dying just as he was ready to launch out into the world, the poor fellow in despair went to sea; where, after a variety of good and ill fortune, a little before I was acquainted with him, he had been set ashore by an American privateer, on the wild coast of Connaught, stripped of every thing. I cannot quit this poor fellow's story without adding, that he is at this time master of a large West Indian man belonging to the Thames.

His mind was fraught with independence, magnanimity, and every manly virtue. I loved and admired him to a degree of enthusiasm, and of course strove to imitate him. In

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some measure I succeeded: I had pride before, but he taught it to flow in proper channels. His knowledge of the world was vastly superior to mine, and I was all attention to learn. He was the only man I ever saw who was a greater fool than myself where woman was the presiding star; but he spoke of illicit love with the levity of a sailor, which hitherto I had regarded with horror. Here his friendship did me a mischief; and the consequence was, that soon after I resumed the plough I wrote the Poet's Welcome.

My reading only increased while in this town by two stray volumes of Pamela, and one of Ferdinand count Fathom, which gave me some idea of novels. Rhyme, except some religious pieces that are in print, I had given up; but meeting with Ferguson's Scottish Poems, I string anew my wildly sounding lyre with emulating vigour. When my father died, his all went among the hell-hounds that growl in the kennel of justice; but we made a shift to collect a little money in the family amongst us, with which, to keep us together, my brother and I took a neighbouring farm. My brother wanted my hair-brained imagination, as well as my social and amorous madness; but in good sense, and every sober quality, he was far my superior.

I entered on this farm with a full resolution, come, go to, I will be wise! I read farming-books; I calculate crops; I attend markets; and, in short, in spite of the devil, and the world, and the flesh, I believe I should have been a wise man: but the first year, from unfortunately buying bad seed, the second from a late harvest, we lost half our crops. This overlet all my wisdom, and I

returned like the dog to his vomit, and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire.

I now began to be known in the neighbourhood as a maker of rhymes. The first of my poetic offspring that saw the light, was a burlesque lamentation on a quarrel between two reverend Calvinists, both of them *dramatis persone* in my Holy Fair. I had a notion myself that the piece had some merit; but to prevent the worst, I gave a copy of it to a friend who was very fond of such things, and told him that I could not guess who was the author of it, but that I thought it pretty clever. With a certain description of the clergy, as well as laity, it met with a roar of applause. Holy Willie's Prayer next made its appearance, and alarmed the kirk session so much, that they held several meetings to look over their spiritual artillery, if haply any of it might be pointed against profane rhyme. Unluckily for me, my wanderings led me, on another side, within point blank shot of their heaviest metal. This was a most melancholy affair, which I cannot yet bear to reflect on, and had very nearly given me one or two of the principal qualifications for a place among those who have lost the chart, and mistaken the reckoning of rationality. I gave up my part of the farm to my brother; in truth it was only nominally mine; and made what little preparation was in my power for Jamaica. But, before leaving my native country for ever, I resolved to publish my poems. I weighed my productions as impartially as was in my power, I thought they had merit; and it was a delicious idea that I should be called a clever fellow, even though it should never reach

reach my ears—a poor negro driver—or perhaps a victim to that inhospitable clime, and gone to the world of spirits! I can truly say, that *pauvre inconnu* as I then was, I had pretty nearly as high an idea of myself and of my works as I have at this moment, when the public has decided in their favour. It ever was my opinion, that the mistakes and blunders, both in a rational and religious point of view, of which we see thousands daily guilty, are owing to their ignorance of themselves. To know myself had been all along my constant study. I weighed myself alone; I balanced myself with others; I watched every means of information, to see how much ground I occupied as a man and as a poet? I studied assiduously nature's design in my formation, where the lights and shades in my character were intended. I was pretty confident my poems would meet with some applause; but at the worst, the roar of the Atlantic would deafen the voice of censure, and the novelty of West Indian scenes make me forget neglect. I threw off six hundred copies, of which I had got subscriptions for about three hundred and fifty. My vanity was highly gratified by the reception I met with from the public; and besides, I pocketed, all expenses deducted, nearly twenty pounds. This sum came very seasonably, as I was thinking of indenting myself, for want of money to procure a passage. As soon as I was master of nine guineas, the price of wafting me to the torrid zone, I took a steerage passage in

the first ship that was to sail from the Clyde, for

Hungry ruin had me in the wind.

I had been for some days skulking from covert to covert, under all the terrors of a jail; as some ill advised people had uncoupled the merciless pack of the law at my heels. I had taken the last farewell of my few friends; my chest was on the road to Greenock; I had composed the last song I should ever measure in Caledonia, "The gloomy Night is gathering fast," when a letter from Dr. Blacklock to a friend of mine overthrew all my schemes, by opening new prospects to my poetic ambition. The doctor belonged to a set of critics for whose applause I had not dared to hope. His opinion that I would meet with encouragement in Edinburgh for a second edition fired me so much, that away I posted for that city, without a single acquaintance, or a single letter of introduction. The baneful star that had so long shed its blasting influence in my zenith, for once made a revolution to the Nadir; and a kind Providence placed me under the patronage of the noblest of men, the earl of Glencairn—*Oublie moi, grand Dieu, si jamais je t'oublie!*

I need relate no farther. At Edinburgh I was in a new world; I mingled among many classes of men, but all of them new to me; and I was all attention to catch the characters and the manners living as they rise. Whether I have profited time will shew.\*

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\* His death, which took place in July, 1796, is noticed in our Chronicle for that year.



*Some Particulars of the Life of the late William Cowper, Esq.\* Author of "The Task," &c. Extracted from a Sermon preached at Olney, Bucks, May 18, 1800, on Occasion of his Death, by the Rev. Samuel Greathed.†*

**T**HE entrance of our late friend upon the transient scenes of this life, apparently led to a kind of eminence very different from that to which he attained. Born of amiable and respectable parents, of noble affinity, and connected with persons of great worldly influence, his advancement in temporal affluence and honour seemed to demand no extraordinary mental endowments. His opening genius discovered, however, a capacity for elegant literature; and he enjoyed the best advantages for improvement in so pleasing a pursuit. With uncommon abilities, he possessed a most amiable temper; and he became not only the darling of his relations, but beloved and admired by his associates in education; some of whom,

with inferior prospects, have since risen to distinguished reputation, and even to the highest professional rank. But the towering hopes that were naturally built on so flattering a ground, were undermined at an early period. From childhood, during which our late friend lost a much-loved parent, his spirits were always very tender, and often greatly dejected. His natural diffidence and depression of mind were increased to a most distressing degree by the turbulence of his elder comrades at the most celebrated public school in the kingdom. And when, at mature age, he was appointed to a lucrative and honourable station in the law, he shrunk with the greatest terror, from the appearance which it required him to make before the upper house of parliament. Several affecting circumstances concurred to increase the agony of his mind, while revolving the consequences of relinquishing the post to which he had been nominated; and he wished for madness, as the only apparent means by which his per-

\* This delightful poet and truly original genius, whose works will engage the attention of posterity equally as they have done the present times was born at Berkhamstead, in Hertfordshire, in November, 1731, as the diurnal writers inform us. His father, John Cowper, rector of Berkhamstead, and chaplain in ordinary to his majesty, was second son of Spencer Cowper, esq. one of the judges of the common pleas, brother of lord chancellor Cowper. Our author is said to have received his education at Westminster; from whence, we believe, he was transferred to Cambridge, which he left without taking any degree: his plan at that time was to study the law; he therefore quitted the university, and entered himself of the inner temple. At this period of his life he was celebrated for the vivacity and sprightliness of his conversation, and the brilliancy of his wit. He associated with those who were most eminent in the literary world; and though we do not know that he employed the press on any work, he was well known to possess the powers of composition, and was not the least distinguished of the group which then dictated the laws of taste. An office of considerable value, which had been secured for a term to his family, it is supposed he was intended to fill; and in the mean time he engaged in the study of the law with some application, but with little success. His temper and disposition were not in unison with the bustle of business; his health became precarious, and some events alluded to in his poems, but not sufficiently explained, compelled him to seek that country retirement, the charms of which he has so beautifully descanted on.

† The many interesting anecdotes in this affecting narrative will, we trust, more than compensate for the vein of fanaticism which pervades it.

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plexity and distress could be terminated. A desperation, of which few among mankind can form a suitable conception, but which it may be hoped many will regard with tender pity, drove him to attempt self-murder; and the manner of his preservation in life, or rather of his restoration to it, indicated an unusual interposition of the providence of God. His friends no longer persisted in urging him to retain his office. It was resigned; and with it his flattering prospects vanished, and his connections with the world dissolved. A striking instance of the instability of earthly hopes, and the insufficiency of human accomplishments to promote even temporal comfort!

At this awful crisis appears to have commenced Mr. Cowper's serious attention to the ways of God. Having been educated in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and estranged from the fool-hardy arrogance which urges unhappy youths to infidelity, he had constantly retained a reverence for the word of God. His manners were in general decent and amiable; and the course of pleasure in which he indulged himself being customary with persons in similar circumstances, he remained insensible of his state as a sinner in the sight of God, till he was brought to reflect upon the guilt of that action by which he had nearly plunged himself into endless perdition. His mind was then, for the first time, convinced of the evil of sin, as a transgression of the law of God; and he was terrified by the apprehension that his late offence was unpardonable in its nature. Instead of finding relief from reading, every book he opened, of whatever kind, seemed to him adapted to

increase his distress; which became so pungent as to deprive him of his usual rest, and to render his broken slumbers equally miserable with his waking hours. While in this state, he was visited by the late rev. Martin Madan, who was related to him. By explaining, from the Scriptures, the doctrine of original sin, Mr. Madan convinced him that all mankind were on the same level with himself before God; the atonement and righteousness of Christ were set forth to him as the remedy which his case required; and the necessity of faith in Christ, in order to experience the blessings of this salvation, excited his earnest desire for the attainment. His mind derived present ease from these important truths, but still inclined to the supposition that this faith was in his own power. The following day he again sunk under the horrors of perdition; and that distraction which he had sought as a refuge from the fear of man, now seized him amidst his terrors of eternal judgement. A vein of self-loathing ran through the whole of his insanity; and his faculties were so completely deranged, that the attempt which he had lately deplored as an unpardonable transgression, now appeared to him an indispensable work of piety. He therefore repeated his assault upon his own life, under the dreadful delusion, that it was right to rid the earth of such a sinner; and that the sooner it was accomplished, his future misery would be the more tolerable. His purpose being again mercifully frustrated, he became at length familiar with despair, and suffered it to be alleviated by conversation with a pious and humane physician at St. Albans, under whose care he had happily

happily been placed. He began to take some pleasure in sharing daily the domestic worship which was laudably practised by Dr. Cotton, and he found relief from his despair, by reading in the scriptures, that "God hath sent forth Christ Jesus to be a propitiation, through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past through the forbearance of God." Romans, iii. 25. While meditating upon this passage, he obtained a clear view of the gospel, which was attended with unspeakable joy.

The first transports of his joy, which almost prevented his necessary sleep, having subsided, were followed by a sweet serenity of spirit, which he was enabled to retain, notwithstanding reviving struggles of the corruptions with which sin has universally infected our nature. The comfort he enjoyed in the profitable conversation of his beloved physician, induced him to prolong his stay at St. Alban's for twelve months after his recovery.— Having determined upon renouncing his profession of the law, he retired, first to Huntingdon, and two or three years afterward to this place, in order to indulge, amidst rural scenes, those religious pleasures and occupations, which experience had taught him to value far above all that the polite, or the busy world, could afford.

Those of you who thirty years past have lived in the fear of God, can testify the truth of the remark last quoted. Often have I heard described the amiable condescension with which our deceased friend listened to your religious converse, the sympathy with which he soothed your distresses, and the wisdom with

which he imparted needful advice. At your stated meetings for prayer (would there were such in every parish!) you have heard him, with benefit and delight, pour forth his heart before God in earnest intercession, with a devotion equally simple, sublime, and fervent, adapted to the unusual combination of elevated genius, exquisite sensibility, and profound piety, that distinguished his mind. It was, I believe, only on such occasions as these, that his constitutional diffidence was felt by him as a burden, during this happy portion of his life. I have heard him say, that when he expected to take the lead in your united prayers, his mind was greatly agitated for some hours preceding. But he observed, that his trepidation wholly subsided as soon as he began to speak in prayer; and that timidity, which he invariably felt at every appearance before his fellow-creatures, gave place to an awful, yet delightful consciousness of the presence of his Saviour.

His walk with God in private was consistent with the solemnity and fervour of his social engagements. Like the prophet Daniel, and the royal psalmist, he "kneeled three times a day, and prayed, and gave thanks before his God," in retirement, beside the regular practice of domestic worship. His mind was stayed upon God; and, for an unusual course of years, it was kept in perfect peace. The corrupt dispositions which have so strong a hold upon the human heart, appeared to be peculiarly suppressed in him; and when in any degree felt, they were lamented and resisted by him. His hymns, mostly written during this part of his life, describe both the general tenor of his

his thoughts, and their occasional wanderings, with a force of expression dictated by the liveliness of his feelings. While his attainments in the love of God were thus eminent, you, my friends, can testify the exemplary love that he practised toward his neighbour. To a conduct void of offence toward any individual, and marked with peculiar kindness to all who feared God, was added a beneficence fully proportioned to his ability, and exercised with the greatest modesty and discretion.

The consolation, which, after having endured the severest distress, he at that time derived from a life of faith in the Son of God, who loved him and gave himself for him, he thus describes, in an affecting allegory:

I was a stricken deer, that left the herd  
Long since; with many an arrow, deep  
infixt,  
My panting side was charged, when I  
withdrew  
To seek a tranquil death in distant shades.  
There was I found by one who had himself  
Been hurt by th' archers. In his side he bore,  
And in his hands and feet, the cruel scars.  
With gentle force soliciting the darts,  
He drew them forth, and heal'd, and bade  
me live.

The Task, B. 3.

This testimony to the truth and solidity of that peace with God, which is the privilege of them who are justified by faith, he published long after he had lost all enjoyment of the blessing. But who would not have hoped to see his path, like that of the sun, "shine more and more unto the perfect day?"—The degree and the duration of his spiritual comforts had, perhaps, exceeded the usual experience of pious people, and some suspension of them would not have seemed surprising;

but who could have expected their total and final extinction?

Our departed friend conceived some presentiment of this sad reverse as it drew near; and, during a solitary walk in the fields, he composed a hymn, which is so appropriate to our subject, and so expressive of that faith and hope which he retained as long as he possessed himself, that although it is very familiarly known to you, I cannot forbear to introduce it in this place.

God moves in a mysterious way,  
His wonders to perform;  
He plants his footsteps in the sea,  
And rides upon the storm.

Deep in unfathomable mines  
Of never-failing skill,  
He treasures up his bright designs,  
And works his sov'reign will.

Ye fearful saints, fresh courage take;  
The clouds ye so much dread  
Are big with mercy, and shall break  
In blessings on your head.

Judge not the Lord by feeble sense,  
But trust him for his grace;  
Behind a frowning providence  
He hides a smiling face.

His purposes will ripen fast,  
Unfolding ev'ry hour;  
The bud may have a bitter taste,  
But sweet will be the flow'r.

Blind unbelief is sure to err,  
And scan his work in vain;  
God is his own interpreter,  
And he will make it plain.

Armed with like faith, let us contemplate the dreary path that our deceased neighbour trod so long a time. Many have visited its gloomy entrance, and some have been a tedious while bewildered in it, but none within my knowledge have traced, as he did, its whole extent. The steps by which he descended to it were sudden, and awfully precipitous. The bright, yet serene lustre, which had usually "marked the

the road that led him to the lamb," was succeeded by impenetrable darkness. After the clearest views of the love of God, and the expansion of heart which he had enjoyed in his ways, his mind became obscured, confused, and dismayed.—He concluded, as too many others have done under so sensible a change, and as the psalmist in his infirmity was tempted to do, that "the Lord had cast him off; that he would be favourable no more; that his mercy was clean gone for ever!" That vivid imagination, which often attained the utmost limits of the sphere of reason, did but too easily transgress them; and his spirits, no longer sustained upon the wings of faith and hope, sunk with their weight of natural depression into the horrible abyss of absolute despair. In this state, his mind became immoveably fixed. He cherished an unalterable persuasion that the Lord, after having renewed him in holiness, had doomed him to everlasting perdition. The doctrines in which he had been established directly opposed such a conclusion; and he remained still equally convinced of their general truth: but he supposed himself to be the only person that ever believed with the heart unto righteousness, and was notwithstanding excluded from salvation. In this state of mind, with a deplorable consistency, he ceased not only from attendance upon public and domestic worship, but likewise from every attempt at private prayer; apprehending, that for him to implore mercy would be opposing the determinate counsel of God. Amidst these dreadful temptations, such was his unshaken submission to what he imagined to be the divine pleasure, that he was accus-

tomed to say, "if holding up my finger would save me from endless torments, I would not do it against the will of God." It was only at seasons, when, racked by the immediate expectation of being plunged into everlasting misery, his mind became wholly distracted, that he ever uttered a rebellious word against that God of love, whom his lamentable delusion transformed into an implacable oppressor. His efforts at self-destruction were repeatedly renewed; but they were stimulated by a strong impression that God had commanded him to perpetrate this act; and he even supposed that his involuntary failure in the performance had incurred the irrevocable vengeance of the Almighty! To this, and never to any other deficiency of obedience, have I heard him ascribe his imaginary exclusion from mercy.

Habituated to the fearful expectation of judgement, it became, as at the period formerly described, by degrees less insupportable. He became accessible to a few intimate friends in succession, who laboured to divert his thoughts from the dreadful object that engrossed them, and to excite them to activity on different subjects. Thus originated most of those poems, which, when published, charmed and surprised both the literary and the religious world. The attempt was successful in that which interested him much more than poetical fame, his partial relief from self-torment. Sometimes his mind was led so far from the vortex of distress, as to indulge in playful essays; but these intervals were extremely transient. In general, his poems are the evident dictates of that reverence for God, that esteem for the gospel, and that benevo-

benevolence towards his fellow-creatures, which characterised his familiar conversation. Sometimes his thoughts in composition glanced upon the subject he designed to avoid; and nothing can afford a more striking picture of himself, than the following lines in his poem on Retirement:

Look where he comes—in this embower'd  
alcove  
Stand close conceal'd, and see a statue  
move:  
Lips busy, and eyes fix'd, not falling flow,  
Arms hanging idly down, hands clasp'd  
below,  
Interpret to the marking eye distress,  
Such as its symptoms can avert express.  
That tongue is silent now; that silent  
tongue  
Could argue once, could jest or join the  
song,  
Could give advice, could censure, or com-  
mend,  
Or charm the sorrows of a drooping friend.  
Renounc'd alike its office and its sport,  
Its brisker and its graver strains fall short;  
Both fall beneath a fever's secret sway,  
And, like a summer brook, are past away.  
This is a sight for Pity to peruse,  
Till she resemble faintly what the views,  
Till Sympathy contract a kindred pain;  
Pierc'd with the woes that she laments in  
vain.

The connection of this passage is highly beautiful, but it is too large for quotation. It closes with advice to the pitiable sufferer (which, alas! our deceased friend could not himself exemplify) to seek the favour of God, as the only balm for a wounded spirit. At times, indeed, after more than twelve years of uninterrupted despair, some transient changes of his mental sensations admitted a gleam of hope, of which he immediately availed himself for a renewal of intercourse with God. He prayed in private as before his affliction, and even his slumbers

were thus delightfully occupied.—He has spoken of such nights, compared with those he usually endured, as passed on a bed of rose-leaves instead of fiery tortures, and as a transition from hell to heaven. These lucid intervals were unhappily so short, that he never resumed his attendance on public worship. The most tolerable days that he spent in the customary state of his mind, he has described to me, as begun with traces of horror, left by the most frightful dreams. The forenoon being employed in composition, became gradually less distressing. Before dinner he usually walked two hours; and the air, the rural prospects, and muscular exercise, contributed to his farther relief. If at dinner, and during the afternoon, he had the company of an intimate friend or two, which was frequently the case during the last ten years that he lived in this neighbourhood, their conversation seemed to afford the principal alleviation to his habitual burden. The evening was commonly employed in reading aloud to some friend who resided with him; for such was the care of God over this amiable sufferer, that he never was left without some companion, whose heart the Lord disposed to sacrifice every comfort for his preservation and relief. But as night approached, his gloom of mind regularly increased; and when he went to his bed, it was not to rest, but to be again harassed in slumber with the terrifying images of a bewildered fancy, neither restrained by the control of reason, nor diverted by external objects.

Of the general condition of his mind, during the last seven years of his abode in this vicinity, which certainly were the most tranquil that



he passed in the latter part of his life, the best judgement may be formed from his own expressions, in a poem written towards the close of that interval. It was occasioned by the unexpected acquisition of a small portrait of his mother, whom he had lost more than half a century before, but had never ceased to remember with the warmest gratitude and the fondest affection.— Having described her's and his father's passage through this life to a heavenly world, under the figure of a voyage speedily and prosperously terminated, he naturally reverts, in the same metaphorical language, to the distressing contrast which his own situation and prospects presented.

But me, scarce hoping to attain that rest,  
Always from port withheld, always distress'd—

Me howling winds drive devious, tempest  
toss'd,

Sails ript, seams op'ning wide, and compass  
lost;

And, day by day, some current's thwarting  
force

Sets me more distant from a prosp'rous  
course.

But, oh! the thought, that thou art safe,  
and he!

That thought is joy, arrive what may  
to me.

The principal pleasure that our excellent neighbour appeared to be capable of receiving, was, indeed, that which he derived from the happiness of others. Instead of being provoked to discontent and envy, by contrasting their comforts with his own afflictions, there evidently was not a benefit that he knew to be enjoyed by others, which did not afford him sensible satisfaction; not a suffering they endured that did not add to his pain. To the happiness of them who were privi-

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leged with opportunities of shewing their esteem for him, he was most tenderly alive. The advancement of the knowledge of Christ in the world at large was always near his heart; and whatever concerned the general welfare of mankind was interesting to him, secluded as he was from the public, and in common from religious society. In like manner, from his distant retreat, he viewed, with painful sensations, the progress of infidelity, and of sin in every shape. His love to God, though unassisted by a hope of divine favour, was invariably manifested, by an abhorrence of every thing that he thought dishonourable to the Most High, and a delight in all that tended to his glory.

His sympathizing and admiring friends were fondly cherishing a hope, that the diminution of his sufferings, which was apparent for several successive years, would at length result in his restoration to spiritual peace and joy. Although advanced in years, his health, by means of regular exercise and additional society, was not only preserved, but even seemed to improve; notwithstanding the root of his bitterness evidently still remained.— Amidst flattering expectations, the Lord permitted some affecting events to revive his distress in all its force, and to plunge him again into distraction and desperation. He declined all mental or bodily exertion, and rejected all attempts at friendly consolation; nay, he conceived his tenderest friends to be transformed by the powers of darkness into conspirators against his welfare. Expecting every hour to be his last out of endless torments, nothing short of this horrible prospect could attract his notice for an instant. He

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refused,

refused, day after day, his necessary food; and imminent danger appeared of his speedy departure out of life in so dreadful a state of mind. But the Lord, who had dashed the rising hopes of his friends, now mercifully disappointed their fears. His period of mortality was extended; and means were unexpectedly afforded for his removal from this neighbourhood to a distant situation, where he could remain under the continual care of an amiable young kinsman, who, with a tenderness beyond the common limits of filial affection, watched over the precious remnant of his life. Much of it elapsed without a probability of his restoration to the state from which he had last fallen. His intellectual powers were so much affected by this relapse, that he was only capable of attending to the most trivial subjects, even when willing to have his thoughts diverted from despair. Local advantages, the solicitous attention of affectionate friends, and the indefatigable assiduity of his only remaining companion, were at length rendered so far useful, that he was enabled to resume his literary occupations, which were always, when pursued, a considerable, though partial, alleviation of his distress.

During the last year or two of Mr. Cowper's life, his health, and his state of mind, appeared to be as much restored as for an equal time, at any period during his long afflictions. Toward the close of the past winter, he was, however, attacked by a bodily disorder, which brought on a rapid decay. His young friend and relative, convinced that he would shortly exchange a world of infirmity and sorrow for a far more exceeding and eternal weight of

glory, repeatedly endeavoured to cheer him with the prospect, and to assure him of the happiness that awaited him. Still he refused to be comforted. "Oh! spare me! spare me! You know, you know it to be false," was his only reply, with the same invincible despair to which he had so long been a prey. Early on the 25th of April, he sunk into a state of apparent insensibility, which might have been mistaken for a tranquil slumber, but that his eyes remained half open. His breath was regular, though feeble; and his countenance and animal frame perfectly serene. In this state he continued for twelve hours, and then expired, without heaving his breath.

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*General Washington's Will.*

In the name of God, Amen.

**I** George Washington, of Mount Vernon, a citizen of the United States, and lately president of the same, do make, ordain, and declare this instrument, which is written with my own hand, and every page thereof subscribed with my name, to be my last will and testament, revoking all others.

*Item.*—All my debts, of which there are but few, and none of magnitude, are to be punctually and speedily paid; and the legacies hereafter bequeathed are to be discharged as soon as circumstances will permit, and in the manner directed.

*Item.*—To my dearly beloved wife, Martha Washington, I give and bequeath the use, profit, and benefit of my whole estate, real and personal, for the term of her natural life, except such parts thereof as are specially disposed of hereafter.

My

My improved lot in the town of Alexandria, situated in Pitt and Cameron streets, I give to her and her heirs for ever, as also I do my household and kitchen furniture of every sort and kind, with the liquors and groceries which may be on hand at the time of my decease, to be used and disposed of as she may think proper.

*Item.*—Upon the decease of my wife, it is my will and desire that all the slaves which I hold in my own right shall receive their freedom. To emancipate them during her life would, though earnestly wished by me, be attended with such insuperable difficulties, on account of their intermixture by marriages with the dower negroes, as to excite the most painful sensations, if not disagreeable consequences, from the latter, while both descriptions are in the occupancy of the same proprietor; it not being in my power, under the tenure by which the dower negroes are held, to manumit them. And whereas among those who will receive freedom according to this demise, there may be some who from old age or bodily infirmities, and others who, on account of their infancy, will be unable to support themselves, it is my will and desire that all who come under the first and second description, shall be comfortably clothed and fed by my heirs while they live; and that such of the latter description as have no parents living, or, if living, are unable or unwilling to provide for them, shall be bound by the court till they shall arrive at the age of twenty-five years; and in cases where no record can be produced, whereby their ages can be ascertained, the judgement of the court, upon its own

view of the subject, shall be adequate and final. The negroes thus bound are (by their masters or mistresses) to be taught to read and write, and to be brought up to some useful occupation, agreeably to the laws of the commonwealth of Virginia, providing for the support of orphan and other poor children. And I do hereby expressly forbid the sale or transportation, out of the said commonwealth, of any slave I may die possessed of, under any pretence whatsoever. And I do moreover most solemnly and most pointedly enjoin it upon my executors hereafter named, or the survivor of them, to see that this clause respecting slaves, and every part thereof, be religiously fulfilled, at the epoch at which it is directed to take place, without evasion, neglect, or delay, after the crops, which may then be on the ground, are harvested, particularly as it respects the aged and infirm; seeing that a regular and permanent fund be established for their support as long as there are subjects requiring it, not trusting to the uncertain provision to be made by individuals.

*Item.*—To the trustees (governors, or by whatsoever name they may be designated) of the academy in the town of Alexandria, I give and bequeath (in trust) four thousand dollars, or, in other words, twenty of the shares which I hold in the bank of Alexandria, towards the support of a free-school, established at and annexed to the said academy, for the purpose of educating such orphan children, or the children of such other poor and indigent persons as are unable to accomplish it with their own means; and who, in the judgement of the trustees of the said seminary, are best entitled

to the benefit of this donation. The aforesaid twenty shares I give and bequeath in perpetuity: the dividends only of which are to be drawn for, and applied by, the said trustees, for the time being, for the uses above-mentioned: the stock to remain entire and untouched unless indications of failure of the said bank should be so apparent, or a discontinuance thereof should render the removal of this fund necessary. In either of these cases, the amount of the stock here devised is to be vested in some other bank, or public institution, whereby the interest may with regularity and certainty be drawn and applied as above. And, to prevent misconception, my meaning is, and is hereby declared to be, that these twenty shares are in lieu of, and not in addition to, the twenty thousand pounds given by a missive letter some years ago; in consequence whereof an annuity of fifty pounds has since been paid towards the support of this institution.

*Item.*—Whereas, by a law of the commonwealth of Virginia, enacted in the year 1785, the legislature thereof was pleased, as an evidence of its approbation of the services I had rendered the public during the revolution, and partly, I believe, in consideration of my having suggested the vast advantages which the community would derive from the extension of its inland navigation, under legislative patronage, to present me with one hundred shares, of one hundred dollars each, in the incorporated company, established for the purpose of extending the navigation of James River, from tidewater to the mountains; and also with fifty shares, of one hundred pounds sterling each, in the corpo-

ration of another company, likewise established for the similar purpose of opening the navigation of the river Potomac, from Tidewater to Fort Cumberland; the acceptance of which, though the offer was highly honourable and grateful to my feelings, was refused, as inconsistent with a principle which I had adopted, and never departed from, namely, not to receive pecuniary compensation for any services I could render my country in its arduous struggle with Great Britain for its rights, and because I had evaded similar propositions from other states in the union. Adding to this refusal, however, an intimation, that, if it should be the pleasure of the legislature to permit me to appropriate the said shares to public uses, I would receive them on those terms with due sensibility; and this it having consented to in flattering terms, as will appear by a subsequent law, and sundry resolutions, in the most ample and honourable manner; I proceed, after this recital, for the more correct understanding of the case, to declare that it has always been a source of serious regret with me to see the youth of these United States sent to foreign countries for the purpose of education, often before their minds were formed, or they had imbibed any adequate ideas of the happiness of their own, contracting too frequently not only habits of dissipation and extravagance, but principles unfriendly to republican government; and to the true and genuine liberties of mankind, which thereafter are rarely overcome. For these reasons, it has been my ardent wish to see a plan devised on a liberal scale, which would have a tendency to spread systematic ideas

ideas through all parts of this rising empire, thereby to do away local attachments and stale prejudices as far as the nature of things would, or indeed ought, to admit from our national councils. Looking anxiously forward to the accomplishment of so desirable an object as this is, (in my estimation,) my mind has not been able to contemplate any plan more likely to effect the measure than to establish an university in a central part of the United States, to which the youths of fortune and talents, from all parts thereof, might be sent for the completion of their education in all the branches of polite literature, in arts and sciences, in acquiring knowledge in the principles of politics and good government, and (as a matter of infinite importance in my judgement,) by associating with each other, and forming friendship in juvenile years, be enabled to free themselves, in a proper degree, from those local prejudices and habitual jealousies which have just been mentioned, and which, when carried to excess, are never-failing sources of disquietude to the public mind; and pregnant with mischievous consequences to this country: under these impressions so fully dilated,

*Item*,—I give and bequeath, in perpetuity, the 50 shares I hold in the Potomac company (under the aforesaid acts of the legislature of Virginia,) towards the endowment of an university, to be established within the limits of the district of Columbia, under the auspices of the general government, if that government should incline to extend a fostering hand towards it; and until such seminary is established, and the funds arising in

those shares shall be required for its support, my farther will and desire is, that the profit accruing therefrom shall, whenever the dividends are made, be laid out in purchasing stock in the bank of Columbia, or some other bank, at the discretion of my executors, or by the treasurer of the United States for the time being, under the direction of congress, provided that honourable body should patronise the measure; and the dividends proceeding from the purchase of such a stock are to be vested in more stock, and so on until a sum, adequate to the accomplishment of the object, is obtained; of which I have not the smallest doubt before many years pass away, even if no aid or encouragement be given by legislative authority, or from any other source.

*Item*.—The hundred shares which I hold in James-River company, I have given, and now confirm in perpetuity to and for the use of Liberty-Hall academy, in the county of Rockbridge, in the commonwealth of Virginia.

*Item* —I release, exonerate, and discharge the estate of my deceased brother, Samuel Washington; from the payment of the money which is due to me for the land I sold to P. Pendleton, (lying in the county of Berkeley,) who assigned the same to him, the said Samuel, and his son Thornton Washington; the latter became possessed of the aforesaid land without any conveyance having passed from me, either to the said Pendleton, the said Samuel, or the said Thornton, and without any consideration having been made, by which neglect, neither the legal nor equitable title has been alienated; it rests, therefore, with me to declare my intentions concerning

the premises; and these are to give and bequeath the said land to whomsoever the said Thornton Washington (who is also dead) devised the same, or to his heirs for ever, if he died intestate; exonerating the estate of the said Thornton, equally with that of the said Samuel, from payment of the purchase-money, which, with interest, agreeably to the original contract with the said P. Pendleton, would amount to more than a thousand pounds. And whereas two other sons of my said deceased brother Samuel, viz. George Steptoe Washington, and Lawrence Augustine Washington, were, by the decease of those to whose care they were committed, brought under my protection, and, in consequence, have occasioned advances on my part for their education at college and other schools, for their board, clothing, and other incidental expenses, to the amount of near five thousand dollars, over and above the sums furnished by their estate, which sum it may be inconvenient for them or their father's estate to refund; I do, for these reasons, acquit them and the said estate from the payment thereof, my intention being, that all accounts between them and me, and their father's estate and me, shall stand balanced.

*Item.*—The balance due to me from the estate of Bartholomew Dandridge, deceased, (my wife's brother), and which amounted on the 1st day of October 1795, to 425l. (as will appear by an account rendered by his deceased son, John Dandridge, who was the acting executor of his father's will,) I release and acquit from the payment thereof; and the negroes (then thirty-three in number) formerly belong-

ing to the said estate, who were taken in execution, sold and purchased in on my account, in the year (blank,) and ever since have remained in the possession, and to the use of Mary, widow of the said Bartholomew Dandridge, with their encrease, it is my will and desire, shall continue to be in her possession, without paying hire, or making compensation for the same, for the time past or to come, during her natural life, at the expiration of which, I direct that all of them, who are forty years old and upwards, shall receive their freedom; all under that age, and above sixteen, shall serve seven years, and no longer; and all under sixteen years shall serve until they are twenty-five years of age, and then to be free; and to avoid disputes respecting the ages of any of those negroes, they are to be taken into the court of the county in which they reside, and the judgement thereof, in this relation, shall be final, and record thereof made, which may be adduced as evidence at any time thereafter, if disputes should arise concerning the same; and I farther direct that the heirs of the said Bartholomew Dandridge shall equally share the benefits arising from the service of the said negroes, according to the tenor of this devise, upon the decease of their mother.

*Item.*—If Charles Carter, who intermarried with my niece, Betty Lewis, is not sufficiently secured in the title to the lots he had of me, in the town of Fredericksburg, it is my will and desire that my executors shall make such conveyance of them as the law requires, to render it perfect.

*Item.*—To my nephew, William Augustine Washington, (if he should conceive



conceive them to be objects worth prosecuting,) and to his heirs, a lot in the town of Manchester, opposite to Richmond, No. 265, drawn on my sole account, and also the tenth of one or two hundred acre lots, and two or three half acre lots, in the city and vicinity of Richmond, drawn in partnership with nine others, all in the lottery of the deceased William Byrd, are given; as is also a lot which I purchased of John Hood, conveyed by William Willie and Samuel Gordon, trustees of the said John Hood, numbered 159, in the town of Edinburgh, in the county of Prince George, state of Virginia.

*Item.*—To my nephew, Bushrod Washington, I give and bequeath all the papers in my possession, which relate to my civil and military administration of the affairs of this country; I leave to him also such of my private papers as are worth preserving; and, at the decease of my wife, and before, if she is not inclined to retain them, I give and bequeath my library of books and pamphlets of every kind.

*Item.*—To the earl of Buchan I recommit “the box made of the oak that sheltered the great sir William Wallace, after the battle of Falkirk;” presented to me by his lordship, in terms too flattering for me to repeat, with a request, “to pass it, on the event of my decease, to the man in my country who should appear to merit it best, upon the same conditions that have induced him to send it to me.” Whether it be easy or not to select the man who might comport with his lordship’s opinion in this respect, is not for me to say; but conceiving that no disposition of this valuable curiosity can be more eligible than

the re-commitment of it to his own cabinet, agreeably to the original design of the Goldsmith’s company of Edinburgh, who presented it to him; and, at his request, consented that it should be transferred to me; I do give and bequeath the same to his lordship; and, in case of his decease, to his heir, with my grateful thanks for the distinguished honour of presenting it to me, and more especially for the favourable sentiments with which he accompanied it.

*Item.*—To my brother, Charles Washington, I give and bequeath the gold-headed cane left me by Dr. Franklin, in his will. I add nothing to it, because of the ample provision I have made for his issue. To the acquaintances and friends of my juvenile years, Lawrence Washington and Robert Washington, of Chotanck, I give my other two gold-headed canes, having my arms engraved on them; and to each (as they will be useful where they live) I leave one of the spy glasses, which constituted part of my equipage during the late war. To my compatriot in arms, and old intimate friend, Dr. Craik, I give my bureau; or, as the cabinet-makers call it, tambour secretary, and the circular chair, an appendage to my study. To Dr. D. Stuart, I give my large shaving and dressing-table, and my telescope. To the reverend, now Bryan lord Fairfax, I give a Bible, in three large folio volumes, with notes, presented to me by the right reverend Thomas Wilson, bishop of Sodor and Man. To general de la Fayette, I give a pair of finely wrought steel pistols, taken from the enemy in the revolutionary war. To my sisters-in-law, Hannah Washington and Mildred Washington,

ton, to my friends Eleanor Stuart, Hannah Washington, of Fairfield, and Elizabeth Washington, of Hayfield, I give each, a mourning ring, of the value of one hundred dollars. These bequests are not made for the intrinsic value of them, but as mementos of my esteem and regard. To Tobias Lear, I give the use of the Farm which he now holds, in virtue of a lease from me, to him and his deceased wife (for and during their natural lives,) free from rent during his life; at the expiration of which, it is to be disposed of as is herein-after directed. To Sally B. Haym, a distant relation of mine, I give and bequeath three hundred dollars. To Sarah Green daughter of the deceased Thomas Bishop, and to Ann Walker, daughter of John Alton, also deceased, I give each one hundred dollars, in consideration of the attachment of their fathers to me, each of whom having lived nearly forty years in my family. To each of my nephews, William Augustine Washington, George Lewis, George Steptoe Washington, Bushrod Washington, and Samuel Washington, I give one of the swords or coutteaux, of which I may die possessed; and they are to choose in the order they are named. These swords are accompanied with an injunction not to unsheath them for the purpose of shedding blood, except it be for self-defence, or in defence of their country and its rights; and, in the latter case, to keep them unsheathed, and prefer falling with them in their hands to the relinquishment thereof.

And now, having gone through these specific devises with explanations, for the more correct understanding of the meaning and design of them, I proceed to the distribu-

tion of the more important part of my estate in manner following:

1st. To my nephew Bushrod Washington, and his heirs (partly in consideration of an intimation to his deceased father while we were bachelors, and he had kindly undertaken to superintend my estate during my military services in the former war between Great Britain and France, that if I should fall therein, Mount Vernon, then less extensive in dominion than at present, should become his property,) I give and bequeath all that part thereof which is comprehended within the following limits, viz. beginning at the ford of Dogue Run, near my mill, and extending along the road, and bounded thereby, as it now goes, and ever has gone since my recollection of it; to the ford of Little Hunting-Creek, at the Gum-Spring, until it comes to a knoll, opposite to an old road, which formerly passed through the lower field of Muddyhole-Farm; at which, on the north side of the said road, are three red or Spanish oaks, marked as a corner, and a stone placed; thence by a line of trees to be marked rectangular to the back line or outer boundary of the tract between Thompson Mason and myself; thence with that line easterly (now double ditching with a post and rail fence thereon) to the run of Little Hunting-Creek; thence with that run, which is the boundary between the lands of the late Humphrey Peake and me, to the tidewater of the said creek; thence by that water to Potomac-River; thence with the river to the mouth of Dogue-Creek; and thence with the said Dogue-Creek to the place of beginning at the aforesaid ford, containing upwards of four thousand acres, be the same

more

more or less, together with the mansion-house, and all other buildings and improvements thereon.

2d. In consideration of the consanguinity between them and my wife, being as nearly related to her as to my self, as on account of the affection I had for, and the obligation I was under to their father, when living, who, from his youth, had attached himself to my person, and followed my fortunes through the vicissitudes of the late revolution, afterwards devoting his time to the superintendence of my private concerns for many years, whilst my public employments rendered it impracticable to do it myself, thereby affording me essential services, and always performing them in a manner the most filial and respectful; for these reasons, I say, I give and bequeath to George Fayette Washington and Lawrence Augustus Washington, and their heirs my estate, east of Little Hunting-Creek, lying on the river Potomac, including the farm of three hundred and sixty acres, leased to Tobias Lear, as noticed before, and containing in the whole, by deed, two thousand and twenty acres, be it more or less; which said estate it is my will and desire should be equitably and advantageously divided between them, according to quantity, quality, and other circumstances, when the youngest shall arrive at the age of twenty-one years, by three judicious and disinterested men; one to be chosen by each of the brothers, and the third by these two. In the mean time if the termination of my wife's interest therein should have ceased, the profits arising therefrom are to be applied for their joint uses and benefit.

3d. And whereas it has always

been my intention, since my expectation of having issue has ceased, to consider the grand children of my wife in the same light as I do my own relations, and to act a friendly part by them, more especially by the two whom we have raised from their earliest infancy, namely, Eleanor Park Custis, and George Washington Park Custis. And whereas the former of these hath lately intermarried with Lawrence Lewis, a son of my deceased sister, Betty Lewis, by which union the inducement to provide for them has been increased: wherefore I give and bequeath to the said Lawrence Lewis and Eleanor Park Lewis, his wife, and their heirs, the residue of my Mount Vernon estate, not already devised to my nephew, Bushrod Washington, comprehended within the following description, viz. All the lands north of the road leading from the ford of Dogue-Run to the Gum-Spring, and described in the devise of the other part of the tract, to Bushrod Washington, until it comes to the stone and three red or Spanish oaks on the knowl, thence with the rectangular line to the back line (between Mr. Mason and me;) thence with that line westerly along the new double ditch to Dogue-Run, by the tumbling dam of my mill; thence with the said run to the ford aforementioned, to which I add all the land I possess west of the said Dogue-Run and Dogue-Creek, bounded easterly and southerly thereby; together with the mill, distillery, and all other houses and improvements on the premises, making together about two thousand acres, be it more or less.

4th. Actuated by the principle already mentioned, I give and bequeath

queath to George Washington Park Custis, the grandson of my wife, and my ward, and to his heirs, the tract I hold on Four-Mile Run, in the vicinity of Alexandria, containing one thousand two hundred acres, more or less, and my entire square, number twenty-one, in the city of Washington.

5th. All the rest and residue of my estate, real and personal not disposed of in manner aforesaid, in whatsoever consisting, wheresoever lying, and whensoever found, a schedule of which, as far as is recollected, with a reasonable estimate of its value, is hereunto annexed, I desire may be sold by my executors at such times, in such manner, and on such credits (if an equal, valid, and satisfactory distribution of the specific property cannot be made without,) as in their judgment shall be most conducive to the interest of the parties concerned, and the monies arising therefrom to be divided into twenty-three equal parts, and applied as follows, viz. To William Augustine Washington, Elizabeth Spotwood, Jane Thornton, and the heirs of Ann Ashton, son and daughters of my deceased brother Augustine Washington, I give and bequeath four parts, that is one part to each of them; to Fielding Lewis, George Lewis, Robert Lewis, Howell Lewis, and Betty Carter, sons and daughter of my deceased sister, Betty Lewis, I give and bequeath five other parts, one to each of them; to George Steptoe Washington, Lawrence Augustine Washington, Harriot Parks, and the heirs of Thornton Washington, sons and daughters of my deceased brother, Samuel Washington, I give and bequeath the other four parts, one

part to each of them; to Corbin Washington, and the heirs of Jane Washington, son and daughter of my deceased brother, John Augustine Washington, I give and bequeath two parts, one part to each of them. To Samuel Washington, Frances Ball, and Mildred Hammond, son and daughters of my brother Charles Washington, I give and bequeath three parts, one part to each of them; and to George Fayette Washington, Charles Augustine Washington, and Maria Washington, sons and daughter of my deceased nephew George Augustine Washington, I give one other part, that is, to each a third of that part. To Elizabeth Park Law, Martha Park Peter, and Eleanor Park Lewis, I give and bequeath three other parts, that is, a part to each of them; and to my nephew, Bushrod Washington, and Lawrence Lewis, and to my ward, the grandson of my wife, I give and bequeath one other part, that is, a third thereof to each of them. And, if it should so happen that any of the persons, whose names are here enumerated, (unknown to me) should now be dead, or should die before me, that in either of these cases, the heirs of such deceased persons shall, notwithstanding, derive all the benefits of the bequest, in the same manner as if he or she was actually living at the time; and by way of advice, I recommend it to my executors, not to be precipitate in disposing of the landed property therein directed to be sold, if, from temporary causes, the sale thereof should be dull, experience having fully evinced that the price of land (especially above the falls of the rivers, and on the western waters) has been progressively rising, and cannot

cannot be long checked in its increasing value. And I particularly recommend it to such of the legatees (under the clause of my will) as can make it convenient, to take each a share of my stock in the Potomac company, in preference to the amount of what it might sell for, being thoroughly convinced myself, that no use to which the money can be applied will be so productive as the tolls arising from this navigation when in full operation, (and this, from the nature of things, it must be ere long, and more especially if that of the Shenandoah is added thereto.

The family vault at Mount Vernon requiring repairs, and being improperly situated besides, I desire that a new one of brick, upon a larger scale, may be built at the foot of what is commonly called the Vineyard-Inclosure, on the ground which is marked out; in which my remains, with those of my deceased relations (now in the old vault) and such others of my family as may chuse to be entombed there, may be deposited. And it is my express desire that my corpse may be interred in a private manner, without parade or funeral oration.

Lastly, I constitute and appoint my dearly beloved wife, Martha Washington, my nephews, William Augustine Washington, Bushrod Washington, George Steptoe Washington, Samuel Washington, and Lawrence Lewis, and my ward, George Washington Park Custis, (when he shall have arrived at the age of twenty-one years,) executrix and executors of this will and testament.

In witness of all, and each of the things herein contained, I have set my hand and seal, this ninth day of July, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety —\*, and of the independence of the United States the twenty-fourth.

George Washington.  
(Seal)

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*Character of Marmontel. By J. Mallet du Pan.*

**M**ARMONTEL, who was a member and the perpetual secretary of the French academy, till the philosopher of the revolution exterminated the academies, finished his career at the age of seventy, in Normandy, in the month of December last.

The public opinion of the numerous works of this writer of the first class being settled, it would be superfluous here to examine his literary merit. Few authors produce more, because few are so laborious. Although Marmontel did not succeed in all the modes of writing he attempted, he is in the number of writers whose titles will be reviewed and acknowledged by posterity. He has been equally successful in works of imagination and didactic ones. The best course of literature we have in French, is that which he has inserted in the *Encyclopédie Méthodique*. He has the great merit of clearness, justness of expression, wit, and taste; in short, a precision the reverse of that frothy verbosity so frequent in the fa-

\* It appears the testator omitted the word nine.

mous dictionary, and of the useless profusions of most modern rhetoricians.

The revolution robbed Marmontel of his place, salaries, fortune, and resources. The old government had been just and liberal towards him, and he was not ungrateful: from sentiment as well as reflection he was no partaker either in the enthusiasm or errors into which the events of 1789 led so many men of letters. Grateful for the magnanimous concessions which the king had made to his subjects in the month of December, 1788, he was not deceived by the strange innovations, the establishment of which was prepared by conspirators and the disciples of anarchy.

However, he had it in his power to take a part in that stormy scene, and to go through it with more success than his companion Bailly, whose approaching popular fortune he little suspected, and to whom he was far superior in political knowledge, firmness of character, and justness of thought. They were both appointed electors by the *Tiers-Etat* of the commune of Paris. Marmontel appeared at the electoral assembly with distinguished marks of favour; he was generally pointed out as one of the deputies who would be elected; this popularity lasted six days.

The electoral body, usurping the rights and the language of an independent political body, took it into their heads that they would govern the state and the king. Upon an incendiary motion, made by the declaimer Target, it was resolved, among other things, to give orders to his majesty, that, without delay, the press should be allowed unlimited liberty.

Marmontel opposed, with all his power and eloquence, a conduct so seditious. He found himself alone in this opinion in which he persisted: his credit vanished; and he was struck from the list of candidates.

Neither fear, nor seduction, nor policy could shake his mind. He loudly professed his principles, his contempt of those that prevailed, and his horror at the criminal means by which they were made to prevail. I have heard him confounding, with all the weight of a sound and noble reason, dangerous men, whose aversion was not to be incurred with impunity.

About the end of the year 1791, when he thought that all was irrecoverably lost, he retired with his wife and children, to a cottage which he had purchased in Normandy. In 1792, finding that anarchy made rapid strides, he thought of leaving France and taking refuge in Switzerland: a project which I persuaded him to relinquish, as the smallness of his fortune and the fate of his family would not permit it.

Although totally absorbed in the education of his children and in literary labours, he was persecuted in his retreat, and more than once imprisoned. At length, revolutionary tyranny having blunted its bloody sword, before it could whet a new-modelled one, France seemed to breathe for some days. It was in that short interval, during the spring of 1797, that Marmontel, by the voice of the worthy people of his department, was returned a deputy to the legislature. He yielded to the pressing intreaties of his electors much more than to their illusion, in which he was not a partaker. Cogently discriminating circumstances, plans, and obstacles, he



he foresaw the catastrophe which put an end to the dream of the legislative body. His age, and some remaining consideration for his talents, saved him from transportation; but his election was annulled.

Restored to liberty and his family, he hastened back to his rural retreat, where, with a tranquil conscience, he died on the 30th of December last, at the age of 69 years; a good father, an affectionate husband, and a Christian.

Here let me remove one of those slanders engendered by the prejudices of sect and party, which from the French papers has found its way to those of other countries. They accused Marmontel of hypocrisy, for defending the interests of religion in the legislative body, after having, they say, attacked it in his works. Nothing is more absurd and false than this assertion.

But supposing that a writer in the effervescence of youth, and hurried away by example, or the passions, had taken unwarrantable liberties with religious principles, would it follow, that when matured by age and reason, when taught by dreadful experience the effects of incredulity, he should not acknowledge the danger of it, and oppose it without being guilty of hypocrisy? It was the case of another academician, whose conversion made still more noise than his errors.

But, as for Marmontel, he never had grounds to lament his publications. He never sheltered himself by writing anonymously; and in which of his acknowledged works shall we find a proof to support the

imputation I am refuting? Will any one venture to adduce the censure of Belisarius by the doctors of the Sorbonne, who with a rage and absurdity worthy of the tenth century, anathematized the maxims of toleration displayed by the author of it, and which were adopted by all enlightened Christians awake to the spirit of the Gospel?

To listen to the crowd of declaimers and ignorant persons who pretend to explain the causes of the revolution, we should believe it to be the result of an universal conspiracy of men of learning and science against the throne and the altar. They are, no doubt, right, according to their meaning; for in their eyes, whoever requires that the power of the laws should be superior to that of a minister, or of a lieutenant de police, is a rebel and a jacobin; just as they, with equal sagacity, pronounce him an atheist who wrote against the jesuits, or laughed at the legend.

Fact is the answer to these absurd assertions. In spite of the interested declamations and invectives of the Linguets, Merciers, and Chamforts, it is certain that the French academy was composed of men the most distinguished by their literary talents. Mark then; of 37 members, the number of that body in 1790, only eight embraced and served the revolution.\* Most of the members of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belle Lettres were clear of all participation in it. The Academy of Sciences alone merited that reproach which was so unjustly thrown upon men of letters worthy of the title: and to its everlasting

\* Cardinal de Lomenie, La Harpe, Dacis, Chamfort, Condorcet, the marquis de Montelquieu, Bailly, and Target.

shame it produced three of Robespierre's ministers, namely Monge, Meunier, and Fourcroy.

As for the crowd of composers of ballads and romances, college tutors, private teachers, club-philosophers, rhetoricians, and inspired jurists, who have devoted their genius to the improvement of society, it is carrying the indulgence of language too far to call them men of letters.

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*Account of George Steevens, Esq. the Editor of Shakespeare.*

GEORGE Steevens, esq. F. R. and A. S. was only son of G. Steevens, esq. of Stepney, many years an East-India captain, and afterwards a director of the East-India company, who died in 1768. He was born at Stepney and admitted of King's college, Cambridge, about 1751 or 1752. But he is best known as editor of Shakespeare's plays, 20 of which he published, 1766, in 4 vol. 8vo. A year before the appearance of this edition, Dr. Johnson had published an edition, with notes, in 8 vol. 8vo. A coalition between these two editors having been negotiated, another edition, known by the name of Johnson and Steevens's edition, made its appearance, in 10 vol. 8vo. 1773. It was reprinted by these gentlemen, in the same number of volumes, five years after; and again, 1785, under the care of Isaac Reed, esq. of Staple-Inn, who, at the request of his friends Mr. Steevens and Dr. Farmer, undertook the office of editor. A fourth edition of this work, with great additions and improvements, was published by Mr. Steevens, in 15 vol. 8vo. 1793, which is the most complete

edition extant of Shakespeare's plays. The diligent editor has taken all possible pains to render his work full, clear, and convenient; and, whoever considers the prolegomena and notes, joined to the elegance of the typographical execution, will be of opinion that our immortal bard is edited in a manner worthy his fame. But this talent at explaining and illustrating the difficulties and beauties of Shakespeare, was disgraced by the worst of soils, a severity of satire, which too strongly marked a malevolence of heart, from which his best friends cannot vindicate the editor.

Mr. Steevens was a most valuable member of the literary world, and a bright star in the constellation of editors of that century in which the names of Pope, Theobald, Rowe, Warburton, Garrick, Johnson, Capel, and Malone are conspicuous. Adorned with a versatility of talents, he was eminent both by his pen and his pencil; with the one there was nothing he could not compose, and with the other, nothing he could not imitate so closely, as to leave a doubt which was the original and which the copy. But his chief excellence lay in his critical knowledge of an author's text, and the best pattern of his great abilities is his edition of Shakespeare, in which he has left every competitor far behind him; and even Johnson, with his giant strides, could not walk by his side.

Mr. Steevens was a man of the greatest perseverance in every thing he undertook; often constant, but not always consistent, as he would sometimes break off his longest habits without any ostensible reason. He discontinued his daily visits to White's, the bookseller, after many years

years regular attendance, for no real cause; and left Stockdale, whom he took up on quitting White, all at once in the same eccentric and unaccountable manner. He never took a pinch of snuff after he lost his box in St. Paul's churchyard, though it had been the custom of his life, and he was much addicted to the practice, and in the habit of making his memorandums by bits of paper in his box. He was rich in books and prints. He bought largely at Mr. Baker's auction of sir Clement Dormer's library, collected by general Dormer, where he got the French translation of Xenophon's works, by Pyramus de Candale, Cologne, 1613, bound in Morocco and gilt leaves, worth 40*l.* and upwards for 12*l.* 12*s.* He had the second folio of Shakespeare, with notes, and alterations of the scenes by Charles II. in his own hand. He never would sit for his picture, but had no objection to illustrate his own Shakespeare with 1500 portraits of all the persons in the notes and text, of which he could make drawings or procure engravings. His set of Hogarth also is supposed to be the most complete of any that ever was collected; and his commentary on the productions of that inimitable painter, which accompanies Mr. Nichols's "Biographical Anecdotes," would alone have stamped a lasting fame on his critical acumen. He had a happy memory, richly stored, was a very pleasant tête-à-tête companion, communicative of his knowledge, but jealous of other men's. Mr. Steevens has bequeathed his valuable Shakespeare to earl Spencer; his Hogarth (perfect, with the exception of one or two pieces) to Mr. Windham; and his corrected copy

of Shakespeare to Mr. Reed, together with a bequest of 200 guineas. To his niece, Miss Steevens, who is his residuary legatee, he has left the bulk of his fortune, including his library of curious and rare books (which has been sold by auction by Mr. King. There are only two or three other small legacies in money.

The early editors of Shakespeare looked to little more than verbal accuracy; and even Warburton confined the sagacity of his mighty mind to the restoring uncertain readings, and explaining dubious passages. Johnson, who possessed more of the knowledge necessary to an editor of Shakespeare than those who had preceded him in that character, was found wanting; and his first edition of Shakespeare's plays, which had been expected with much impatience, brought disappointment along with it. In a subsequent edition, he accepted the assistance of Mr. Steevens; and consented that the name of that gentleman should be in editorial conjunction with his own. Mr. Steevens possessed that knowledge which qualified him in a superior degree for the illustration of our divine poet, and without which the utmost critical acumen would prove abortive. He had, in short, studied the age of Shakespeare, and had employed his persevering industry in becoming acquainted with the writings, manners, and laws, of that period, as well as the provincial peculiarities, whether of language or custom, which prevailed in different parts of the kingdom, but more particularly in those where Shakespeare passed the early years of his life. This store of knowledge he was continually increasing by the acquisition

fiction of the rare and obsolete publications of a former age, which he spared no expense to obtain; while his critical sagacity and acute observation were employed incessantly in calling forth the hidden meanings of our great dramatic bard from their covert, and, consequently, enlarging the display of his beauties. This advantage is evident from his last edition of Shakespeare, which contains so large a portion of new, interesting, and accumulated illustration.

It is to his own indefatigable industry, and the exertions of his printer, that we are indebted for the most perfect edition of our immortal bard that ever came from the English press. In the preparation of it for the printer, he gave an instance of editorial activity and perseverance which is without example. To this work he devoted solely and exclusively of all other attentions a period of 18 months; and, during that time, he left his house every morning at one o'clock with the Hampstead patrol, and, proceeding without any consideration of the weather or the season, called up the compositor, and woke all his devils:

"Him late from Hampstead journeying to  
his book."

Aurora off for Cephalus mistook;

What time he brush'd the dew with hasty  
pace,

To meet the printer's devil face to face."

*Pursuits of Literature.*

At the chamber's of his friend Mr. Reed, where he was allowed to admit himself, with a sheet of the Shakespeare letter-press ready for correction, and found a room prepared to receive him: there was every book which he might wish to consult; and to Mr. Reed's pillow

he could apply, on any doubt or sudden suggestion, for a knowledge of English literature perhaps equal to his own. This nocturnal toil greatly accelerated the printing of the work; as, while the printers slept, the editor was awake; and thus, in less than 20 months, he completed his last splendid edition of Shakespeare, in 15 large 8vo volumes; an almost incredible labour, which proved the astonishing energy and persevering powers of his mind. That he contented himself with being a commentator, arose probably from the habits of his life, and his devotion to the name with which his own will descend to the latest posterity. It is probable that many of his *jeux-d'esprit* might be collected; but we are not acquainted with any single production of his pen, but a poem of a few stanzas in the Annual Register, under the title of "The Frantic Lover." Mr. Stevens was a classical scholar of the first order. He was equally acquainted with the *Belles Lettres* of Europe. He had studied history, ancient and modern, but particularly that of his own country. He possessed a strong original genius and an abundant wit; his imagination was of every colour, and his sentiments were enlivened with the most brilliant expressions. With these qualities, his colloquial power surpassed those of other men. In argument he was uncommonly eloquent; and his eloquence was equally logical and animate. His descriptions were so true to nature, his figures were so finely sketched, of such curious selection, and so happily grouped, that he might sometimes be considered as a speaking Hogarth. He would frequently, in his sportive and almost boyish humours,

humours, condescend to a degree of ribaldry but little above O'Keeffe: with him, however, it lost all its coarseness, and assumed the air of classical vivacity. He was indeed too apt to catch the ridiculous, both in characters and things, and to indulge rather an indiscreet animation wherever he found it. It must be acknowledged, that he scattered his wit and his humour, his gibes and his jeers, too freely around him; and they were not lost for want of gathering. This disposition made him many enemies, and attached an opinion of malignity to his character which it did not in reality possess. But there are many who would rather receive a serious injury than be the object of a joke, or at least of such jokes as were uttered by Steevens, which were remembered by all who heard them, and repeated by all who remembered them. A characteristic *bon mot* is a kind of oral caricature, copies of which are multiplied by every tongue which utters it; and it is much less injurious or mortifying to be the object of a satirical work, which is seldom read but once, and is often thought of no more, than to be hitched into a sarcastic couplet, or condensed into a stinging epithet, which will be equally treasured up by good-humour or ill-nature, for the different purposes of mirth or resentment.—Mr. Steevens loved what is called fun; a disposition which has a strong tendency to mischief. It is a hobby horse, which, while it curvets and prances merely to frighten a timorous rider, will sometimes unintentionally throw him in the dirt. Some open charges of a malignant disposition have been made against him; and, in the preface to

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the works of a distinguished literary character, he is accused, while in the habits of intimate friendship and daily intercourse with that gentleman, of writing calumniating paragraphs in the newspapers against him. But these paragraphs Mr. Steevens did not write; and the late Mr. Seward has asserted that Mr Bicknell, the author of a poem, called "The Dying Negro," acknowledged to him that he was the author of them.

Mr. Steevens possessed a very handsome fortune, which he managed with discretion, and was enabled by it to gratify his wishes, which he did without any regard to expense, in forming his distinguished collections of classical learning, literary antiquity, and the arts connected with it. His generosity also was equal to his fortune; and, though he was not seen to give eleemosynary fixpences to sturdy beggars or sweepers of the crossings, few persons distributed bank-notes with more liberality; and some of his acts of pecuniary kindness might be named, and probably among many others that are not known, which could only proceed from a mind adorned with the noblest sentiments of humanity. Mr. Steevens received the first part of his education at Kingston-upon-Thames; he went thence to Eton, and was afterwards a fellow-commoner of King's College, Cambridge. He also accepted a commission in the Essex militia on its first establishment. The latter years of his life he chiefly passed at Hampstead in unvisited retirement, and seldom mixed with society but in booksellers' shops, or the Shakespeare gallery, or the morning *conversations* of Sir Joseph Banks.

A a

Memoirs

*Memoirs of the late Marquis de Bouillé, an original Communication by a near Relation of that able Statesman and Officer.*

**T**HE marquis was born in 1740, at Cluzel, the paternal seat of his ancestors, situate in the province of Auvergne. His mother died at the moment of his entrance into existence, and her husband having survived her only a few years, the marquis came under the guardianship of his paternal uncle, then dean of Lyons, first almoner to the king, and afterwards bishop of Autun, who placed him in the college of Lewis the XIVth. then under the superintendence of the jesuits.—When he had attained his 17th year, his uncle purchased for him a company of dragoons in the regiment of la Ferronail; in 1758 he joined with this regiment the army of the count de Clermont, which had just suffered a defeat at Crevelt. M. de Bouillé distinguished himself during this war on every occasion, that the active service of the light troops presented, and particularly in the affair of Grumburg, in 1761, where he, at the head of the advanced guard of the dragoons, whom he commanded, defeated the enemy's column, consisting of several thousand men, under the orders of the hereditary prince (now duke) of Brunswick; took several standards and pieces of artillery, and was the principal cause of the decisive advantage which the French army gained in that action over the allies. His gallantry on this occasion was universally applauded and gained him the honour of being appointed to carry the colours to the king; from whom he received the rank of colonel, and the promise of the first re-

giment that should be at his disposal. At the conclusion of the same campaign he obtained a regiment of infantry, the colonel of which M. de Vatran had been killed at the siege of Brunswick. This regiment was known by the name of Bouillé till the peace, when it took that of Vexin.

In 1768, when only twenty-eight years of age, he was governor of Guadeloupe, and by his able administration of that colony so intirely gained the confidence and esteem of M. d'Emery, governor-general of the French West-India islands, that he was immediately pointed out by the latter to the French ministry as the most proper person to succeed to the government of St. Domingo, in case M. Emery should die there, which event taking place in 1777, M. de Bouillé was nominated his successor; but this disposition was prevented taking effect by some intrigues at court, and hostilities then preparing between France and Great Britain, he was appointed governor of Martinique and St. Lucia, with a power vested in him for taking the command of all the other windward islands as soon as hostilities should commence. The war accordingly broke out in 1778, in the month of September, of which year he took Dominica, and in 1781, the islands of Tobago and St. Eustatia. The success of this latter expedition was not more remarkable than the disinterestedness displayed by M. de Bouillé in restoring to the Dutch proprietors several millions which they had lost, in consequence of the capture of that island by admiral Rodney, in the preceding year. In 1782, he took the island of St. Christopher and the adjacent ones of Nevis and Montserrat,



Montserrat, and was made lieutenant-general of the armies of the king as a reward for these important achievements. In the same year he joined the Spanish general Don Galvez, for the purpose of making an attack on Jamaica, with twenty-five thousand men; but which project was completely disconcerted by the defeat of the count de Grasse, on the 12th of April, 1782, and the tide of success, which had hitherto been in favour of France, had now entirely left her. The high reputation M. de Bouillé enjoyed during this war was as much occasioned by the generosity and magnanimity of his conduct towards the enemy\* as by his military exploits, and he was not less useful to the colonies he governed; by the tranquillity and security which his name and vigilance afforded them than by the incessant labours of his administration.

Peace being concluded; in 1783, he returned to France, and was by the king created a chevalier of the several orders of knighthood in that kingdom; and his sovereign wishing to add to these honours a more solid gratification, desired him, through

the minister of marine, to give in a statement of the debts which he had contracted during the war (instead of enriching himself, as he had many opportunities of doing in the course of it) and which debts were found to amount to upwards of 500,000 livres. M. de Bouillé; however, with his characteristic disinterestedness, declined the offered discharge of these demands, esteeming it a disgrace to become a burden to that state which he had so ably served and contributed to support.

In 1784, he paid a visit to England, to see a nation he loved and honoured, his reception was such as that nation knows so well how to give to persons of superior merit, and he carried away with him the most honourable and permanent testimonies of the esteem and gratitude with which his conduct, during the war, had inspired a brave and generous people.†

He was a member of both the assemblies of the notables, convoked by Louis XVI. in 1786 and 1788, and he strongly expressed in the last his strenuous attachment to the ancient monarchy which appeared to him to be attacked in it.

\* We with pleasure make the following extract from our Annual Register, for 1781, p. 35. "The humanity of the marquis de Bouillé affords some relief to these scenes of horror and devastation. That governor sent 31 British sailors (being the poor remains that were saved of the crews of the *Laurel* and *Andromeda*) under a flag of truce to commodore Hotham, at St. Lucia, accompanied with a letter or message, in which he declared that he could not consider, in the light of enemies, men who had so hardly escaped in a contention with the force of the elements; but that they having in common with his own people been partakers of the same danger, were in like manner entitled to every comfort and relief which could be given in a season of such universal calamity and distress. He only lamented, he said, that their number was so small, and particularly that none of the officers were saved. Thus did that eminent commander and magnanimous enemy sustain the high character which he has so justly attained as well with the English as his own nation in the course of the present war; and to which or more properly, to those great qualities from which it is derived, he is perhaps no less beholden for some of his acquisitions, than by the superiority of his arms."

† See the Annual Register for 1784-5, for the thanks and present of plate voted to the marquis de Bouillé by the West-India merchants, for his humanity in his several conquests, and his answer to them.

In 1787, he was appointed second in command in the province of Strasburg, and was continued in it on the revolution taking place in 1789; the following year the command-in-chief of that province as well as of Alsace, Lorrain, and Franche Comté devolved on him, and he was afterwards nominated general of one of the four armies which composed the new military establishment of France. The Memoirs, published by him, at London, in 1797, and which, according to M. Mallet du Pan's judgement of them, are written with the simplicity of a soldier and the veracity of a conscientious man, appear to give a faithful account of the conduct he adopted, and the difficult situation in which he was placed by the peculiar circumstances of the times, it may suffice to say that in the midst of disorder and confusion he maintained the strictest discipline in the troops under his command, and was universally respected by them. He quelled in a signal manner an insurrection of the garrison and inhabitants of Nancy, August, 1790, and by his promptness on this occasion disconcerted, or at least delayed, the measures taken by the jacobins.

Calm and moderate in the midst of two enraged parties, who equally sought his support, and only attentive to the interests of his unfortunate sovereign, he maintained himself by his own ability and strength of mind in a post as dangerous as difficult, in the sole hope of being useful to his master, and adopted the plan the latter proposed to him in 1790, and in 1791 proposed a

retreat for the king in his own government. But for this once, fortune abandoned him,\* and it is to be regretted that she had not reserved for this scheme the favours she had so bountifully showered on him on former occasions.

From that period he participated in the exile and misfortunes of the other royalists, and faithful to those principles of integrity which had always influenced his conduct, he remitted to the royal brothers of Louis XVI. the sum of 670,000 livres which he had received from the king preparatory to his flight from Paris.

The consideration attached to his services and to his devotion to the cause of his king followed him abroad and obtained for him the offer of splendid terms from the empress of Russia and Gustavus III. king of Sweden, the ancient ally of France, who at that time meditated a descent on Normandy, and promised the command in it to M. de Bouillé, but the desire of serving, and if possible, of yet saving Louis XVI. induced him to reject all motives of interest that interfered with that purpose.

In 1791, he joined the celebrated conferences at Pilnitz, and followed the emperor Leopold, by his order, to Prague, there to concert with the imperial generals and the Prussian general prince Hohenloe, the military measures to be adopted with respect to France; and the king of Prussia making, in 1792, preparatives for war, sent for him to Magdeburg, to concert the operations of the ensuing campaign.

\* We gave an extract in our Register for 1791, from M. de Bouillé's Memoirs, of his account of the king's journey from Chalons to Varennes, when his majesty and the royal family left Paris to go to Montmedi.

He accompanied the duke of York during his campaign of 1793, and the same year was called upon by the Vendéans, and designated by the French princes to their command, but perceiving that the allies were but little disposed to afford efficacious assistance, he refused this commission, which appeared to him to tend to no useful purpose, and to promise scarce any chance of success.

He returned soon after to England, where he was consulted by the administration on the subject of taking the French islands, and was

employed by it on several occasions, for which services he received distinguished tokens of its esteem, confidence, and liberality.

The last years of his life were spent in sufferings, which tried his courage as much as the dangers which he had so often braved, and he looked death in the face with a firmness conformable to the rest of his actions, and that calmness which the consciousness of an honourable life can alone give. He died, in London, the 14th of November, 1800.

# NATURAL HISTORY.

*Observations on the Effects which take Place from the Destruction of the Membrana Tympani of the Ear. By Mr. Astley Cooper, in a Letter to Everard Home, Esq. with some additional Remarks on the Mode of Hearing in such Cases, by Mr. Home; from the Philosophical Transactions for 1800.*

Dear sir,

**A**T the time you were engaged in the investigation of the structure and uses of the *membrana tympani*, you mentioned a wish to ascertain the effect a rupture of that membrane would have upon hearing. I now send you some observations on that subject, which, if you think them of sufficient importance, you will do me the honour of presenting to the Royal Society.

I am, &c.

Astley Cooper.

Anatomists have endeavoured to ascertain, by experiments on quadrupeds, the loss of power which the organ of hearing would sustain by perforating the *membrana tympani*: dogs have been made the subject of these trials; but the results have been neither clear nor satisfactory, and they accord but little with the phenomena I am about to relate.

Mr. Cheselden had conceived the

design of making the human organ itself the subject of direct experiment; and a condemned criminal was pardoned, on condition of his submitting to it; but, a popular outcry being raised, it was thought proper to relinquish the idea.

Though denied the aid of experiment, we are not without the means of obtaining knowledge upon such subjects; since the changes, produced by disease, frequently furnish a clue which is equally satisfactory.

It often happens, that some parts of an organ are destroyed by disease, whilst others are left in their natural state; and hence, by the powers retained by such organ, after a partial destruction, we are enabled to judge of the functions performed by those parts, when the whole was in health.

Guided by this principle, I have made the human ear the subject of observation, and have endeavoured to ascertain the degree of loss it sustains in its powers by the want of the *membrana tympani*; a membrane which has been generally considered, from its situation in the *meatus*, and its connection with the adjacent parts, by a beautiful and delicate structure, as essentially necessary to the sense of hearing; but which, as appears by the following observations, may be lost, with little prejudice.

judice to the functions of the organ.

Mr. P—, a medical student at St. Thomas's Hospital, of the age of twenty years, applied to me, in the winter of 1797, while he was attending a course of anatomical lectures, requesting my opinion upon the nature of a complaint in his ear, which had long rendered him slightly deaf.

Upon inquiring into the nature of the symptoms which had preceded, and of those which now accompanied the disease, he informed me, that he had been subject from his infancy to pains in the head, and was attacked, at the age of ten years, with an inflammation and supuration in the left ear, which continued discharging matter for several weeks: in the space of about twelve months after the first attack, symptoms of a similar kind took place in the right ear, from which also matter issued for a considerable time. The discharge in each instance was thin, and extremely offensive to the smell; and, in the matter, bones or pieces of bones were observable. The immediate consequence of these attacks was a total deafness, which continued for three months; the hearing then began to return, and, in about ten months from the last attack, was restored to the state in which it at present remains.

Having thus described the disease and its symptoms, he gave me the following satisfactory proof of each *membrana tympani* being imperfect. Having filled his mouth with air, he closed the nostrils, and contracted his cheeks: the air, thus compressed, was heard to rush through the *meatus auditorius*, with a whistling noise, and the hair hanging from the temples became agitated

by the current of air which issued from the ear. To determine this with greater precision, I called for a lighted candle, which was applied in turn to each ear, and the flame was agitated in a similar manner.—Struck with the novelty of these phenomena, I wished to have many witnesses of them, and therefore requested him, at the conclusion of the lecture upon the organ of hearing, to exhibit them to his fellow students, with which request he was so obliging as to comply.

It was evident from these experiments, that the *membrana tympani* of each ear was incomplete, and that the air issued from the mouth, by the eustachian tube, through an opening in that membrane, and escaped by the external *meatus*.

To determine the degree in which the *membrana tympani* had been injured, I passed a probe into each ear, and found that the membrane on the left side was entirely destroyed; since the probe struck against the petrous portion of the temporal bone, at the interior part of the *tympanum*, not by passing through a small opening; for, after an attentive examination, the space usually occupied by the *membrana tympani* was found to be an aperture, without one trace of membrane remaining.

On the right side also, a probe could be passed into the cavity of the *tympanum*; but here, by conducting it along the sides of the *meatus*, some remains of the circumference of the membrane could be discovered, with a circular opening in its centre, about the fourth of an inch in diameter.

From such a destruction of this membrane, partial indeed in one ear, but complete in the other, it

might be expected that a total annihilation of the powers of the organ would have followed: but the deafness was inconsiderable. This gentleman, if his attention were exerted, was capable, when in company, of hearing whatever was said in the usual tone of conversation; and it is worthy of remark, that he could hear with the left ear better than with the right, though in the left no traces of the *membrana tympani* could be perceived.

When attending the anatomical lectures also, he could hear, even at the most distant part of the theatre, every word that was delivered; though, to avoid the regular and constant exertion which it required, he preferred placing himself near the lecturer.

I found, however, that when a note was struck upon the piano-forte, he could hear it only at two-thirds of the distance at which I could hear it myself; and he informed me, that in a voyage he had made to the East Indies, while others, when ships were hailed at sea, could catch words with accuracy, his organ of hearing received only an indistinct impression. But the most extraordinary circumstance in Mr. P—'s case is, that his ear was nicely susceptible of musical tones; for he played well on the flute, and had frequently borne a part in a concert. I speak this, not from his own authority only, but also from that of his father, who is an excellent judge of music, and plays well on the violin: he told me, that his son, besides playing on the flute, sung with much taste, and perfectly in tune.

The slight degree of deafness of which Mr. P— complained, was always greatly increased by his

catching cold: an effect which seems to have arisen from the *meatus* being closed by an accumulation of the natural secretion of the ear; for it frequently happened to him, after he had been some time deaf from cold, that a large piece of hardened wax, during a fit of coughing, was forced from the ear, by the air rushing from the mouth through the eustachian tube, and his hearing was instantly restored.

From bathing likewise he suffered considerable inconvenience, unless his ears were guarded against the water, by cotton being previously forced into the *meatus*. When this precaution was neglected, the water, as he plunged in, by rushing into the interior parts of the ears, occasioned violent pain, and brought on a deafness, which continued until the cause was removed, that is, until the water was discharged: but he had acquired the habit of removing it, by forcing air from the mouth through the ear.

In a healthy ear, when the *meatus auditorius* is stopped by the finger, or is otherwise closed, a noise similar to that of a distant roaring of the sea is produced: this arises from the air in the *meatus* being compressed upon the *membrana tympani*. In the case here described, no such sensation was produced: for, in Mr. P's ear, the air, meeting with no impediment, could suffer no compression; since it found a passage, through the open membrane, to the mouth, by means of the eustachian tube.

Mr. P— was liable to the sensation commonly called, the "teeth being on edge," in the same degree as it exists in others; and it was produced by similar acute sounds, as by the filing of a saw, the rubbing



bing of silk, &c. Its occurring in him seems to disprove the idea which has been entertained of its cause; for it has been thought, that the close connection of the nerve called the *corda tympani* with the *membrana tympani*, exposed it to be affected by the motions of the malleus; and that, as it passed to nerves connected with the teeth, they suffered from the vibratory state of the nerve, produced by the agitations of the membrane. But, in this case, as the membrane was entirely destroyed on that side on which the sensation was produced, some other explanation must be resorted to; and I see no reason why this effect should not be referred to that part of the auditory nerve which lines the labyrinth of the ear, which, being impressed by acute and disagreeable sounds, would convey the impression to the *portio dura* of the same nerve, and to the teeth with which that nerve is connected.

The external ear, though two distinct muscles are inserted into it, is capable, in its natural state, of little motion; however, when an organ becomes imperfect, every agent which can be employed to increase its powers is called into action; and, in the case here described, the external ear had acquired a distinct motion upward and backward, which was observable whenever Mr. P— listened to any thing which he did not distinctly hear. This power over the muscles was so great, that when desired to raise the ear, or to draw it backwards, he was capable of moving it in either direction.

This case is not the only one of this description which has come under my observation; for another gentleman, Mr. A—, applied to

me under a similar complaint (but in one ear only), proceeding from suppuration, and producing the same effects. This gentleman has the same power of forcing air through the imperfect ear; suffers equally from bathing, if the *meatus auditorius* be unprotected; and feels, even from exposure to a stream of cold air, very considerable pain. The only difference I could observe was, that in Mr. A's case, the defect of hearing in the diseased organ was somewhat greater than in the former; for though, when his sound ear was closed, he could hear what was said in a common tone of voice, yet he could not distinguish the notes of a piano forte, at the same distance: a difference which might have in part arisen from the confused noise which is always produced by closing the sound ear; or because, as he heard well on one side, the imperfect ear had remained unemployed, and consequently had been enfeebled by disuse.

From these observations it seems evidently to follow, that the loss of the *membrana tympani* in both ears, far from producing total deafness, occasions only a slight diminution of the powers of hearing.

Anatomists, who have destroyed this membrane in dogs, have asserted, that at first the effect on the sense of hearing was trivial; but that, after the lapse of a few months, a total deafness ensued.—Baron Haller also has said, that if the membrane of the *tympanum* be broken, the person becomes at first hard of hearing, and afterwards perfectly deaf. But, in these instances, the destruction must have extended farther than the *membrana tympani*; and the labyrinth must have

have suffered from the removal of the stapes, and from the consequent discharge of water contained in the cavities of the internal ear; for it has been very constantly observed, that when all the small bones of the ear have been discharged, a total deafness has ensued.

It is probable, that in instances in which the *membrana tympani* is destroyed, the functions of this membrane have been carried on by the membranes of the *feneſtra ovalis* and *feneſtra rotunda*: for, as they are placed over the water of the labyrinth, they will, when agitated by the impressions of sound, convey their vibrations to that fluid in a similar manner, though in somewhat an inferior degree, to those which are conveyed by means of the *membrana tympani* and the small bones which are attached to it; and thus, in the organ of hearing, each part is admirably adapted, not only to the purpose for which it is designed, but also as a provision against accident or disease; so that, whenever any particular part is destroyed, another is substituted for it, and the organ, from this deprivation, suffers but little injury in its functions.

It seems that the principal use of the *membrana tympani* is, to modify the impressions of sound, and to proportion them to the powers and expectation of the organ. Mr. P— had lost this power for a considerable period after the destruction of the membrane; but, in process of time, as the external ear acquired the additional motions I have described, sounds were rendered stronger or weaker by them. When, therefore, he was addressed in a whisper, the ear was seen immediately to move; but, when the tone

of voice was louder, it then remained altogether motionless.

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*Observations on the Signs exhibited by Animals, indicative of Changes in the Weather, by Signor Toldeo, an Italian Author; from the Annals of Agriculture.*

**W**HEN the bats remain longer than usual abroad from their holes, fly about in great numbers, and to a greater distance than common, it announces that the following day will be warm and serene; but if they enter the houses, and send forth loud and repeated cries, it indicates bad weather. If the owl is heard to scream during bad weather, it announces that it will become fine. The croaking of crows in the morning indicates fine weather. When the raven croaks three or four times, extending his wings, and shaking the leaves, it is a sign of serene weather. It is an indication of rain and stormy weather when the ducks and geese fly backwards and forwards, when they plunge frequently in the water, or begin to send forth cries and to fly about. If the bees do not remove to a great distance from their hives it announces rain; if they return to their hives before the usual time, it may be concluded that it will soon fall. If pigeons return slowly to the pigeon-house, it indicates that the succeeding days will be rainy. It is a sign of rain or wind when the sparrows chirp a great deal, and make a noise to each other to assemble. When fowls and chickens roll in the sand more than usual; it announces rain; the same is the case when cocks crow in the evening, or at uncommon hours. Peacocks which cry during  
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the night have a presentiment of rain. It is believed to be a sign of bad weather when the swallows fly in such a manner as to brush the surface of the water, and to touch it frequently with their wings and breast. The weather is about to become cloudy and change for the worse when the flies sting and become more troublesome than usual. When the gnats collect themselves before the setting of the sun, and form a sort of vortex in the shape of a column, it announces fine weather. When sea-fowl and other aquatic birds retire to the sea shore or marshes, it indicates a change of weather and a sudden storm. If the cranes fly exceedingly high, in silence, and ranged in order, it is a sign of approaching fine weather; but if they fly in disorder, or immediately return with cries, it announces wind. When the dolphins sport and make frequent leaps, the sea being tranquil and calm, it denotes that the wind will blow from the quarter from which they proceed. If the frogs croak more than usual; if the toads issue from their holes in the evening in great numbers; if the earth-worms come forth from the earth, and scorpions appear on the walls; if the ants remove their eggs from their small hills; if the moles throw up the earth more than usual; if the asses frequently shake and agitate their ears; if the hogs shake and spoil the stacks of corn; if the bats send forth their cries and fly into the houses; if the dogs roll on the ground and scratch up the earth with their fore feet; if the cows look towards the heavens, and turn up their nostrils as if catching some smell; if the oxen and dogs lie on their right side; all these are signs which announce rain. The

case is the same when animals crowd together. If the flame of a lamp crackles or flares, it indicates rainy weather. The same is the case when the soot detaches itself from the chimney and falls down. It is a sign of rain, also, when the soot, collected around pots or kettles, takes fire in the form of small points, like grains of millet; because this phenomenon denotes that the air is cold and moist. If the coals seem hotter than usual, or if the flame is more agitated, though the weather be calm at the time, it indicates wind. When the flame burns steady and proceeds straight upwards, it is a sign of fine weather. If the sound of bells is heard at a great distance it is a sign of wind, or of a change of weather. Good or bad smells, seeming as if condensed, are a sign of a change of weather. When the spiders webs and leaves of the trees are agitated without any sensible wind, it is a sign of wind and perhaps rain; because it denotes that strong and penetrating exhalations arise from the earth. A want, or too great a quantity of dew, being a mark of a strong evaporation announces rain; the same is the case with thick white hoar frost, which is only dew congealed. If salt, marble, and glass become moist some days before rain; if articles of wood, doors, and chests of drawers swell; if corns on the feet, and scars of old wounds become painful; all these signs indicate that aqueous vapours are exhaled from the earth, and are no doubt directed by the electric matter which diffuses itself then in greater abundance, and penetrates every body. Hence it happens that stones become moist, that wood swells, and salt becomes deliquescent

liquefcent by the moisture. When the stones after being moist become dry, it is a sign of fine weather. On the other hand, when the weather inclines to rain, the water is seen to diminish in vases and fountains, because the humidity is then carried away by the evaporation of the electric matter. It is certainly a surprising phenomenon to see the earth, after very long and very abundant rains, to be sometimes almost dry, the roads quite free from dirt, and the lands to become arid and parched; this is a sign that the rain has not altogether ceased, and denotes a continual efflux of electric matter, which being renewed carries with it, in the form of vapours, all the moisture that falls on the earth. There is sometimes, however, a great deal of dirt, even after a moderate rain, which, in that case, is a sign of fine weather, because it indicates that evaporation has ceased. Dry earth and moist stones announce rain. The hear frost, which is first occasioned by the east wind, indicates that the cold will continue a long time, as was the case in 1770. If it thunders in the month of December, moderate and fine weather may be expected. A fine autumn announces a winter during which winds will prevail; if it is damp and rainy it spoils the grapes, injures the sown fields, and threatens a scarcity. If it be too cold, or too warm, it produces many maladies. A long severity of the seasons, either by winds, drought, dampness, heat, or cold, becomes exceedingly destructive to plants and animals.

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*Account of a Man who lives upon large Quantities of raw Flesh. In*

*a Letter from Dr. Johnson, Commissioner of sick and wounded Seamen, to Dr. Blane.*

*Somerset-Place, Oct. 28, 1799.*

My dear sir,  
**H**AVING in August and September last been engaged in a tour of public duty, for the purpose of selecting from among the prisoners of war such men as, from their infirmities, were fit objects for being released without equivalent, I heard, upon my arrival at Liverpool, an account of one of these prisoners being endowed with an appetite and digestion so far beyond any thing that had ever occurred to me, either in my observation, reading, or by report, that I was desirous of ascertaining the particulars of it by ocular proof, or undeniable testimony. Dr. Cochrane, fellow of the college of physicians at Edinburgh, and our medical agent at Liverpool, is fortunately a gentleman upon whose fidelity and accuracy I could perfectly depend; and I requested him to institute an inquiry upon this subject during my stay at that place. I enclose you an attested copy of the result of this; and as it may probably appear to you, as it does to me, a document containing facts extremely interesting, both in a natural and medical view, I will beg you to procure its insertion in some respectable periodical work.

Some farther points of inquiry concerning this extraordinary person having occurred to me since my arrival in town, I sent them in the form of queries to Dr. Cochrane, who has obligingly returned satisfactory answers. These I send along with the above-mentioned attested state-

statement, to which I beg you to subjoin such reflections as may occur to you on this subject.

I am, my dear sir,  
Your most obedient humble servant,  
J. Johnston.

To Gilbert Blane, M. D.  
F. R. S. and one of the  
commissioners of sick  
and wounded seamen.

Charles Domery, a native of Benche, on the frontiers of Poland, aged twenty-one, was brought to the prison of Liverpool, in February, 1799, having been a soldier in the French service, on board the Hoche, captured by the squadron under the command of sir J. B. Warren, off Ireland.

He is one of nine brothers, who, with their father, have been remarkable for the voraciousness of their appetites. They were all placed early in the army; and the peculiar craving for food with this young man began at thirteen years of age.

He was allowed two rations in the army, and by his earnings, or the indulgence of his comrades, procured an additional supply.

When in the camp, if bread or meat were scarce, he made up the deficiency, by eating four or five pounds of grass daily; and in one year devoured 174 cats (not their skins) dead or alive; and says, he had several severe conflicts in the act of destroying them, by feeling the effects of their torments on his face and hands: sometimes he killed them before eating, but when very

hungry did not wait to perform this humane office.

Dogs and rats equally suffered from his merciless jaws; and if much pinched by famine, the entrails of animals indiscriminately became his prey. The above facts are attested by Picard, a respectable man, who was his comrade in the same regiment, on board the Hoche, and is now present; and who assures me, he has often seen him feed on those animals.

When the ship, on board of which he was, had surrendered, after an obstinate action, finding himself, as usual, hungry, and nothing else in his way but a man's leg, which was shot off, lying before him, he attacked it greedily, and was feeding heartily, when a sailor snatched it from him, and threw it overboard.

Since he came to this prison, he has eat one dead cat and about twenty rats. But what he delights most in is raw meat, beef or mutton, of which, though plentifully supplied, by eating the rations of ten men daily,\* he complains he has not the same quantity, nor indulged in eating so much as he used to do, when in France.

He often devours a bullock's liver raw, three pounds of candles, and a few pounds of raw beef, in one day, without tasting bread or vegetables, washing it down with water, if his allowance of beer is expended.

His subsistence at present, independent of his own rations, arises from the generosity of the prisoners, who give him a share of their allowance. Nor is his stomach confined

\* The French prisoners of war were at this time maintained at the expense of their own nation, and were each allowed the following daily ration:—Twenty-six ounces of bread, half a pound of greens, two ounces of butter, or six ounces of cheese.

to meat; for when in the hospital, where some of the patients refused to take their medicines, Domery had no objection to perform this for them; his stomach never rejected any thing, as he never vomits, whatever be the contents, or however large.

Wishing fairly to try how much he actually could eat in one day; on the 17th of September, 1799, at four o'clock in the morning, he breakfasted on four pounds of raw cow's udder; at half past nine, in presence of Dr. Johnston, commissioner of sick and wounded seamen, admiral Child and his son, Mr. Foster, agent for prisoners, and several respectable gentlemen, he exhibited his power as follows:—There was set before him five pounds of raw beef, and twelve tallow candles of a pound weight, and one bottle of porter; these he finished by half past ten o'clock. At one o'clock there was again put before him five pounds of beef and one pound of candles, with three bottles of porter; at which time he was locked up in the room, and sentries placed at the windows to prevent his throwing away any of his provisions. At two o'clock, when I again saw him with two friends, he had nearly finished the whole of the candles, and a great part of the beef; but had neither evacuation by vomiting, stool, or urine; his skin was cool and pulse regular, and in good spirits. At a quarter past six, when he was to be returned to his prison, he had devoured the whole, and declared he could have eat more; but from the prisoners without telling him we wished to make some experiment on him, he began to be alarmed. It is also to be observed, that the day was hot, and not ha-

ving his usual exercise in the yard, it may be presumed he would have otherwise had a better appetite. On recapitulating the whole consumption of this day, it stands thus:

Raw cow's udder	4lb.
Raw beef	10
Candles	2

— Total 16lb. besides five bottles of porter.

The eagerness with which he attacks his beef when his stomach is not gorged, resembles the voracity of a hungry wolf; tearing off and swallowing pieces with canine greediness. When his throat is dry from continued exercise, he lubricates it by stripping the grease off the candles between his teeth, which he generally finishes at three mouthfuls; and wrapping the wick like a ball, string and all, sends it after at a swallow. He can, when no choice is left, make shift to dine on immense quantities of raw potatoes, or turnips; but, from choice, would never desire to taste bread or vegetables.

He is in every respect healthy, his tongue clean, and his eyes lively.

After he went to the prison, he danced; smoked his pipe, and drank a bottle of porter; and, by four the next morning, he awoke with his usual ravenous appetite, which he quieted by a few pounds of raw beef.

He is six feet three inches high, pale complexion, grey eyes, long brown hair, well made but thin, his countenance rather pleasant, and is good tempered.

The above is written from his own mouth, in the presence of, and attested by—

Destauban, French surgeon.

Le



Le Fournier, steward of the hospital.

Revet, commissaire de la prison.

Le Flem, soldat de la ser demi brigade.

Thomas Cochrane, M. D. inspector and surgeon of the prison, and agent, &c. for sick and wounded seamen.

Liverpool, Sept. 9, 1799.

(A true copy.)

John Bynon, clerk in the office for sick and wounded seamen.

### *Queries and Answers.*

1st. What are the circumstances of his sleep and perspiration?

He gets to bed about eight o'clock at night, immediately after which he begins to sweat, and that so profusely, as to be obliged to throw off his shirt. He feels extremely hot, and in an hour or two after goes to sleep, which lasts until one in the morning, after which he always feels himself hungry, even though he had lain down with a full stomach. He then eats bread or beef, or whatever provision he may have reserved through the day; and if he has none, he beguiles the time in smoking tobacco. About two o'clock he goes to sleep again, and awakes at five or six o'clock in the morning in a violent perspiration, with great heat. This quits him on getting up; and when he has laid in a fresh cargo of raw meat (to use his own expression) he feels his body in a good state. He sweats while he is eating; and it is probably owing to this constant propensity to exhalation from the surface of the body, that his skin is commonly found to be cool.

2d. What is his heat by the thermometer?

I have often tried it, and found it to be of the standard temperature of the human body. His pulse is now eighty-four; full and regular.

3d. Can this ravenous appetite be traced higher than his father?

He knows nothing of his ancestors beyond his father. When he left the country, eleven years ago, his father was alive, aged about fifty, a tall stout man, always healthy, and can remember he was a great eater; but was too young to recollect the quantity, but that he eat his meat half boiled. He does not recollect that either himself or his brothers had any ailment, excepting the small-pox, which ended favourably with them all. He was then an infant. His face is perfectly smooth.

4th. Is his muscular strength greater or less than that of other men at his time of life?

Though his muscles are pretty firm, I do not think they are so full or plump as those of most other men. He has, however, by his own declaration, carried a load of three hundred weight of flour in France, and marched fourteen leagues in a day.

5th. Is he dull, or intelligent?

He can neither read nor write, but is very intelligent and conversable, and can give a distinct and consistent answer to any question put to him. I have put a variety at different times, and in different shapes, tending to throw all the light possible on his history, and never found that he varied; so that I am inclined to believe that he adheres to truth.

6th. Under what circumstances did his voracious disposition first come on?

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It came on at the age of thirteen, as has been already stated. He was then in the service of Prussia, at the siege of Thionville: they were at that time much straitened for provision, and as he found this did not suit him, he deserted into the town. He was conducted to the French general, who presented him with a large melon, which he devoured, rind and all, and then an immense quantity and variety of other species of food, to the great entertainment of that officer and his suite. From that time he has preferred raw to dressed meat; and when he eats a moderate quantity of what has been either roasted or boiled, he throws it up immediately. What is stated above, therefore, respecting his never vomiting, is not to be understood literally, but imports merely, that those things which are most nauseous to others had no effect upon his stomach.

There is nothing farther to remark, but that since the attested narrative was drawn up, he has repeatedly indulged himself in the cruel repasts before described, devouring the whole animal, except the skin, bones, and bowels; but this has been put a stop to, on account of the scandal which it justly excited.

In considering this case, it seems to afford some matters for reflection, which are not only objects of considerable novelty and curiosity, but interesting and important, by throwing light on the process by which the food is digested and disposed of.

Monstrosity and disease, whether in the structure of parts, or in the functions and appetites, illustrate particular points of the animal economy, by exhibiting them in certain relations in which they are not to

be met with in the common course of nature. The power of the stomach, in so quickly dissolving, assimilating, and disposing of the aliment in ordinary cases, must strike every reflecting person with wonder; but the history of this case affords a more palpable proof, and more clear conception of these processes, just as objects of sight become more sensible and striking, when viewed by a magnifying glass, or when exhibited on a larger scale.

The facts here set forth tend also to place in a strong light the great importance of the discharge by the skin, and to prove that it is by this outlet, more than by the bowels, that the recrementitious parts of the aliment are evacuated: that there is an admirable co-operation established between the skin and the stomach, by means of that consent of parts so observable, and so necessary to the other functions of the animal economy; and, that the purpose of aliment is not merely to administer to the growth and repair of the body, but by its bulk and peculiar stimulus to maintain the play of the organs essential to life.

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*Observations respecting the Euxine; from the French of Le Chevalier's Voyage to the Propontis.*

**T**HE Euxine possesses the advantage of having not one rock, and of affording several harbours, roadsteads, or anchorages, on all its coasts; yet every year witnesses frequent shipwrecks, occasioned by the ignorance and inexperience of the Turkish mariners, who sail without charts, without rule, and almost at chance directs. No observations are to be expected from them, on the

the actual position of places, on the currents, nor even on the coasts and their soundings. They have never given particulars of that nature; they scarcely ever improve by practice; and their vessels are also very ill constructed and badly provided.

The five principal rivers which pour their waters into the Euxine must necessarily produce currents, the force and direction of which it would be highly advantageous to know. These rivers convey into it a prodigious quantity of sand; which, being diffused in all the creeks and bays of the shores that are most distant from their mouths, is drifted by the winds so as sometimes to form a sort of downs. It has already been remarked that the coast of the Euxine is generally steep, and formed of layers of rock frequently inclined, and intermixed with strata of clay or gravel, covered at top by a good black mould, sometimes stoney, but extremely well adapted to cultivation. No sand is found any where but at the mouths of the rivers; and the shores even of the Dniepr and of the Dniestr, on the margin of the sea, are composed of strong land which resists the pickaxe: whence it may be inferred that the sands which they convey come from a greater distance, and that those which are lodged in the creeks are carried thither by force of the currents. It has likewise been observed that the steep shores being incessantly worn by the violence of the waves, the winds, and the currents, the figure of the coast is changed; which also produces an alteration in the sand-banks. The destruction of a cape is sometimes sufficient to choak up a creek, which

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before afforded a safe anchorage for ships.

The commerce of the Euxine is capable of being rendered more beneficial both to Turkey and to European nations, if it were carried on by more able mariners and more intelligent merchants: but the slow-ness of the navigation causes the expense of freight to be excessive; and the unskillfulness of the merchants, who are also destitute of spacious warehouses for their goods, still farther enhances the price by retarding the departure of the vessels. It is partly for this reason that the Turks prefer small craft to larger ships for coasting this sea; loading them indifferently with all goods which offer, without any regard to their stowage. No public work is executed for the benefit of commerce; and the bad condition of the roads contiguous to the several maritime towns, with the want of commodious quays or wharfs for shipping or unshipping the cargoes, always occasion additional expenses and prejudicial delays.

The principal exports from this country are, grain (usually restricted to Constantinople), wool, timber, tar, hemp, wax, honey, leather, cotton, and copper. The articles which might be carried thither are cloths, coffee, sugar, and gold and silver lace: but for this purpose, factories should be established at all the sea-ports, protected by the Turkish government, to secure them from the plunder of the pashas and other subaltern authorities.

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*State of Agriculture in the Canary-Islands. From the Memoirs of the National Institute of France.*

B h

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THE islands comprehended under the appellation of Canary are situated about the 28th degree of north latitude. The most considerable is Teneriffe, and next to it in extent is the great Canary. The rainy season sets in about the end of November, and continues with intervals, until the month of March. This period corresponds to winter, though it never snows, except on the mountains, especially the Peak. During the summer months, not a drop of rain falls near the coast, where the sky is then invariably clear, and the heat most intense. Yet at Laguna, a village seated on the brow of the mountain, and only a league distant from Santa Cruz, they have frequent fogs and rain. The clouds melt and dissolve away as they approach the sea. There are no rivers in Teneriffe, but only mountain torrents, called in Spanish *barrancos*; which, in winter, sweep away much useful soil. The traces of volcanic fire every where strike the eye. The neighbourhood of Santa Cruz consists of savage mountains piled together, and bearing herbs only fit for goats to browse, with many of the prickly euphorbia. Higher up the country, the soil is richer, better cultivated, and abundantly productive. It is a sort of clay resting on calcined rock, which in every district occurs at a certain depth.

Little attention is paid in these islands to the important article of manure. Marle and sea-weed are totally neglected, and animal dung is only laid on the adjoining fields of maize or potatoes; to which it is carried directly from the stables.

For the food of man, they grow wheat, very little rye, much barley and maize, potatoes, French beans, and ticks, called *garbanzos*. As provender for cattle, they raise a few lupines, pease, lentils, beans and a small quantity of oats. Flax, aniseed, and coriander, are almost the only productions cultivated for the arts. Archil and sumach grow spontaneously. The archil, which is esteemed of superior quality, is gathered by the peasants on the naked rocks. Kali, termed in Spanish *vidriera*,\* grows along the seashore, and might afford as good soda as that of Alicant. The natives use only the seeds, which are separated from the plant by washing, and, being slightly roasted, are ground, to make a sort of *gesso*. The cotton shrub and the sugar cane also thrive in the Canaries, yet are much neglected. Wheat and barley have been cultivated in Teneriffe from the remotest times: but rye, maize, ticks, and potatoes, have been introduced more recently, and in succession. Only 30 or 40 years have passed since potatoes were first planted there, though at present they constitute almost the chief food of the inhabitants. With respect to the rotation of crops, and the change of seed, the people shew extreme ignorance or neglect. Some attention is directed to irrigation, so necessary in hot climates. Wheat and barley are sown in November and December, and usually reaped in April and May. The corn is carelessly raked together, and carried home in sacks, on the backs of asses, mules, or camels. It is then trodden out by cattle, and the grain is separated

\* From *vitrum*, glass; being used in that manufacture.

from the chaff, by exposing it to the wind. Sometimes (though rarely) swarms of a large sort of locust or grasshopper, called in Spanish *langosta*, come from Barbary, and will spread instant devastation among the fields of corn. The peasantry, armed with sticks and besoms, kill them, or chase them away: but they deposit their eggs, and therefore the young locusts in the year following are collected and burnt.

The lands are not rented in the Canaries. The landlord furnishes the seed and implements of husbandry, and receives one half of the produce, besides a certain quantity of wheat for each head of cattle which he lends to the tenants. Bread is eaten only by the richer inhabitants. The bulk of the people live much on *gofio*, which is only parched grain ground by a little hand-mill, of which every cottage possesses one. The Canarian carries to the field his *gofio* in his bag; and, as hunger prompts, he rolls it into little balls with water, and makes his miserable meal. Those who aspire to better fare eat salt fish and potatoes. The poor inhabitants of Palma and Gomere are sometimes reduced to the necessity of making cakes of the roots of the *pteris aquilina*, or male fern, which they dig in the mountains. Lupines are a choice food for cattle, but they are previously soaked in water, and boiled, with the addition of salt.

A large quantity of wine is exported from Teneriffe, yet the vineyards are not managed with either skill or attention. The press consists of a long beam or lever, to the extremity of which a heavy stone can be attached by means of a screw. The farmers, however,

well understand the mode of clarifying their wines, and fortifying them with brandy.

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*On the successful Cultivation of the true Rhubarb in England, by Mr. Thomas Jones. From the Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.*

Sir,

THE certificate which accompanies this communication, will inform the society that I have planted, in the year 1799, 4053 plants of the *rheum palmatum*, or true rhubarb; I once more, therefore, present myself as a claimant. Each time I have made my appearance in this character, I have pledged myself to future and more considerable exertions; for every distinction with which they have honoured me, has been viewed in no other light, than that of a powerful incentive to perseverance; and I need not add, how much gratification it will afford me, if the society, by their decision on the present occasion, continue to me their good opinion.

The period I have devoted to the cultivation of this valuable drug has now become of a sufficient length to prove experimentally the truth or falsehood of my theories. Happy am I in reflecting, and happier still in communicating to the society, that since I last had the pleasure of addressing them, I have additional reason for satisfaction. In my former papers (see Transactions of the Society, vol. xi. xv. and xvi.) having been, perhaps, more than sufficiently minute in describing my system of cultivation, I shall now only notice the nature of

the soil and aspect; the former of which is a rich sandy loam, and the aspect inclining to the east and south: and, as the public are in complete possession of the opinions upon which it is founded, there is no occasion to repeat every particular point in the present instance. I shall therefore content myself with merely mentioning some, and enlarging upon others, as necessity may require.

Conceiving it to be good policy for a man to avail himself of every advantage that is presented, I have recommended spring as well as autumnal sowing, and the plants of each, when arrived at a proper size, to be placed in the nursery-bed, at its opposite season. I persevere in this practice, lest the summer, in proving too dry, should be equally detrimental as too wet a winter: but as draining the seed-beds may be so easily effected, and the safety of the plants necessarily ensured; so now, without on any account neglecting the former, I principally depend on the latter sowing for a succession: besides, it is attended with the least trouble and expense; and if throughout the operation is well attended to, success is nearly reduced to a certainty.

Again, I have somewhere observed, that a proper mode of cultivation would greatly facilitate the cure of this root; in other words, good management will ensure its welfare till its arrival to a proper age: and that this has ever appeared to me of the most absolute necessity, I have never failed to represent. By nothing else can it acquire that degree of woodiness, in which I suspect the principal secret of its cure consists. Age, too, is necessary to give the plant its

proper growth; otherwise, when it undergoes the operation, its pieces will be diminutive, insignificant, and unprofitable. Above all, it is entirely indebted to age for its medicinal virtues; and I firmly believe, that to this, more than to soil or situation, it is owing that Turkey has been considered superior to the English rhubarb.

In this place permit me to introduce an opinion that I have for some time entertained, viz. that those parts of the root are of the finest quality that are the farthest removed from the seed. This difference is easily discoverable from its earliest stages; and so assured am I of the fact, that, but for want of a supply of offsets, and one, or two other considerations, I should be almost tempted to abandon my present, in favour of this mode of cultivation. But though, in this respect, the rhubarb is evidently superior, yet it should be recollected that the other is less precarious, and its growth and produce much more considerable.

Although, according to every public testimony, of which mention will presently be made, I have reason to believe my progress has been more considerable than that of my contemporaries, if there are any, yet I have no conception that we have arrived at the *ne plus ultra*. Let us rather hope that every succeeding year will be productive of a degree of improvement proportionate to the advantages of increased experience. As we are so much indebted, therefore, to the age of our plants, let me caution all who have, or may engage in this undertaking, never to yield to impatience; for, with a few persons, the prejudices against the English rhubarb are many, and deeply rooted;



rooted; and to this source most of them may be traced. Nor is this very wonderful; for to entertain high expectations of rhubarb prematurely taken up, is no less extravagant, than to suppose the capacity of a child equal to that of an adult; yet hitherto our market is a stranger to any other than such a commodity.

Another cause may, I conceive, arise (notwithstanding the length of time since the introduction of the palmated, or true, sort into this kingdom, and all that has been written on the subject,) from the little or no care that seems to have been taken in selecting and planting it. As a proof of this, it is not many days since I saw a considerable quantity, and neither the purchaser nor planter knew it to be the rhapontic. In justice, however, to medical gentlemen in general, but in particular to those I have consulted upon this subject, I have found them better informed, and liberal to the greatest degree. They entered at once into the views of the society, and their assurances of co-operation have been fully realised. That I never expected to introduce it into general practice without opposition, is evident from my last papers in 1793; for I there remarked, that very probably, before this could be effected, certain difficulties must be overcome, the principal of which I apprehended to be an almost universal prepossession in favour of foreign commodities. Moderation on the part of the cultivator in the regulation of his prices, and an unwearied attention to its quality, are the only means likely to produce a counteraction. To great attention to these points I attribute all my success.

Mere recommendation ought ever in such a business as this, to be placed out of the question. If the article will not bear the tests of examination and trial, it should not be indebted to any thing else.

Whenever I have submitted any specimens to public examination, at an hospital or elsewhere, my constant language has been, "I have no wish but that they may rise or fall according to their own intrinsic merit or demerit; and, if worthy of approbation, by this mean induce their general adoption. That this being, no doubt, the ultimate object of the society of arts, who have thought proper to honour me with several distinctions, I feel myself impelled to forward it to the utmost, and not remain contented with its mere cultivation." I have proceeded to state the great expense this country incurs by so large an importation, and on this account urged its general adoption, in order to lessen the expense, on the score of duty. That although I am influenced by such motives, and many others, yet my own individual interest I have at the same time fairly acknowledged to be among the number; and I have concluded with expressing a hope, that while pleading the general, as well as my own particular cause, perhaps the benefit of their institution may be the necessary consequence of introducing a valuable and efficacious medicine, at a comparatively trifling expense. I have never yet made this appeal in vain; and the society will, I dare say, receive with much satisfaction the intelligence that rhubarb of English growth is now used at Guy's (I mention the hospitals in the order of its introduction,) St Thomas's, and

St. Bartholomew's; and is under trial at several others. Still farther to inform myself of the public opinion, I lately requested an interview with a numerous and most respectable committee, at apothecaries Hall; it is impossible, without a breach of propriety, to repeat the compliments its members were pleased to pay me. Whether I deserve them or not, it would be equally improper in me to determine; but of this the society may be assured, I never will rest till I do. In a word, my purpose was fully answered. The article which I exhibited met with the most unqualified approbation, and full permission was given to publish this circumstance. I beg leave, before I conclude, to apologize for the egotism which prevails throughout this communication. It is scarcely possible to avoid it, when, in cases like the present, a man is under the necessity of speaking of himself.

It is a subject I have much at heart, and it would give me much real concern to keep back a single circumstance likely to be useful to future adventurers. Its production and adoption, with the attendant difficulties, have been to the best of my abilities amply considered; the former in the communications before-mentioned, the latter in this paper. If the society are of opinion that the steps I am pursuing to effect this last and desirable purpose deserve success, it will be highly flattering. Under their auspices I commenced my plantation eight years ago, and I hope and trust my proceedings since have been such that the purpose to which it has been appropriated will occasion no regret,

I am, sir,

Your very humble servant,

Thomas Jones,

No. 13, Fish-street-hill,

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*Extract from a Memoir containing some Researches respecting the Duration of the Time of Gestation in the Females of different Animals. By M. Tessier. Read at the National Institute.*

THE author first takes notice of the discussions which took place, about twenty years ago, among physiologists, respecting the possibility of the time of gestation being prolonged beyond the usual term. Bouvard and Louis maintained, in opposition to Bertin and Petit, that the time of gestation in animals was invariable. But the fact was not ascertained; on which account M. Tessier resolved to investigate the subject, and for that purpose established a correspondence concerning it, and kept very exact journals of every circumstance that could tend to elucidate the matter. The result of his inquiries, which he offers to the national institute, is as follows.

#### I. Cows.

One hundred and sixty cows were observed.

14 calved from the 241st to the 266 day, that is, from 8 months and 1 day to 8 months and 26 days.

8 ——— on the 270th day.

50 ——— from the 270th to the 280th day,

67 brought

- 67 brought over.
- 68 calved from the 290th to the 290th day.
- 20 ——— on the 300th day.
- 5 ——— on the 308th day.

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Consequently there were 67 days between the two extremes.

## II. Mares.

One hundred and two mares were observed.

- 3 foaled on the 311th day.
- 1 ——— on the 314th day.
- 1 ——— on the 325th day.
- 1 ——— on the 326th day.
- 2 ——— on the 330th day, that is, exactly at the end of 11 months.
- 47 ——— from the 340th to the 350th day.
- 25 ——— from the 350th to the 360th day.
- 21 ——— from the 360th to the 377th day.
- 1 ——— on the 394th day.

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This gives a latitude in the time of gestation, of 83 days; and the following observation may be made respecting cows and mares, namely, that more of the first brought forth before the completion of the 9th month, than of the second before that of the eleventh.

## III. Sows.

Of these only fifteen were observed.

- 1 brought forth young, which lived, on the 109th day, that is, 3 months and 19 days.
- 10 ——— from the 110th to the 120th day.
- 2 ——— on the 121st day.
- 1 ——— on the 122d day.
- 1 ——— on the 123d day.

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Consequently, the difference between the two extremes was 14 days.

## IV. Rabbits.

One hundred and thirty-nine were observed, during the course of three years.

- 1 brought forth on the 26th day.
- 2 ——— on the 27th day.
- 3 ——— on the 28th day.
- 53 ——— on the 29th day.

B b 4

59 brought

59 brought over.

50 brought forth on the 30th day.

21 ————— on the 31st day.

9 ————— on the 33d day.

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The difference between the two extremes, in these animals, was 7 days.

M. Tessier proposes to make similar inquiries respecting the hatching of the eggs of birds; on which subject, he mentions a curious observation, made by M. Darcet, namely, that, of the eggs of the same brood, 1 was hatched on the 13th day, 2 on the 17th, 3 on the 18th, and 5 on the 19th and 20th days; there were some others which were not hatched.

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*Experiments respecting the Circulation of the Sap in Trees. By M. Coulomb; from the Journal de Physique.*

**T**OWARDS the middle of April, in the year 1796, I had several large Italian poplars cut down; the sap had already begun to rise, and the trees were covered with budding leaves. As I was overlooking the workmen, I observed that one of these trees, which was already divided to within a few lines distance from the axis of the tree, made a noise, when cut, similar to that produced by air, when it rises in large quantities and in small globules, through the surface of a fluid. By having several more trees, of the same sort, felled, I observed that this noise, as well as the flowing of a very limpid and tasteless water, took place only when the trees were about half cut through. I afterwards caused several trees to be cut through, in a circular form, so that they were only supported by a cylinder, of from 30 to 40 millimetres in diameter, at the axis of the tree.— These trees, as they fell, frequently

remained joined to this axis, by fibres partly broken; at which time, bubbles of air were seen to come out in great abundance; insomuch that the quantity of air which came from them was incomparably greater than that of watery sap; but the last-mentioned fluid was perfectly limpid and tasteless.

From this experiment, I suspected that, in large trees, the sap rises perceptibly only near the axis of the tree which forms the medullary canal leading to the young branches, or at least in the vessels which are contiguous to this canal.

In order to try if my conjecture was true, I immediately caused four or five poplars, of from three to four decimetres in diameter, to be pierced with a large auger; the opening was made at the distance of one metre above the ground, and directed horizontally towards the axis of the tree. I observed that, till within the distance of two or three centimetres from the centre of the tree, the spiral screw of the auger was scarcely wetted; but, as soon as it had arrived at this distance from the axis of the tree, the water came out in abundance; and a continual

a continual noise was occasioned by the bubbles of air, which rose with the sap, and which burst in the opening made by the auger.

This noise continued to take place, in trees pierced in this manner, during the whole summer; it gradually decreased however, and was, as may be imagined, proportionally greater, as the heat of the sun increased the perspiration of the leaves. Scarcely any noise could be heard during the night, or when the days were wet and cold.

From the noise, and from the quantity of bubbles of air which escape, it appears that the quantity of air, or of gas, of whatever sort it may be, which rises with the sap, is, as I have already said, incomparably greater than the quantity of sap itself.

May it not be supposed, from the above observation, that the only circulation which exists in trees, takes place in those parts which are near the central canal of the tree, and in that infinite number of medullary horizontal rays at the end of which we always see the buds form themselves and expand, and establish a medullary communication with the axis of the tree; the diameter of which communication increases, in proportion as the bud enlarges and becomes a branch.

I submit these experiments to the consideration of botanists, who I hope will repeat them. They will perhaps serve to throw some light on the physiology of vegetables.

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*On the Uses of the Juniper Plant, by S. Alopæus; from the Transactions of the Economical Society of St. Peterburgh.*

THE juniper plant is too well known in our northern cli-

mates to require any particular description in this place. It is a very useful plant, both in medicine and economy. Every part of it—its leaves, its resin, its berries, its wood, and its roots, may all be applied to some useful purpose.

I shall pass by the uses to which this plant may be applied by apothecaries, and shall here only consider that which is made of it in Finland, both for economical purposes, and as a domestic medicine.

1st. The leaves are employed for fumigating houses, in order to expel or correct noxious air.

2d. All the water used for brewing malt-liquors is previously boiled with juniper twigs, which renders the beer both better tasted and more wholesome.

3d. All vessels used for containing milk are washed with water in which juniper twigs have been boiled, which is supposed to contribute to keep the milk sweet, and to improve its taste.

4th. Vessels for that purpose are made of juniper wood in preference to any other.

5th. Warm decoctions of juniper are given to cows, in order to increase their milk. The same is also sometimes practised with respect to sheep.

6th. Juniper-berries contain a resinous aromatic oil, which is employed for various uses.

7th. The ripe berries, pounded and infused in hot water, are drank as tea. They are excellent purifiers of the blood, also diuretic and gently aperient.

8th. Some roast and infuse the berries in the manner of coffee, and consider them as a palliating remedy in gouty and calculous affections.

9th. In Finland and Carelia, a very well-tasted and wholesome beer

beer is brewed from the berries of the juniper. It is not many years since this art was discovered, and it has only very lately become universally known. The method of brewing this beer is as follows:

Take about 50lbs. of clean juniper-berries, pound them well in a mortar, put them into the common mash-tun used in brewing beer, pour immediately upon them  $2\frac{1}{2}$  buckets of cold water, and so let them stand for the space of twenty-four hours. When the juices of the berries have thus been properly extracted, draw off the liquor by the cock of the mash-tun, and put it to boil in a copper, taking care to skim it well whilst it is boiling. If it be not properly skimmed, it acquires a bitter resinous taste.

When the liquor has been well boiled and skimmed, take out a quantity of it, and boil with this as much hops as may be sufficient for the quantity of beer you intend to brew, after which pour it again to the rest. Let the liquor stand till it is lukewarm; then add the yeast, and let it ferment. This beer ferments more slowly than that brewed from malt. When the fermentation is completed, barrel your beer, and bung it tight, putting into each barrel a small quantity of isinglass to fine it.

This beer has a sweet aromatic taste, very grateful to the palate: it is very wholesome; but does not keep well, being apt to turn sour. It is therefore adviseable to brew only a small quantity of it at a time. During the last autumn I drank daily of this beer, and found it agree very well with my health.

10th. By boiling the wort to a proper consistence, we obtain a syrup of juniper, which is very

useful in pectoral and other complaints.

11th. If we make the wort ferment, by adding yeast, but no hops, and then distil it, we obtain the most palatable and wholesome species of gin.

12th. After the ardent spirits have been drawn off, the oil deposits itself in globules upon the mass. These are generally collected upon bits of clean cotton, from which they are afterwards pressed out into a glass. A drop of this oil, taken in a glass of brandy, gives it a very pleasant taste, and diffuses a glow throw the whole body. Five or six drops, taken in the course of the day, are supposed by some to be a good remedy in the epilepsy.

13th. An oil is also extracted from the wood of the juniper by the following process. Dry the wood well, split it into small sticks; and fasten these, in an upright position, in an iron trough. Next fix a glazed pot in the earth, and cover it with a board, having a hole in the middle, with small grooves on the upper surface, that communicate with the hole. Then fasten the trough, turned upside down, upon the board, and make a fire all round. In this manner the oil will be melted out, and run, by the grooves and the hole, into the pot. This oil is used by the common people, as an external application, in paralytic affections and pains in the limbs. During the course of the last summer, several of the peasants took it with good effect in the dysentery.

14th. An infusion of the roots and branches of young juniper shrubs, dried and cut into shavings, is drank as tea, and supposed to be serviceable in pains of the joints and pulmonary complaints.

USEFUL



## USEFUL PROJECTS.

*List of Patents for new Inventions granted during the Year 1800.*

**W**ILLIAM Turner, and John Turner, of Lane-End, in the parish of Stoke-upon-Trent, in the county of Stafford, potters; for a method of manufacturing porcelain and earthen ware, by the introduction of a material not heretofore used in manufacturing those articles. Dated January 9.

Isaac Sandford, of Hartford, in the state of Connecticut, in North America, gentleman, at present residing in the parish of St. Paul, Covent-garden, in the county of Middlesex; for a method of manufacturing and making bricks, tiles, and pottery-ware in general, and of discharging the moulds used therein. Dated January 13.

Thomas Parkinson, of Market-square, in the parish of St. George, Bloomsbury, gentleman; for an hydrostatic engine or machine, for the purpose of drawing beer, or any other liquors, out of a cellar or vault; or for raising water out of mines, ships, and wells; or for any other purpose where fluids are required to be raised. Dated February 1.

Edward Coleman, of ———; for an artificial frog, which, being applied to the natural frogs of horses' feet, will effectually prevent

contracted hoofs, thrushes, and cankers. Dated February 1.

Edward Shorter, of Newington, in the county of Surrey, mechanic; for a machine or engine for working and causing the progressive motion of ships and vessels of every description, without the assistance of sails or oars. Dated February 4.

Samuel Miller, in the parish of St. Mary-la-bonne, in the county of Middlesex, engraver; for a machine and process for more easily dividing hard substances, as well as for raising all kinds of heavy weights, and driving all sorts of machinery. Dated February 4.

Richard Lumbert, of the parish of Wickrington, in the county of Gloucester, gentleman; for improvements on the plough or machine for draining of lands. Dated February 4.

Joseph Barnett, of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick, merchant; for a method of making buttons for wearing apparel. Dated February 4.

William Lester, of Cotton End, in the parish of Hardingstone, near Northampton, farmer and patent harrow-manufacturer; for an engine or machine for the purpose of cutting hay and straw into chaff, and other useful purposes, for the use of cattle. Dated February 4.

Jabez

Jabez Carter Hornblower, of John's Row, City-Road, in the parish of St. Luke, in the county of Middlesex, engineer; for a method of glazing calicos, cottons, muslins, linens, &c. Dated February 4.

Phineas Crowther, of the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, engineer; for a method of applying the power of a reciprocating steam-engine to the crank or rotative axis, for drawing of coals, lead, tin, &c. out of mines, &c. Dated February 28.

Richard Maullin, of Cosely, in the county of Stafford, screw-maker; for a machine or contrivance to mould or withdraw patterns for the casting of wood, bed, and all other screws which are got up in cast-iron, brass, or other metallic compositions. Dated February 28.

Robert Stuart, at Blantyre cotton-mills, near Glasgow, cotton-spinner; for a method of starching and preparing cotton-yarn in that state called the cop, by which means it is at once fitted for being made into warp, on the chain of the web, without undergoing certain operations at present in use; and also that the cotton-yarn, so prepared by him in the cop, is in like manner at once fitted for the purpose of worst or woof, by which means certain expensive operations are also saved. Dated March 19.

Edward Steers, of the Inner Temple, London, esquire; for a machine to be applied to boats or vessels, for the purpose of moving them along with ease and celerity. Dated March 19.

James Wood, of Hart-street, in the parish of St. Paul, Covent-garden, in the county of Middlesex, musical wind-instrument maker; for an improvement upon the mu-

sical instrument commonly called the clarinet; which invention is also, as to part thereof, applicable to an improvement upon most of such other musical wind-instruments, as are played upon with keys, Dated March 19.

William Johnson, of Widmore-house, in the parish of Bromley, in the county of Kent, esquire; for a machine with new means of obtaining power in mechanical operations, of the nature of a self moving power or perpetual motion. Dated March 19.

David Hardie, of St. James's Street, in the parish of St. James's, in the county of Middlesex; for an apparatus for weighing, in a manner less liable to error, and with greater expedition, than by any of the modes of weighing hitherto used. Dated March 19.

John Glover, of Great Lever, in the county of Somerset, manufacturer; for a method of bleaching linen cloth, and other cloths. Dated March 24.

John Horatio Savigny, of King-street, in the parish of St. Paul, Covent-garden, surgeon's-instrument-maker; for an instrument called a tourniquet, for more effectually hindering and stopping the effusion of blood in gun-shot and other bad wounds, &c. Dated March 31.

Charles Random Berenger, of Old Bond-street, print-seller; for a method of printing and colouring transparencies on silk, cotton, linen, and other wove manufactures, for carriage and window blinds, screens, &c. Dated March 31.

Benjamin Blackmore, of Wandsworth, in the county of Surrey, bolting-cloth manufacturer; for an elastic spring, for the improvement and more complete manufacturing and

and forming of bolting-cloths without seams. Dated March 31.

John Antes, of Fulnick, near Leeds, in the county of York, gentleman; for a machine to turn over the leaves of any music-book, by means of a pedal, or a motion with the knee. Dated April 10.

William Pocock, of the parish of Leyton, in the county of Essex, carpenter; for a machine for raising, lowering, and moving heavy bodies. Dated April 23.

William Collins, of Greenwich, in the county of Kent, esq.; for the application of sundry articles and materials, to be used chiefly for the preservation of shipping and marine purposes. Dated April 23.

James Richards, of Sheldon, in the county of Warwick, gentleman; for a machine, or machines, for setting, or depositing in the ground, grain and seeds. Dated April 26.

Matthias Koops, of Queen-street, Ranelagh, in the county of Middlesex, gentleman; for a mode of extracting printing and writing ink from printed and written paper; and converting the paper from which the ink is extracted into pulp.—Dated April 28.

John Marshal, of Gerrard-street, in the parish of St. Anne, Soho, in the county of Middlesex, cabinet-maker; for a new-invented dining and other tables, on an improved construction. Dated April 29.

Robert Darby, bright-smith, and Morgan Nichols, surgeon, of the city of Bath; for a method of making portable ovens, in various sizes, forms, and shapes. Dated May 1.

William Raybould, of Great Sutton-street, Clerkenwell, in the county of Middlesex, brass-founder; for candlesticks upon entire new principles, which will receive, and hold

firm, candles of various sizes. Dated May 1.

Richard Gillow, of Oxford-street, in the county of Middlesex, cabinet-maker; for improvements in the method of constructing dining and other tables. Dated May 1.

George Frochle, of Great Pulteney-street, in the county of Middlesex, musical-instrument-maker; for improvements in the pedal-harp. Dated May 3.

William Moorcroft, of Oxford-road, in the county of Middlesex, veterinary-surgeon; for a farther new and improved method of making and manufacturing horse-shoes. Dated May 3.

Edward Simpson, of Lilly-pot-lane, in the city of London, straw-hat manufacturer, and Caleb Isbister, of Banners-square, Old-street, in the county of Middlesex, cabinet-maker; for an improved manufacture of straw-plait, made of split straw, presenting only the outside surface of the straw to the eye; and also of other plait of split straw, laid, put, or stuck upon silk, paper, or wood. Dated May 8.

John Whitton, of Kingston-upon-Hull, merchant; for a lead saccharum, for the use of calico-printers, and several other useful purposes. Dated May 10.

Robert Fryer and Samuel Fryer, of Rastrick, in the county of York, woollen-manufacturers; for a mode of manufacturing the down or wool of seals, by mixing it with sheep or lambs-wool, preparing it to be carded, roved, or spun, into yarn; which yarn will be capable of being woven into silk, linen, woollen, or cotton, into a cloth fit for garments. Dated May 13.

William Milner, of Leeds, in the county of York, white-smith; for a method

a method of making women's patterns. Dated May 15.

Peter Davy, of the parish of Christ Church, in the county of Surrey, coal-merchant; for improved fuel. Dated May 20.

Robert Meares, of Froome, in the county of Somerset, dyer; for a machine for cutting standing corn, grass, and the like. Dated May 20.

Chester Gould, of the town of Rome, in the county of Oneida, in the state of New York, merchant; for an instrument or log for ascertaining a ship's distance at sea. Dated May 20.

Joseph Gaston John Baptiste de Thiville, of Boulton-street, Piccadilly, in the county of Middlesex, gentleman; for a lamp or light, for lighting chambers, rooms, halls, &c. Dated May 26.

Dudley Adams, of Fleet-street, London, optician; for a method of rendering telescopes more portable than hitherto, upon a new principle. Dated May 30.

William Turner, of Penshurst, Kent, paper-manufacturer; for a machine to be applied to, and adopted in, the construction of wheel-carriages; for improving the principle, and increasing the power, of the draught, so as to reduce the quantity of active force necessary to be employed therein. Dated May 30.

Joseph Weekes, of Plympton-Maurice, Devon, tanner; for an apparatus, or set of machinery, for a tannery. Dated June 10.

Samuel Wyatt, of Chelsea-college, Middlesex, architect; for a method of making and constructing bridges, warehouses, and other buildings, without the use of wood, as a necessary constituent part thereof. Dated June 10.

William Johnson, of Widmore-

house, Bromley, Kent, esq.; for a machine with new means of obtaining power in mechanical operations of the nature of a self-moving power, or perpetual motion. Dated June 10.

Ebenezer Palmer, Cheap-side, London; for a metallic hinge or chain, whereby the art of binding books is greatly aided and improved, particularly merchants account-books. Dated June 13.

Henry Tickell, Mansel-street, Whitechapel, brewer; for a method of more effectually dissolving and extracting the virtues, and preserving the essential oil of hops, malt, and other vegetable substances used in brewing, distilling, &c. Dated June 13.

John Cooch, of Harleston, Northampton, farmer; for a machine for the purpose of winnowing or dressing of corn or grain for the use of bread, cattle, or feed. Dated June 17.

William Weller, Cavendish-street, Cavendish-square, Middlesex, gentleman; for a method of manufacturing, forming, making, and engraving, copper-plates, for printing policies to secure persons from loss of property of certain descriptions. Dated June 17.

George Smart, of Camden Town, Middlesex, timber-merchant; for a method of combining masts, yards, bowsprits, &c. hollow, so as to give them lightness and strength; and which may be applied to other useful purposes. Dated June 17.

Robert Fryer, of Rastrick, near Halifax, Yorkshire, woollen-manufacturer, and James Bennett, of Manchester, Lancaster, wool-fletcher; for a method of manufacturing, cutting, dressing, dying, and finishing of cloth. Dated June 20.

Thomas

Thomas Paton, of Christ-Church, Surrey, engine-maker and smith; for improvements in the construction of mills for grinding sugar-canes. Dated June 24.

George Harris, of Bunhill-row, Middlesex, working-goldsmith; for new-invented boxes, on an entire new principle, for snuffs, essences, &c. Dated July 1.

John Elwick, of Wakefield, Yorkshire, upholster; for a new method of framing together chairs and sofas of every kind, and which invention is intended to be applied to every description of household furniture. Dated July 1.

Joseph Huddart, of Islington, Middlesex, esq.; for improvements in the tawning and manufacturing of cordage. Dated July 1.

George Holland, of Holborn, Middlesex, hosier; for improvements in woollen-yarn, worsted, silk, and various other kinds of spun materials, for the purpose of manufacture. Dated July 2.

John Lockett, of Donnington, Berks, linen-manufacturer; for a new box and axle-tree for carriages of every description; and for lathes and grind-stones, upon a new and improved principle. Dated July 8.

Thomas Smyth, of Exeter, Devon, esq.; for a method of preparing colours in cakes and powder from logwood, and other vegetable substances, for dying and painting. Dated July 16.

John Baptist Denize, of George-street, Portman-square, Middlesex, chymist; for a cement for various purposes. Dated July 16.

Emanuel Hesse, of St. Mary-labonne, Middlesex, gentleman; for improvements in stirrups. Dated July 24.

Thomas Penn, of Nottingham, mechanic; for a mode of sinking,

locking up the jacks, pressing, drawing back the needle-bar, and keeping up the jack in frames, for the more simple and expeditious framework knitting of silk, thread, cotton, and worsted. Dated July 24.

Anthony Cefari de Poggi, of New-Bond-street, Middlesex, artist; for improvements in the construction and using of ordnance to be employed both in the sea and land service. Dated July 24.

Henry Cundell, jun. of the Minories, Middlesex, druggist; for a composition called *Cundell's Myoglossus*, for destroying rats, and other destructive vermin. Dated July 26.

Peter Litherland, of Liverpool, Lancaster, watch-maker; for a method of keeping in tune various musical instruments, by means of an apparatus. Dated July 31.

George Medhurst, of Battle-Bridge, Middlesex, engineer; for a method of driving carriages of all kinds without the use of horses. Dated August 2.

Innocenzo Della Lend, of Piccadilly, Middlesex, M. D. and surgeon; for a medicine called "Phlogistical and fixed Earth of Mars, or Powder of Mars," for the cure of various diseases. Dated August 2.

Matthias Koops, of Queen-street, Ranelagh, Middlesex, gentleman; for a method of manufacturing paper from straw, hay, thistles, waste and refuse of hemp and flax, and different kinds of wood and bark, fit for printing, and other useful purposes. Dated August 2.

Isaac Hadley Reddell, of Birmingham, Warwickshire; for a method of constructing carriages for the conveyance of merchandise either by land or water; which carriages may be removed, either loaded or unloaded, from the land to the water, or from the water to the land,

land, with care, expedition, and safety. Dated August 2.

Isaac Hadley Reddell, of Birmingham, aforesaid; for a method of making stirrups. Dated Aug. 2.

Thomas Gill, esq. of Birmingham, aforesaid; for a new method of rifling the bores or calibres of cannon, and of musket, carbine, gun, and pistol barrels. Dated August 2.

Isaac Hadley Reddell, of Birmingham, aforesaid; for his new-invented method of constructing travelling carriages, which are more safe, and in many respects more eligible, than those which are now in common use. Dated August 3.

John and James Robertson, engineers, Glasgow; for their new-invented method of applying steam in the working of steam-engines, by which a great saving of fuel is obtained. Dated August 13.

Robert Sutton, of Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire, clerk; for his new-invented sails for windmills, on an improved construction, whose motion and power are regulated by gravitation. Dated August 13.

Joseph Egg, of Great Windmill-street, Westminster, gun-maker; for his new-invented method of bending steel without the assistance of heat, which may be applied to the manufacturing of surgical instruments, and to a variety of other useful purposes. Dated August 31.

Benjamin Batley, of the parish of Streatham, Surry, merchant; for his new-invented method of curing and preserving herrings and sprats.—Dated September 11.

James Hitchcock, of Kirby-street, Hatton-garden, in the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn, gentleman; for his new-invented art or method of changing and converting skins of

parchment and vellum into leather, and making such leather water-proof. Dated September 15.

Thomas Bowman, of New Bond-street, in the parish of Saint George, Hanover-square, in the county of Middlesex, peruke-maker; for a new-invented method of making perukes or wigs, with fastenings made of a certain elastic compressed steel spring or springs, and also with other flat springs or wires, made of steel, for the closer adhesion of the points and whiskers to the head and face. Dated October 21.

William Plenty, of the town of Southampton, carpenter; for his new-invented pump, and a plough upon an improved construction.—Dated October 11.

Thomas Binns, of Great Barlow-street, St. Mary-la-bonne, Middlesex, water-closet-maker; for his new-invented method of applying heat for the purpose of melting and manufacturing animal fat, and a variety of other solid substances. Dated October 27.

Isaac Hawkins, of Glossop, Derby; for his new invention applicable to musical instruments; the principles of which are also designed to be applied to other machinery. Dated Nov. 13.

David Musket, of the city of Glasgow, gentleman; for his new-invented processes applicable to metallurgy, or the manufacturing of metal or metals, not only from their metallic state or states, to the completion of the various articles or utensils usually made of such metal or metals, but also, from the state of the ore into their metallic state or states, in bars, ingots, or otherwise. Dated Nov. 13.

James Potts, of Belford, Northumberland, clock and watch-maker;



maker; for his new-invented artificial leg and arm, upon a new or improved construction. Dated November 15.

John Turnbull, junior, of Cordale-Printfield, Dumbarton, North Britain, calico-printer; for his new-invented processes, or improvements of processes, and apparatus applicable to the bleaching or whitening, and to the purifying, washing, and cleansing, of cotton, flax, hemp, silk, and wool; and to the purifying of goods of every description made or manufactured of cotton, flax, hemp, silk, and wool. Dated November 15.

John White of the parish of St. Paul, Covent-garden, Middlesex, tin-plate-worker; and James Smethurst, of St. Margaret's Hill, Southwark, Surrey, tin-plate-worker; for a new-invented lamp and burner. Dated November 15.

Thomas Grylls, of Launceston, Cornwall; for his new-invented stop-cock for barrels, and other vessels, which prevents the wasting of liquor. Dated Nov. 15.

Joseph Sigmond, of Bath, Somerset, surgeon-dentist; for his new-invented preservative lotion and dentifrice, which he calls the British Imperial Lotion and Dentifrice, for preserving and beautifying the teeth and gums. Dated November 25.

Stephen Hooper, of Margate, in the Isle of Thanet, and county of Kent, gentleman; for his new-invented method, by means of certain machinery, of cleansing and deepening dry harbours, rivers, creeks, &c. part of which machinery may be applied to other useful purposes. Dated Dec. 4.

John Prosser, of Charing-cross, Middlesex, sword-cutler; for a new-

invented water-proof pan and hammer, for gun and pistol-locks; and also a breech for gun and pistol-barrels, for the purpose of a quicker and more forcible explosion of gunpowder. Dated Dec. 9.

William Playfair, of Great Brook-street, Fitzroy-square, Middlesex, gentleman, and Nicholas le Farre, of Still-Organ, near Dublin, in Ireland, but now residing in George-yard, Lombard-street, in the city of London, esq.; for their new-invented improvements in naval architecture, whereby all vessels of all burdens may be enabled to sail faster than they now do, particularly in a heavy sea. Dated December 12.

Joseph Eyre, of Sheffield, Yorkshire, wood-turner; for a method or process of impressing the japan upon ornamented handles of knives, forks, razors, and other cutlery-ware, made of wood, paper, &c. in imitation of handles made of tin or horn. Dated Dec. 13.

Martha Gibbon, of King-street, Covent-garden, Middlesex, dress-maker; for a new-invented stay for women and others. Dated December 17.

Chester Gould, late of Rome, in the county of Oneida, in the state of New York, but now of Red-Lion-street, Clerkenwell, Middlesex, merchant; for additional improvements on an instrument or log for ascertaining a ship's distance, for which he obtained former letters patent in May last. Dated December 17.

James Duxburgh, of Manchester, Lancashire, calico-printer; for a machine or instrument to print distinct sprigs or spots on calico, cotton, stuffs, linen, silk, satin, cloth, woollen, braize, or leather,

in a more complete and expeditious manner than has been hitherto used. Dated Dec. 17.

John Sharren Ward, of Bruton, Somersetshire, silk-throwster; for a machine, upon new and improved principles, for the purpose of doubling either silk, cotton, flax, hemp, worsted, yarn, or other threads. Dated December 30.

Thomas Grace, of Neat-House, in the parish of Saint George, Hanover-square, Middlesex, white-lead-maker; for a method of making an acid for corroding lead, and for other purposes; and also a new method of preparing and making white-lead, either with or without the said acid. Dated Dec. 30, 1800.

Lawson Hudleston, of Shaftesbury, Dorsetshire, esq.; for the method of conveying boats or barges from a higher level to a lower, and *vice versa*, on canals. Dated December 30.

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*Account of a Method of destroying Caterpillars on Gooseberry-Bushes; from the Prize-Essays of the Highland Society of Scotland.*

A Receipt for this purpose was offered to be communicated to the society, by William Henderson, at Baldrige-Burn, near Dumfermline, on the 6th of February, 1795, for a suitable reward. The proposal was referred to a sub-committee, of which Dr. Monro, professor of anatomy in the University of Edinburgh, was chairman; who, after making trial of the receipt, gave in their report on the 1st of July, 1796. The receipt for the preparation, and the manner of using it, was in the following words:

Take one Scots pint of tobacco liquor, which the manufacturers of tobacco general sell for destroying bugs, and mix therewith about one ounce of alum; when the alum is sufficiently dissolved, put this mixture into a plate, or other vessel wide and long enough to admit of a brush, like a weaver's brush, being dipped into it; and, as early in the season as you can perceive the leaves of the bushes to be in the least eaten, or the eggs upon the leaves (which generally happens about the end of May, and which will be found in great numbers on the veins of the leaves on their under side), you are to take the preparation or liquor, and dip the brush into it, holding the brush towards the under side of the bush, which is to be raised and supported by the hands of another person; then, by drawing your hand gently over the hairs of the brush, the above liquor is sprinkled, and thrown in small drops on the leaves: the consequence of which is, if the eggs are there, they never come forward; and, if they have already generated worms, in a minute or two after the liquor touches them, they either die, or sicken so as to fall off the bush, at least they do so upon giving it a little shake. If, upon their thus falling off, they shall not appear to be completely dead, the bush should be held up, and either a little boiling water from a watering-pan thrown on them, or a bruise given them by a spade or shovel, or the earth where they lie turned over with a hoe. This preparation does not in the least injure the bushes.

The liquor here meant is generally put in the same state it is extracted

tracted from the tobacco, but is mixed, by the tobacco manufacturers, with cold water, in the proportion of four or five pints of water, to one of the original juice or essence. Therefore, any person who may purchase the juice itself, unmixed, must mix it with water in the above proportion; and the quantity of alum must be about an ounce for each Scots pint of the mixture.

Dr. Monro's report was in the following words: "I observed, along with Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Gordon, (two other gentlemen of the committee) and two gardeners who were present, that such caterpillars as were wetted by the liquor Mr. Henderson employs; were killed in a very few minutes; and the experiment has been repeated by my own gardener, with the same effect. I have likewise found, that it kills a kind of green fly, which is very hurtful to the leaves of plumb-trees and other fruit-trees. It has been very generally known, that the smoke and the juice of tobacco were pernicious to different kinds of insects and worms; but it has not, so far as I know, been employed in Mr. Henderson's manner; and, as this has the advantage of not hurting the leaves, nor the fruit, I consider it as an useful and material improvement, and well entitled to a moderate premium."

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*Account of some Experiments made, in France, respecting the Quality of Pewter, by M. Coquebert; read at the Council of Weights and Measures.*

**SOME** new regulations about to be made, with respect to the pewter measures which are used for

wine, vinegar, and several other liquors, rendered it necessary to take into consideration the two following circumstances respecting that metal:

First: To determine what degree of purity pewter should possess, in order to render it fit for the uses above-mentioned, without any risk to health.

Secondly. To discover some simple and easy means by which the quality of pewter might at any time be ascertained, without injury to the vessels made of it.

In consequence thereof, MM. Legendre, Gattey, and Coquebert, members of the council of weights and measures, proposed, some months ago, to the government, that a plan of inquiry should be undertaken, in conjunction with MM. Gillet, Lefevre, and Lelievre, members of the council of mines, by which the solution of the above questions might be accomplished.

These commissioners desired to be assisted by MM. Fourcroy, Vauquelin, and Dillon; and, after a great number of delicate experiments, made with the greatest care, by the united labour of the forementioned gentlemen, many new and interesting facts were ascertained, which have served to fix the opinion of the government, with respect to those points which were the objects of this inquiry.

The experiments of the above gentlemen have proved,

First. That tin is more easily dissolved than lead, and is dissolved sooner than lead, by the action of wine, or of vinegar.

Secondly. That lead is not sensibly oxidated by the above liquors, except at the line of contact of the air and the liquor: consequently,

a very small surface only is affected.

Thirdly. That the most green and sour wine that could be met with in the neighbourhood of Paris, dissolved only an insensible quantity of lead, after having remained from eight to ten days in vessels made of pewter which contained 18 *per cent.* of lead.

Fourthly. That nearly the same effect took place when vinegar was used instead of wine; and that no sensible appearances were produced by re-agents, except when the pewter of the vessel in which the vinegar had stood contained more than 18 *per cent.* of lead. In proportion as the vinegar becomes saturated with pewter, a small quantity of tartrate of lead is deposited; but the quantity of this deposit is extremely small, even when the vessels in which the vinegar stands are of great diameter, and have a large internal surface.

Fifthly. When red wine remains in pewter vessels, it loses its colour. This effect arises from the colouring matter being precipitated, after being combined with oxide of tin. The precipitate does not appear to contain any lead; yet the taste of the bad wine, made use of in this experiment, became more sweet. There is, however, reason to think, that this effect arose rather from the precipitation of the colouring matter, and the saturation of a part of the acid of the wine, than from any lead contained therein.

From the above experiments, the commissioners concluded, that vessels made of a mixture of tin and lead might be used for wine, and for vinegar, provided the proportion of the latter metal was not more than from 15 to 18 *per cent.* and that no

injury to health need be apprehended, from the use of vessels made within the above-mentioned proportions.

The object of the second part of this inquiry was, to find some means by which the proportion of lead in pewter might easily be determined. The hydrostatic balance is well known to offer the surest method of doing it; yet this method has not been made use of in any country. Instead of it, various conjectural methods were adopted, such as, the appearance of the metal, the flexibility of it, or other circumstances equally uncertain. A chymical analysis is capable of ascertaining the matter with precision: but such an analysis would be tedious and troublesome; besides which, it would be necessary to take away a part of the vessels themselves, for the purpose of analysis. An examination of the specific gravity has none of these inconveniences; but, in order to make it the basis of legal determination, it was necessary to ascertain, by experiment, in what manner tin and lead, when united in various proportions, were affected in this respect. It had been suspected, that mixtures of these two metals did not possess exactly that specific gravity which they would appear to do by calculating upon that which each of them possess separately. But, was their specific gravity augmented or diminished? did the two metals penetrate each other when mixed, or was there, on the contrary, a greater vacuum between their particles than existed in them when separate? These were questions which experiments only could determine: for, the opinions of the philosophers who have written

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ten on that subject were not uniform. Kæstner, Hausen, Hahn, and even Lavoisier, believed that penetration took place. The specific gravity resulting from the mixture, says the latter, exceeds very much that which would be obtained by computing the volumes and masses. Kraft alone, in the *Petersburgh Transactions*, vol. XIV. maintained the opinion of dilatation; but he rested it only on one single fact. Those who have treated this subject in other places, particularly in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Stockholm*, have confined themselves to calculations, without making any experiments; it became therefore necessary, above all things, to have recourse to observation.

Tin and lead, in the most perfect state of purity they could be procured, were mixed together in various proportions; great care was

taken that they should be well mixed together, and also that no cavity or air-bubble should be left in the mixture. Three different series of these mixtures were made; and, upon being tried in the hydrostatic balance, the results were found to be as follows:

Mixtures of tin and lead were found to possess less specific gravity than would have been obtained by calculation; consequently, these two metals, instead of penetrating each other respectively, increase in bulk, when mixed together.

The following is the law of that increase, as far as it can be deduced from the above experiments.

When the quantity of lead was in the proportion of nine-tenths of the whole, the bulk of the mixture increased, or, in other words, the specific gravity diminished, twenty-six thousandth parts.

8 parts of lead and 2 of tin, increased in bulk 40 thousandth part					
7	ditto	3	ditto	48	ditto
6	ditto	4	ditto	47	ditto
5	ditto	5	ditto	46	ditto
4	ditto	6	ditto	45	ditto
3	ditto	7	ditto	43	ditto
$2\frac{1}{2}$	ditto	$7\frac{1}{2}$	ditto	39	ditto
2	ditto	8	ditto	33	ditto
$1\frac{1}{2}$	ditto	$1\frac{1}{2}$	ditto	30	ditto
1	ditto	9	ditto	23	ditto
$\frac{1}{2}$	ditto	$9\frac{1}{2}$	ditto	14	ditto

A much greater number of experiments were made on the mixtures in which the proportion of tin exceeded that of lead; and particularly on those where the proportion of tin, to that of lead, was from 5 to 25 or 30 *per cent.* they being the proportions most frequently met with in commerce.

From these experiments a table was constructed, by means of which

it is very easy (after weighing a pewter vessel, first in air, and then in water), to determine what proportion of lead is mixed with the tin.

It is very true, that this method does not shew the other metals with which the tin may perhaps be mixed, such as copper, bismuth, zinc, and antimony; but every one knows that only a very small proportion of

these metals is mixed with the pewter used in commerce; for some of them injure the colour, or the quality of the metal; and others are at least as dear as lead or tin, consequently no advantage can be gained by using them.

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*Receipt for destroying the Vermin which infest Plants; from the French of Bastien's Gardener's Year.*

**T**AKE of black soap two pounds and a half, flower of sulphur two pounds and a half, mushrooms of any kind two pounds, water 60 pints. Divide the water into two equal parts, and put one half in a barrel with the soap and the mushrooms, after having bruised them a little. The other half of the water is to be boiled in a cauldron with the sulphur inclosed in a bag, and fixed to the bottom of the cauldron by a stone or other weight. During an ebullition of about 20 minutes, the bag of sulphur must be stirred about with a stick, the better to impregnate the water. By augmenting the quantity of ingredients, the effects will be more sensible. The water, that has been thus boiled, must then be poured into the barrel, and daily stirred up with a stick, until it acquires the highest degree of rankness: care being always taken to stop up the barrel after the water has been stirred.

This composition is to be sprinkled, or injected on the plants infested; and it will, at the first injection, destroy the greater number of the insects: but it will require frequent repetitions to kill those which live under ground; especially the ants; to exterminate them, from

two to eight pints of the liquor will be necessary, according to the extent of their nests. Two ounces of *nux vomica*, added to the above composition, and boiled together with the flower of sulphur, will render the recipe still more effectual; especially when ants are to be destroyed.

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*Method of Separating the Grain from the Straw, as practised in the State of Virginia; from the Second Volume of Communications to the Board of Agriculture.*

**T**HE use of the flail is scarce known here; almost all the wheat is trodden out in the field by horses upon the bare sandy soil, with which much of it gets incorporated, and afterwards is separated from it by sieves, or some other means that answer the purpose; the consequence of this is, that a considerable quantity of dust adheres to the surface of the grain, and insinuates itself into the groove on one side of it, so that no art can entirely clear it away; and thence I am told millers are unable to make superfine flour from Virginian wheat; and on that account, that it bears a price, inferior to what the quality would otherwise demand. A weevil, or some other insect, greatly infests the wheat of this state when in the straw, which makes it necessary to tread it out as soon as possible after harvest; and this is frequently attended with inconvenience and loss. In unloading the wheat of this state from shipboard, or otherwise working among it in the granaries, the people employed are frequently so affected with a pricking or netting on the skin, as to be unable to go



on with their work, but without being able to account for the cause of it. I recollect a similar circumstance happening, in unloading a vessel laden with Virginian wheat, some years since at Liverpool, when it was said to be caused by a minute insect. Oats are not extensively cultivated in any part of America, and are every where bad; but those of this state, of the worst possible

quality; they have certainly kernel sufficient to enable them to vegetate, but are, notwithstanding, light as chaff. The cultivated oat appears again returning to the original grass. I never saw any oats that would be marketable in England, except some in the German tract in Pennsylvania, and they would admit of comparison with such only as we should esteem very moderate.

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*Communications in Gardening, by Mr. Weston; from the Repertory of Arts.*

**B**ELIEVING the following alphabetical list of all the useful plants now cultivated in the most esteemed kitchen-gardens in England, explaining at one view the number of crops of each sort requisite to produce a constant succession of vegetables throughout the year, for the use of the table, with the proper time of sowing and planting, may be acceptable to those of your readers who are not proficient in the art of gardening; your inserting it in your useful publication, will oblige, your's, &c.

Richard Weston.

Names of the Plants.	No. of Crops.	Time of sowing and planting.
Alifander,	1	Sow, March, August.
Angelica,	2	— March, August.
Artichokes,	1	Plant, March or April.
Asparagus, seed,	1	Sow, March or April.
— roots,	1	Plant, March or April.
— forced,	5	— Oct. Nov. Dec. Jan. Feb.
— in autumn,	1	Cut down the stalks, July.
Balm,	1	Plant, March or April.
Basil,	1	Sow or plant, March or April.
Beans, first crop,	1	Plant, Oct. under a south wall.
—		Transplant Feb. or March.
— early sorts,	4	Plant, Jan. Feb. March, July.
— late sorts,	4	— Feb. March, April, July.
Beets, white,	1	} Sow, Feb. or March.
— red,	1	
— marbled-rooted,	1	
— for seed,	1	Plant, Oct. or Nov.
Boorcole or Hale,	3	Sow, March, April, June.
— Anjou, for cattle,	2	— May, June.
Borage,	1	— Feb. or March.
— young for fallad,	3	— April, May, June.

Names of the Plants.	No. of Crops.	Time of sowing and planting.
Broccoli,	4	— March, April, May, June:
— to preserve in winter.		Lay down, November.
Burnet,	1	Sow, March or April.
Cabbages, early,	1	— August.
— late,	4	— Feb. March, May, June.
— red,	3	— Feb. March, June.
— Savoy,	3	— March, May, June.
— for seed,	1	Plant, October or November.
Cabbage-turnip,	2	Sow, May, June.
— for seed,	1	Plant, October or November.
Camomile,	1	— March or April.
Caplicums, for cayenne pepper,	1	Sow, on hot-bed March or April.
Carrots, on hot-bed,	1	— January.
— to draw young,	3	— Jan. April, July.
— principal crop,	1	— Feb. or March.
— for seed,	1	Plant, Oct. or Nov.
Cauliflowers,	4	Sow, Aug. Feb. March, May.
— to preserve in winter,		Plant in frames, November.
Celery,	5	Sow, Feb. March, April, May, June.
— to prevent from frost.		Plant in frames, December.
— for seed,	1	— March or April.
Chardons,	1	Sow, March or April.
Chervil,	2	— March, August.
Chives,	2	Plant, March or April, September.
Clary,	1	Sow, March or April.
Coleseed,	1	— June or July.
Coleworts,	2	— Feb. June, or July.
Corn-sallad,	2	— March, August.
Cress, on hot-beds,		— Oct. to March.
— open ground,		— March to Sept.
— for seed,	1	— March or April.
Cucumbers, on hot-beds,	3	— Jan. Feb. March.
— under hand-glasses,	1	— April.
— open ground,	1	— May or June.
Dill,	1	— March or April.
Endive,	4	— April, May, June, July.
— for seed,	1	Plant, March or April.
Escallions,	1	— Jan. or Feb.
Eschalots,	2	— small Sept. large Feb.
—		Take up June or July.
Fennel,	2	Sow, Feb. Sept.
— to have young,		Cut down when going to seed.
Finochio,	4	Sow, April, May, June, July.
Garlic,	2	Plant, small Sept. large Feb.
—		Take up June, July.
Horse-radish,	1	Plant, Feb. or March.
Hyssop,		Sow, March or April.

Jerusalem

Names of the Plants.	No. of Crops.	Time of sowing and planting.
Jerusalem artichokes,	1	Plant, Feb. or March.
Kidney-beans on hot-beds,	3	Sow, Sept. Dec. Feb. or March.
— dwarfs,	5	— March, April, May, June, July.
— runners,	2	— April, May.
Lavander,	1	Plant, May, June.
Leeks, broad-leaved,	1	Sow, Feb. or March.
—		Plant out June and July.
— sweet, or bulbous-rooted,	1	Sow, Feb. or March.
—		Take up June or July.
—	1	Plant the bulbs, Feb.
Lettuces,	7	Sow, Feb. to August.
— on hot-beds,	1	— January.
Marjoram,	21	— March or April.
Marygolds,	1	— Feb. to April.
Mellons, on hot-beds,	3	— Feb. March, April.
— for autumn,	1	— May.
Mint, on hot-beds,	2	Plant, Oct. Jan.
—	1	— March or April.
Mushrooms, on hot-beds,	2	— March, Sept.
Mustard, on hot-beds,		Sow, March to Sept.
— open ground,		— March to Sept.
— for seed	1	— March or April.
Nasturtium, for picking the seeds,		— March or April.
Onions, on hot-beds,	1	— Jan or Feb.
—		Plant out March or April.
— to draw young,	4	Sow, Jan. April, May, July.
— principal crop,	1	— Feb. or March.
— Welsh,	2	— July, August.
Parsley,	3	— Feb. March, July.
— large-rooted,	2	— Feb. April.
—		Take up roots, November.
Parsneps,	1	Sow, Feb. or March.
Peas, on hot-beds,	3	— Oct. Dec. Jan.
— hotspurs,	5	— Oct. Jan. Feb. July, August.
— large sorts,	3	— Feb. March, Apr. May, June.
— blue field pea,	1	— May or June.
Potatoes, on hot-beds,	2	Plant, December, January.
— early under walls,	1	— January or February.
— late,	3	— March, April, May.
Purflane, on hot-beds,	1	Sow, January or February.
— open ground,	3	— March, April, May.
Radishes,	9	— Jan. to Aug. and Nov.
— on hot-beds,	2	— December, February.
— under a frame	1	— August or September.
— for fallad,		See Cress.
— for seed,	1	Plant, May.

Rampion,

Names of the Plants.	No. of Crops.	Time of sowing and planting.
Rampion,	1	Sow, March or April.
Rape,	1	— June or July.
— for fallad,		— March to September.
Rhubarb,	1	— March or April.
—		Plant out May or June.
Rocamboles,	2	— February, September.
—		Take up June or July.
Rosemary,	1	Plant, May or June.
Rue,	1	— May or June.
Sage,	1	March or April.
Salsify,	1	Sow March or April.
Savory,	1	— March or April.
Savoy Cabbage,	3	— March, May, June.
— for seed,	1	Plant, October or November.
Scorzonera,	1	Sow, March or April.
Scotch kale, or boorcole,	3	— March, April, June.
Sea kale,	1	— March or April.
— to blanch,		Cover with long litter, January.
Skirrets,	1	Sow, March or April.
Sorrel	2	— March, August.
Spinach,	6	— February to July.
— winter,	2	— July, August, or September.
Tansey,	1	Plant, March or September.
Turnips,	6	Sow, January or February.
— on hot-beds,	1	— January or February.
— for seed,	1	Plant, February.
— Swedish,	3	Sow, March, April, June.
— principal crop,	1	— May.
Turnip-cabbage,	2	— May, June.
— for seed,	1	Plant, October or November.
Turnip-radishes,	3	Sow, March, May, July.
Water-crefs,	2	Plant, March, September,

The time fixed for sowing or planting is calculated for the meridian of London. But to those persons who live one or two hundred miles north of it, it will make a variation of ten or fourteen days.

In spring they must delay that time, and in autumn they must sow or plant so much earlier.

If the number of crops by some be thought too many, any may be omitted cultivating; but it was necessary to insert them all, to shew to what a degree of perfection the art of gardening in England is arrived; so great indeed, that, from the production, when on the table, the difference of the seasons can scarcely be discovered.

*Method of making Hay from the Leaves of Carrots, and improving the Size of the Roots. By the same, from the same.*

**E**VERY quadruped which feeds upon carrots, improves, and soon gets fat; also geese, ducks, fowls, and turkeys, which I have proved from my own experience. The leaves are known to partake of the same nutritious quality as the root; but the value of them is lost, by our not knowing a use to which they may be applied with great advantage, that is, making them into hay.

About the end of July, or the beginning of August, when the leaves appear to be fully grown, and the lower ones begin to wither, mow them; but do not let the scythe cut the crowns of the roots from which the leaves are produced; as this would prevent them shooting out again.

As soon as the leaves are mown, they must be carried off the ground, spread about thinly after they are thrown from the cart, and made into hay, in the usual manner. But, at first, they must be frequently turned, to prevent them from moulding.

The ground now being cleared, you have an opportunity of seeing where the carrots grow too thick. Thin them to a proper distance of eight or ten inches asunder, as you would wish them to be either small or very large, or according to the crop; and let the land be well hoed; and, if the weather be wet, carry away the weeds.

If the season be very dry, and you have the opportunity of water, or the draining of a dung-hill, you will

find advantage in giving them a watering before they are hoed.

Their receiving a check, from the leaves being cut off, will soon cause them to put forth fresh ones. The consequence must be, that their roots will increase in size.—But, to prove the utility of hoeing, leave a part not hoed, and a small part not mown, to convince you of the propriety of the method, and the advantage resulting from it.

This method I have seen practised by Mr. Junius Baker, of Birstal-house, near Leicester, (a gentleman well known for breeding horses) and attended with great advantages. He informed me, that he forgot to make a calculation of how many tons an acre it produced, but it was a very good crop in proportion to his crops of grass-hay.—The field of carrots was between three and four acres.

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*Easy and effectual Cure for Wens, in a Letter from William Chisholme, Esq. to the Editor of the Gentleman's Magazine.*

*Chisholme, Roxburghshire,  
Nov. 20, 1799.*

Mr. Urban,

**H**AVING had a wen of the steutomatous kind, of large size and long standing, upon the side of my face, immediately before and below my right ear, I was informed by different people that, if I would apply salt and water to it, I should get rid of it. In August 1798, I put a quantity of salt and water into a saucepan, and boiled it for four minutes; with which I bathed the whole surface frequently while it continued warm, as also

after

after it became cold, so often as ten or twelve times daily; always stirring up the salt deposited at the bottom of the basin, and incorporating it again with the water, before I applied it. On the 11th day from the first application, while shaving, I observed a small discharge; which assisting by a gentle pressure, the whole contents were soon emptied, without the smallest pain, and without blood.

Being informed of some others who had been benefited in like manner from the same application, and knowing myself of some late instances under my own immediate direction, I feel it a duty thus to make it public; being convinced it can produce no bad effect, and every person having it in their power to make the trial. At the same time, I beg leave to caution that no one should be disheartened from the length of time it may be necessary to continue the application; as, in some cases, it has required three or four months, though in the last only thirty days; but in all, without pain or inconvenience of any kind, or any previous notice of the discharge, till it actually took place.

William Chisholme.

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*Proposals for a new and less expensive Mode of employing and reforming Convicts; submitted to the Lords of the Treasury, by Jeremy Bentham, Esq.*

**T**HE author having turned his thoughts to the penitentiary system, from its first origin, and having lately contrived a building, in which any number of persons may be kept within the reach of

being inspected during every moment of their lives; and having made out, as he flatters himself, to demonstration, that the only eligible mode of managing an establishment of such a nature, in a building of such a construction, would be by contract, has been induced to make public the following proposals for maintaining and employing convicts in general, or such of them as would otherwise be confined on board the hulks, for 25 *per cent.* less than it costs government to maintain them at present, deducting also the average value of the work at present performed by them for the public, upon the terms of his receiving the produce of their labour, taking on himself the whole expence of the building, fitting up, and stocking, without any advance to be made by government for that purpose, requiring only that the abatement and deduction above-mentioned shall be suspended for the first year. Upon the above-mentioned terms he would engage as follows:

1st. To furnish the prisoners with a constant supply of wholesome food, not limited in quantity, but adequate to each man's desire.

2d. To keep them clad in a state of tightness and neatness, superior to what is usual even in the most improved prisons.

3d. To keep them supplied with separate beds and bedding competent to their situations, and in a state of cleanliness scarcely any where conjoined with liberty.

4th. To insure them a sufficient supply of artificial warmth and light whenever the season renders it necessary, and thereby save the necessity of taking them prematurely from their work at such seasons (as



in other places), as well as preserving them from suffering by the inclemency of the weather.

5th. To keep constantly from them, in conformity to the practice so happily received, every kind of strong and spirituous liquors, unless when ordered in the way of medicine.

6th. To maintain them in a state of inviolable, though mitigated seclusion, in assorted companies, without any of those opportunities of promiscuous association, which in other places disturb, if not destroy, whatever good effect can have been expected from occasional solitude.

7th. To give them interest in their work, by allowing them a share in the produce.

8th. To convert the prison into a school, and, by extended application of the principle of the Sunday schools, to return its inhabitants into the world instructed, at least as well as in ordinary schools, in the most useful branches of vulgar learning, as well as in some trade or occupation, whereby they may afterwards earn their livelihood.

9th. To pay a penal sum for every escape, with or without any default of his, irresistible violence from without excepted, and this without employing irons on any occasion, or in any shape.

10th. To provide them with spiritual and medical assistants, constantly living in the midst of them, and incessantly keeping them in view.

11th. To pay a sum of money for every one who dies under his care, taking thereby upon himself the insurance of their lives for an ordinary premium; and that at a rate, grounded on the average of the number of deaths, not among imprisoned felons, but among persons

of the same ages in a state of liberty within the bills of mortality.

12th. To lay for them the foundation-stone of a provision for old age, upon the plan of the annuity societies.

13th. To insure them a livelihood at the expiration of their term, by setting up a subsidiary establishment, into which all such as thought proper should be admitted, and in which they would be continued in the exercise of the trade in which they were employed during their confinement, without any farther expense to government.

14th. To make himself personally responsible for the reformatory efficacy of his management, and even make amends, in most instances, for any accident of its failure, by paying a sum of money for every prisoner convicted of a felony after his discharge, at a rate increasing according to the number of years he had been under the proposer's care.

15th. To present to the court of king's bench, on a certain day of every term, and afterwards print and publish, at his own expense, a report, exhibiting in detail the state, not only moral and medical, but economical, of the establishment, shewing the whole profits, if any, and in what manner they arise, and then and there, as well as on any other day, upon summons from the court, to make answer to all such questions as shall be put to him in relation thereto, not only on the part of the court, or officer of the crown, but, by leave of the court, on the part of any person whatsoever.—Questions, the answer to which might tend to subject him to conviction, though it were for a capital crime, not excepted, treading under foot a maxim, invented by the guilty,

guilty, for the benefit of the guilty, and from which none but the guilty ever derived any advantage.

16th. By neatness and cleanliness, by diversity of employment, by variety of contrivance, and, above all, by that peculiarity of construction, which, without any unpleasant or hazardous vicinity, enables the whole establishment to be inspected at a view from a commodious and insulated room in the centre, the prisoners remaining unconscious of their being thus observed, it should be his study to render it a spectacle such as persons of all classes would, in the way of amusement, be curious to partake of, and that not only on Sundays, at the time of divine service, but on the ordinary days, at meal times, or times of work; providing thereby a system of superintendence, universally unchargeable, and uninterrupted, the most effectual and indestructible of all securities against abuse.

The station of gaoler is not, in common account, a very elevated one; the addition of contractor has not much tendency to raise it. The proposer little dreamt, when he first launched into the subject, that he was to become a suitor, and perhaps in vain, for such an office: but inventions unpractised might be in want of the inventor; and a situation thus clipped of emoluments, while it was loaded with obligations, might be in want of candidates. Penetrated, therefore, with the importance of the end, he would not suffer himself to see any thing unpleasant or discreditable in the means.

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*Account of the Improvements on His Majesty's Farm, in the Great Park,*

*at Windsor, by Nathaniel Kent, in a Letter to the Secretary of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.*

Sir.

UPON mentioning to you, some time since, that there had been some practices in husbandry, on his majesty's farms, under my superintendence, in Windsor Great Park, which I conceived were not generally known; and upon your giving me reason to think the society for the Encouragement of Arts, &c. from its laudable desire to communicate to the public every thing that promises advantage to it, would not be unwilling to allow me a few pages in its next publication; and being indulged with his majesty's gracious permission to state any matter that I may discretionally judge proper to communicate; I am induced to lay before you a few particulars, which some gentlemen and farmers, under similar circumstances, may perhaps think deserving notice.

But before I enter upon any particular description of what I have to offer, it will not, perhaps, be uninteresting to the society to know the grounds upon which his majesty's large system of agriculture has been founded.

In the year 1791 the Great Park, at Windsor, about 4000 acres, fell into his majesty's possession. It might truly be called a rough jewel. The whole, as a natural object, was grand and beautiful, of a forest appearance; but the parts were crowded and indistinct. The soil was various, some parts clay and loam, and some sharp gravel or poor sand; a great part of the former was covered with rushes and mole-

mole-hills, and the latter with fern and moss.

About 1000 acres of the lightest part were separated from the rest at one extremity, and formed what is called the Norfolk farm: about 400 acres more, at the other extremity, of a good loamy soil, were separated, and called the Flemish farm, both being named from the nature of the husbandry meant to be adopted upon them.

The rest (about 2,400 acres) remains still in plantations and park; and though so much reduced, yet, from the improvements which have been made upon it, is now capable of carrying more stock than the whole 4000 acres did before. All the unsound wet parts have been drained by the Essex mode, so as to be rendered firm, and productive of an improved herbage. The mole-hills have been levelled, chiefly by dragging, and the coarse and mossy parts fined by repeated harrowing and rolling (being one of the first improvements upon park land of this description); besides which, a variety of beauty has been laid open, by clearing the valleys and low parts, to give a bolder effect to the woody scenes upon the higher ground; and by making judicious openings, so as to break strait lines, and separate parts that were in some places too heavy and samely: so that the extent of land has now not only a much larger appearance, but exhibits a much greater variety of ground. The truth of this, every impartial person who knew the place before his majesty caused these improvements to be made, must allow. I have only to add, that though prejudice may have taken up an idea that there has been too great a sacrifice of timber in effect-

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ing these improvements, truth will deny it. There has not been a tree taken down, but what was either in decay, or removed either to give room for the growth of others, or to set them off to greater advantage in picturesque appearance.

I come now to the object in view, as before hinted, which is to state the motives which I am inclined to think induced his majesty to adopt the farming system upon so large a scale, and next to shew the result. — These I conceive were chiefly to create useful labour for the industrious poor in the neighbourhood, and for trying experiments in agriculture, to excite imitation where success might encourage it.

The Norfolk farm borders on that extensive waste called Bagshot-heath, hitherto considered too barren for cultivation, though large tracts of a similar quality have been long since rendered useful to the community in the south-west part of Norfolk. Arable land of this description is generally managed there under a five-course shift; first, wheat; second, turnips; third, barley with seeds, which continue laid two years. But as the seeds turn to very little account after the first year, his majesty's, which though a five-course shift likewise, of one hundred acres in a shift, is upon a much improved course of cropping; as thus—first, wheat or rye; second, the irregular shift; third, turnips; fourth, barley or oats; fifth, clover. The irregular shift, which is of great use on a light land farm, may perhaps want a little explanation. It is meant to be partly productive, and partly preparative. Forty acres of it are sown with vetches, to be fed off; forty

forty are sown the latter end of August with rye, for early feed the next spring for the ewes and lambs; the remaining twenty acres are planted with potatoes, and the whole comes round for turnips the next year.

From the advantage of running sheep in the park, this farm has been brought surprisingly forward, considering the short time it has been cultivated; and a great part of it, which produced nothing but heath and moss, and would have been dear at five shillings an acre to rent, now produces crops worth more than the original fee-simple of the land.

Brevity checks me from going farther into a general description; but the following particulars may deserve notice.

The comparative advantages of the labour of horses and oxen have been for some time under the consideration of the public. His majesty has unquestionably tried the latter upon a larger scale than any other person, as he does not work less than one hundred and eighty oxen upon his different farms, parks, and gardens, and has found them to answer so well, that there is not now a horse kept.—Upon the two farms and the Great Park two hundred are kept, including those coming on and going off. Forty are bought in every year, rising three years, and are kept as succession oxen in the park; one hundred and twenty are under work; and forty every year are fatted off, rising seven years.

The working oxen are mostly divided into teams of six, and one of the number is every day rested, so that no ox works more than five days out of the seven.—This day

of ease in every week, besides Sunday, is of great advantage to the animal, as he is found to do better with ordinary keep and moderate labour, than he would do with high keep and harder labour. In short, this is the first secret to learn concerning him; for an ox will not admit of being kept in condition like a horse, artificially by proportionate food to proportionate labour.

These oxen are never allowed any corn, as it would prevent their fattening so kindly afterwards. Their food in summer is only a few vetches, by way of a bait, and the run of coarse meadows, or what are called leasowes, being rough woody pastures. In winter they have nothing but cut food, consisting of two-thirds hay, and one-third wheat-straw; and the quantity they eat in twenty-four hours is about twenty-four pounds of hay and twelve of straw: and on the days of rest, they range as they like in the straw-yards; for it is to be observed, that they are not confined to hot stables, but have open sheds, under which they eat their cut provender, and are generally left to their choice to go in and out. Under this management, as four oxen generally plough an acre a day, and do other work in proportion, there can be no doubt but their advantage is very great over horses, and the result to the public highly beneficial.

The oxen, which are brought on in succession, run the first summer in the park, and in the leasowes and temporary straw-yards, in the winter; by which temporary straw-yards, I would have it understood, that they are made in different places, so that the manure which they make may be as near to the spot where it is wanted as possible.

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The forty oxen which go off are summered in the best pasture, and finished with turnips the ensuing winter. The usual way has been to draw the turnips, and to give them either stalled or in cribs placed in the yard, with plenty of straw to browse and lie upon: but last winter an experiment was tried, which answered extremely well, and will be again repeated next winter: this was, penning the oxen by day upon the turnip-land, in the manner that sheep are penned, with this only difference, that the turnips were thrown up into cribs, instead of being left to be trodden into the ground: and in the nights they were driven into a yard, with a temporary shed well littered with rushes, fern, and leaves, and turnips and barley-straw given to them in cribs. They thrived very fast, and every one of them made at least eight loads of good muck in the night-yard, besides the benefit done in treading and dunging on the land in the day-time, which was very great, the soil being very light. The result of the ox system is, that charging the ox for his agistment the first year, for the value of the grass and turnips the last year, and putting what he has in three intermediate years as an equivalent for his labour, after every allowance for risk, each ox will pay at least twenty *per cent.* profit. In what instance does a horse produce so much?

I do not contend that the ox can be used on all soils; upon a very stony soil he cannot: nor can the horse in all places be wholly excluded from husbandry; but every occupier of a large farm may at least use some oxen to very great advantage. They are all worked at Windsor in collars, as their step is found to be

much more free than when coupled together with yokes; and they are found to do their work with much greater ease in collars than in yokes, which ought every where to be exploded.

The different kinds of oxen are in some measure suited to the soil. Upon the Norfolk farm, which is a light soil, the Devonshire sort are used; upon the Flemish farm, where the soil is strong and heavy, the Herefordshire; and in the park, where the business is carting, harrowing, and rolling, the Glamorganshire. They are all excellent in their different stations.

It may not be improper to mention a very simple method which has been discovered, of first training them to the collar, which is nothing more than putting a broad strap round their necks, and fastening one end of a cord to it, and the other to a large log of wood, and letting the ox draw it about as he feeds in his pasture, for three or four days, before he is put into harness, by which means he is very much brought forward in docility:

I have before observed, that twenty *per cent.* may be considered as the average profit of an ox; stating them to be bought in at 10*l.* and allowing them to sell for 25*l.* taking off 10*l.* for the two years they are not worked: but last year, beans being of very little value, they were kept longer than usual, by being stall-fed with bean-meal, which answered very well, as they were brought to an average of nearly 30*l.*; and one of them, a Glamorganshire ox, originally bought for 8*l.* and, from his compact round make, always called the little ox, thrived to such a surprising degree, that he became too fat to be able to

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travel to Smithfield, and was therefore sold to Mr. Charlwood a neighbouring butcher, for 47*l*.

Next to the advantage obtained from oxen, as much benefit as possible has been endeavoured to be derived from sheep, by means of the fold. Two ewe flocks are kept, of four hundred each: the soil being light and dry, admits of winter-folding (except when the weather is wet) upon the young clover; a practice much to be recommended, as it is productive of a great crop of clover, and prepares the land the ensuing autumn for a crop of wheat without any farther assistance. Another excellent practice is folding upon light land, in dry weather, immediately upon the sowing of the wheat, which may be put forward, or kept back, a fortnight or three weeks on that account; and it is not amiss to have the fold rather large, and to give the sheep a turn or two round the fold in a morning before they are let out, to tread and settle the land, which does a great deal of good, over and above their dung.

A third method of folding has been found to answer almost beyond description. This was first tried in the winter of 1793; but from an idea of the shepherd, that it injured the sheep, has been since disused: but as there is good reason to believe that there was no just ground for such an opinion, it is meant to be revived next winter.

A dry sheltered spot is selected, and sods of maiden earth, a foot deep, are laid over the space of a very large fold. It is then bedded thinly with rushes, leaves of trees, fern, moss, short straw, or stubble; and in hard or wet weather, the flock, instead of being penned upon the clover, in the open fields, is put

into this warmer fold, where the usual quantity of hay is given to them in racks; and every night they are so penned, the fold is fresh littered. When this has been continued, at intervals, during the winter, a layer of lime, chalk, rubble, or ashes, six inches thick, is spread over the whole surface; and when it has heated together, about the month of April, the whole is turned up, and mixed together, and makes the very best manure that can be used for turnips.

I have been particular in describing these methods of folding, as they are not common in any place, and in others entirely unknown, and to gentlemen who have parks and large plantations which afford abundance of leaves, this hint may be the more deserving attention.

Upon the Norfolk farm, the land not having been yet marled or clayed, the clover is apt sometimes to fail, which is also the case elsewhere, upon the same sort of land. When this happens, his majesty does what every other person in a similar situation should do; instead of letting the ground remain unproductive, the next year it is sowed with vetches, which are nearly as valuable as the clover, and wheat always grows remarkably kind after them.

As to implements, the Norfolk-plough is chiefly what is used; and upon a light soil, it is certainly preferable to any other. It ploughs a cleaner furrow, by completely moving the whole body of earth, and inverts it much better than any other plough; and to establish its superiority over the common ploughs of the neighbourhood, I need only add, that from its construction it is nearly the draught of an ox easier.

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There is likewise a Norfolk-harrow, very useful for harrowing what are called brush-turnips, or any other turnips, preparatory to their being hoed. I must be allowed, likewise, to mention the drill-roller, which consists of cast-iron rings, made at the Norwich foundry, and slipped on upon a round piece of wood, as an axle-tree. This is one of the best things that has ever been introduced, for the preparation of the land for any sort of corn, where the soil will admit of its being used. By the corn being so well deposited, it takes better root, and at least one fourth of the quantity usually sown may be saved.

The Flemish farm, which I have before menticed, was so named from an intention at first, of carrying on a system of husbandry similar to that practised in Flanders, which consists of an alternate crop for man and beast: but the soil being strong and cohesive, upon trial, it has been found to answer best under a four-course shift, more like some parts of Gloucestershire; as thus, first year, wheat; second, cabbage or clover; third, oats; fourth, beans. The quantity of arable land on this farm is one hundred and sixty acres, or forty acres in a shift. There are two things observed upon this farm, which may be worth notice: the first is the practice which has for these two years past been adopted, of taking off the tops of the beans just as the blossom is set; this not only improves the quality, but increases the quantity, and causes them to ripen sooner, which is a considerable advantage, by giving time to get the succeeding crop of wheat in, perhaps, a fortnight earlier. The other is, that of sowing clover early in the spring, among

twenty acres, or one half of the wheat, and bush-harrowing and rolling it in. This has produced a very fair crop of clover the next year; and the other half, after the wheat, is winter and spring fallowed, and planted with cabbage. There is a double advantage resulting from this; that one half of this shift, so managed, becomes a summer crop, and the other half a winter crop; and by observing the next year to change the parts, by sowing the clover where the cabbage was before, the clover and cabbage do not come round upon the same ground but once in eight years.

Cabbage has been tried several years, but his majesty's husbandmen never got into the right management of it till this year; but now the crop is remarkably fine.

It will not be improper to mention, that the drum-headed cabbage is the best sort; that the seed should be sown in August, the plants first set out in November, and transplanted for good in July. The next thing to be noted is their application: they are certainly inferior to turnips for fattening, but superior in the increase of milk, either of cows or ewes, and therefore they are particularly good where there is a dairy or a breeding flock of sheep: and I trust his majesty will, the next yearning season, try an experiment, of which I have high expectation, which is to slice or quarter the cabbage, and feed the ewes with them upon such of the meadows as want manuring, which I flatter myself will be of inestimable service to the ewes and lambs, and be the means of increasing the next years crop of hay considerably.

The true light of viewing these improvements is to consider them as

a sort of new creation to the public; for, as it is a fact not to be controverted, that the reduced number of acres in the park, from their improved state, support as many deer and other cattle as the whole did before, the produce obtained from the farms is all clear gain; and as the crop of wheat and rye from the 140 acres sown, upon the most moderate calculation, may be set at 3,360 bushels, and allowing six bushels to a human mouth, this gives a yearly provision in bread for 560 people; to say nothing of the fattening off of 40 oxen, the breed of 800 sheep, and the growth of at least 5000 bushels of oats and beans; all of which, it must be observed, goes in aid of the public market, as the work is done by oxen entirely.

As more experiments are in future made, I may perhaps trouble the society with an account of them, as I am persuaded they cannot be registered any where else, to give them the credit, and to excite the

imitation I flatter myself they may deserve; but for the present, I shall close my observations upon his majesty's farms with a description of his mill, which I consider as the most benevolent thing that can be done for the poor, and which I most earnestly recommend to all gentlemen of landed property, who have like means of doing it. A small over-shot mill is erected, and worked by the waste water from the lake below the lodge, where a sufficiency of corn, two-thirds wheat and one-third rye, is ground, dressed, and given to all the labourers, at sixteen pence per stone of fourteen pounds, in quantities suitable to the size of their families which is the first of all comforts to them, and a saving of at least twenty *per cent.* from what it would cost them to buy it from the mealmen or shopkeepers.

I am, sir,

Your obedient humble servant,  
Nathaniel Kent.

Craig's Court,  
Oct. 30, 1798.

# ANTIQUITIES.

*Criminal Prosecutions against Witches  
in the 17th Century; from Ni-  
chols's History of Leicestershire.*

**T**HE following letter from alderman Robert Heyrick, of Leicester, to his brother sir William, in the year 1616, relates to an extraordinary transaction which took place at Husbands Bosworth.

“ Although we have bene greatly busied this 4 or 5 days past, being syse tyme, and a busy syse speacylly about the araynment of a sort of woomen, wytyches, w<sup>t</sup> 9 of them shal be executed at the gallows this fornone, for bewitching of a younge gentellman of the adge of 12 or 13 years old, beinge the son of one Mr. Smythe, of Husbands Bosworth, brother to Mr. Henry Smythe, that made the booke which we call Mr. Smythe's Sarmons. Your man Sampson stais, and yt is to tedyous to write anny one thing unto you of the matter; and the examynacyons and finding out of the matter came to my hand in wryting just as I began your lettar. Only I will signifye unto you of the child's straunge fits, who was brought hythar of Sayturday last to be shewed to the judges; and since his coming hither he hath had dyvars wonderful straundg syts in the syght of all the greatest parlons here, as dyvars knyghts and ladies, and many othars

of the bettar sort, most tereble to be told. Sir Henry Hastings hath doon what he colld to hold him in his fit; but he and another as strong as he could not hold him; yf he might have his arm at liberty, he woould stryke himsellse suche bloes on his brest, being in his shirt, that you myght here the sound of yt the length of a long chamber, fourtymes 50 bloes, fourtymes 100, yea fourtymes 2 or 300 bloes, that the least of them was able to stryke doune a strong man; and yet all he did to himself did him no hurt. 6 of the witches had 6 severall sperits, one in the lyknes of a hors, another like a dog, another a cat, another a pullemar, another a fishe, another a code, with whom every one of them tormented him: he woould make soom syne according to the sperit; as, when the hors torment-ed him, he would whinny; when the cat tormented him, he would cry like a cat, &c. When he was in his fyt, they were fourtymes brought to him, and then they were chardged to speake tarten woords, and to name theare sperits, and one of them to speak yt astar another; as thus: “ I such a one chardge the hors, yf I be a wiche, that thou com forthe of the child.” And then another by her sperit to doe the like; and so till all had doone. Yf anny of them woould speake a woord

D d 3

contrary

contrary to that charm, he shold be mygtvly tormented; but, if they would speake as had been first directed them, at the end of the last he woold fall out of his fit as quyetly as if one did lay him doune to slepe. For the rest, I leave till it please God we meete. Leicester, the 18th of July, 1616. Your loving brother,  
 Robart Heyricke.”\*

The execution of nine witches in one morning is a circumstance scarcely credible in these enlightened times. The same year, however, exhibits a similar prosecution against six other unhappy women.

“I received your letter yesterday, dated the 10th of October, 1616; for which I thank you hartely, for I thought yt long since I hard any thinge from you; for anny news I heare but from you I account it but uncertayne. I am desirous to signefye unto you of the witches, but it must be in my next; for they be but this day, as I am informed, examyned before Mr. Mair and the justis, and docktor Lambe, in our town-hall; and to-morrow I shall know the substance of the matter; and then you shall hear how the matter goes w<sup>t</sup> them. So, with my love and hartiest salvtatyons to yourself and my lady doone, I leave you to the Most Highest. Leicester, the 15th of October. Your loving brother,  
 Robart Heyricke.

“Since the writing of the above, the under sherive, by a warrant directed to the highe-sherive, hath

set the 5 witches at liberty; the sixt is ded in the gayle.”

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*Ancient annual Custom in Hallaton, Leicestershire; from the same.*

A Piece of land was many years ago given, the rents and profits of which the rector for the time being was to receive for his own use, on condition of providing two hare-pies, a quantity of ale, and two dozen of penny loaves, to be scrambled for on Easter Monday annually, after divine service and a sermon preached. The land, during the open-field state, was called Hare-Crop-Leys; and when the enclosure took place in 1770, land was allotted to the rector in his allotment in lieu of the said Hare-Crop-Leys.

The manner of scrambling is thus: two large pies (which, instead of hares, are now made of veal and bacon) are made in raised crusts at the rector's house; and, when baked, are cut into quarters or parts, and put into a sack; the ale (now about two gallons) is put into two wooden bottles, without handles or strings to hold them by, the corks well thrust in, and cut off close to the bottle-mouths, and put into a sack also; the penny loaves are quartered and put into a basket, which a man carries, as do two others the sacks; when the procession begins, consisting of men, women, and children.

\* This is a striking addition to the many instances which might be produced of the credulity of the last age. One has already been given under Belvoir (Appendix, p. 69;) and others may be seen in “British Topography,” vol. i. pp. 311, 371\*, 429, 467; vol. ii. pp. 26, 46, 52, 254, 672, 744. The earliest of these was in 1566; the latest in 1716. The greatest number that appear to have been executed at any one time was in 1645, when Mr. Lawes, an innocent aged clergyman, of Brandeston, a cooper and his wife, and fifteen other women, were all condemned and executed at Bury.

The spot appropriated for the scrambling for the pies and ale is about a quarter of a mile south of the town, a small oblong bank, ten yards long, and six wide; with a small old trench round it, and a circular hole in the centre, and is called Hare-Pie-Bank. After they have left the town, the man with the bread walks towards the bank; and, as he proceeds, at times throws the pieces of bread before him, which is eagerly caught by the boys which surround him, the bread being all distributed before they arrive at the spot destined for the scrambling for the pies and ale. As soon as the men with the sacks arrive at the bank, the pies and ale are tumbled promiscuously out of the sacks into the hole in the centre, when a scene of noise and confusion takes place, and bloody noses and bruised fingers are often the consequence; one will seize a piece of the pie, or a bottle of the ale; a second will trip up his heels, and fall upon him; and a third, perhaps, seize and keep possession of the prize, until a fourth serves him the same; and so on, until four or five fellows agree to form a party, and assist each other in bearing away the wished-for bottle to a convenient place, and there divide the spoil. The afternoon is spent in festivity, ringing of bells, fighting of cocks, quoits, and such like exercises, by Hallaton and the neighbouring youth.

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*Manner in which Cardinal Wolsey entertained the French Ambassadors at Hampton-Court; from Lysons's historical Account of the Parish*

*in the County of Middlesex, not described in the Environs of London.*

AFTER cardinal Wolsey became possessed of the lease of the manor of Hampton, "he bestowed," says Stow, "great cost of building upon it, converting the mansion-house into so stately a palace, that it is said to have excited much envy; to avoid which, in the year 1526, he gave it to the king, who, in recompence thereof, licenced him to lie in his manor of Richmond at his pleasure; and so he lay there at certain times." It appears that cardinal Wolsey after this occasionally inhabited Hampton-Court (as keeper perhaps of the king's palace;) for, in 1527, when some French ambassadors were in England, the king willing that they should be treated with the greatest respect, sent them to be entertained by cardinal Wolsey at Hampton-Court. The following account\* of the entertainment will give the reader an idea of the magnificence of that prelate's establishment: "Then was there made great preparation of all things for this great assembly at Hampton-Court; the cardinal called before him his principal officers, as steward, treasurer, controller, and clerk of his kitchen, to whom he declared his mind, touching the entertainment of the Frenchmen at Hampton-Court, commanding them neither to spare for any cost, expense, or travayle, to make such a triumphant banquet as they might not only wonder at it here, but also make a glorious report of it in their country, to the great honour of the king

\* Taken from a MS. copy of Cavendish's Life of Wolsey in the British Museum [Harl. MSS. No. 428.] much of which is omitted in the printed copies.

and his realm; to accomplish his commandment they sent out caters, purveyors, and divers other persons, my lord's friends, to make preparation; also they sent for all the expert cookes and connyng persons in the art of cookerie which were within London or elsewhere, that might be gotten to beautify this noble feast; the purveyors provided, and my lord's friends sent in such provision as one would wonder to have seen. The cooks wrought both day and night with subtleties and many crafty devices, where lacked neither gold, silver, nor other costly thing meet for their purpose: the yeomen and groomes of the wardrobe were busied in hanging of the chambers, and furnishing the same with beds of silk and other furniture in every degree: then my lord cardinall sent me (Mr. Cavendish) being his gentleman usher, with two other of my fellows thither, to foresee all things touching our rooms to be nobly garnished: accordingly our pains were not small nor light, but daily travelling up and down from chamber to chambers—then wrought the carpenters, joiners, masons, and all other artificers necessary to be had to glorify this noble feast. There was carriage and recarriage of plate, stuff, and other rich implements, so that there was nothing lacking that could be imagined or devised for the purpose. There was also provided two hundred and eighty beds furnished with all manner of furniture to them belonging, too long particularly to be rehearsed, but all wise men do sufficiently know what belongeth to the furniture thereof, and that is sufficient at this time to be said.

The day was come to the Frenchmen assigned, and they ready assem-

bled before the hour of their appointment, wherefore the officers caused them to ride to Hanworth, a place and parke of the kinges, within three miles, there to hunt and spend the day untill night, at which time they returned againe to Hampton-Court, and every of them was conveyed to their severall chambers, having in them great fires, and wine to their comfort and relief, remaining there untill their supper was ready. The chambers where they supped and banquetted were ordered in this sort: first the great wayting chamber was hanged with rich arras, as all other were, and furnished with tall yeomen to serve. There were set tables round about the chamber, banquetwise covered; a cupboard was there, garnished with white plate, having also in the same chamber to give the more light, four great plates of silver set with great lights, and a great fire of wood and coales. The next chamber, being the chamber of presence, was hanged with very rich arras, and a sumptuous cloth of estate furnished with many goodly gentlemen to serve the tables, ordered in manner as the other chamber was, saving that the high table was removed beneath the cloth of estate toward the middest of the chamber covered. Then there was a cupboard, being as long as the chamber was in breadth, with six desks of height, garnished with guilt plate, and the nethermost desk was garnished all with gold plate, having with lights one paire of candlestickes of silver and guilt, being curiously wrought, which cost three hundred markes, and standing upon the same, two lights of waxe burning as bigge as torches to set it forth. This cupboard was barred round



round about, that no man could come nigh it, for there was none of all this plate touched in this banquet, for there was sufficient be-tides. The plates that did hang on the walls to give light were of silver and gilt, having in them great pearchers of waxe burning, a great fire burning in the chimney, and all other things necessary for the furniture of so noble a feast. Now was all things in a readines, and supper tyme at hand, the principal officers caused the trumpetters to blow to warne to supper: the officers discreetly went and conducted these noblemen from their chambers into the chambers where they should suppe, and caused them there to sit downe, and that done their service came up in such abundance both costly and full of fittleties, and with such a pleasant noyle of instruments of musicke, that the Frenchmen (as it seemed) were rapt into a heavenly paradise. You must understand that my lord cardinall was not yet come thither, but they were merry and pleasant with their fare and devised fittleties. Before the second course my lord came in, booted and spurred, all sodainely amongst them, and bade them *proface*;\* at whose coming there was great joy, with rising every man from his place, whom my lord caused to sit still and keep their roomes, and being in his apparell as he rode, called for a chayre and sat down in the midst of the high parade, laughing and being as merry as ever I saw hym in all my lyff. Anone came up the second course, with so many dishes, fittleties and devices, above a hundred in number, which were of so

goodly proportion and so costly, that I thinke the Frenchmen never saw the like, the wonder was no less than it was worthy indeed. There was casses with images, in the same Paul's church, for the quantity as well counterfeited as the painter should have painted it on a cloth or wall. There were beasts, birds, foules, and personages, most likely made and counterfeited, some fighting with swords, some with guns and cross-bows, some vaughting and leaping, some dauncing with ladies, some on horses in complete harness, jussing with long and sharp speares, with many more devises. Among all, one I noted was a chesse-board, made of spiced plate, with men there of the same, and for the good proportion, and because the Frenchmen be very cunning and expert in that play, my lord cardinall gave the same to a gentleman of France, commanding there should be made a goodly case for the preservation thereof in all hast, that he might convey the same safe into his country. Then tooke my lord a bole of golde filled with ipocrasse, and putting off his cap, said, I drinke to the king, my soveraigne lord, and next unto the king your master, and therewith did dryncke a good draught; and when he had done, he desired the *grand maistre* to pledge him, cup and all, the which was well worth 500 markes, and so caused all the boords to pledge these two royal princes: then went the cups so merily about, that many of the Frenchmen were faine to be led to their beds. Then rose up my lord, and went into his privy chamber to pull off his bootes, and to

\* An obsolete French term of salutation, abridged from *bon prou vous face*, i. e. much good may it do you. See Cotgrave under the word *prou*. The Italians had *profaccia* from *puer pro vi facia*.

shift him, and then went he to supper, and making a very short supper, or rather a repast, returned into the chamber of presence to the Frenchmen, using them so lovingly and familiarly, that they could not commend him too much; and whilst they were in communication, and other pastimes, all their liveries were served to their chambers; every chamber had a basin and an ewer of silver, a great liverie pot of silver, and some gilt; yea, and some chambers had two liverie pots, with wine and beere, a boule, a goblet, and a pot of sylver to drink in, both for their wine and beere; a silver candlesticke, both white and plaine, having in it two sizes, and a staffe torch of waxe a fine manchet, and a cheat loaf. Thus was every chamber furnished through the house: and yet the cupboards in the two banqueting chambers were not touched. Thus when it was more than time convenient, they were conveyed to their lodgings, where they rested that night. In the morning, after they had heard mass, they dined with the cardinall, and so departed to Windsor."

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*Account of the ancient Palace of Karnac in the Island of Philæ. From Ripaud's Report on the Antiquities of Upper Egypt.*

**T**HIS palace may be considered as the habitation of kings; the principal mole is turned towards the Nile, and has a hundred and forty paces in length, by twenty-five of solid breadth. It leads to a court of a hundred and ten paces long, and whole breadth is equal to it. Two rows of six lotus columns, placed in a line with the mole, lead

to a portico composed of one hundred and thirty columns, in rows of sixteen deep. In the two middle rows there are six lotus columns; and on each side are seven rows of those of the truncated lotus, which are less elevated than the former; the diameter of the former is eleven, and that of the latter seven, feet.

The length of this vestibule is seventy-eight paces, and its breadth is the same as that of the mole. It was covered throughout, and received light from windows which had been opened above the lotus columns. The foundations having given way in some parts, several of the columns were prostrate. The fall of the mole, which looks to the court, would have drawn after it the whole building, if it had not been constructed with immovable solidity. To this vestibule succeeded a court, where there had been four obelisks, of which only one remains; from this court we passed into another, decorated with two obelisks and twelve colossal figures, in the form of termini, holding the handle of a pot on the breast.

Two other courts lead to the apartment of the king. In a line with the gates are two saloons of granite, which appear to have been the apartments of state. It is probable, that at the period when Thebes was built, granite was not so much used as it has since been by the Egyptian kings of Memphis, and the Greek sovereigns of Alexandria. To the right and left of these saloons are the apartments of the court. Those of the king and the queen might be distinguished in two chambers, whose gates are of black granite. They did not appear to be more than twelve

feet square. The paintings in the corridors which surround the halls of audience, describe the power and wealth of sovereigns. On the walls are sculptured caskets, screens, pearl-necklaces, perfume-pots, strong boxes, and hoods enriched with precious stones. There are also pictures which represent different ceremonies of initiation; while others display the progress of love.

At a hundred paces to the east of the palace is a long colonnade that serves as a portico to the buildings which appear to have been occupied by the king's household: they contain a great number of separate apartments; their form is oblong, and their dimensions are above twenty-five feet in length, by fifteen in breadth. They are all decorated with pictures. A gate in a very fine style of architecture, on the eastern side of the palace, and about four hundred paces from the range of buildings which terminates it, led to this part of the royal habitation.

To the south of the court of obelisks were four moles, which being in a line with each other, formed on this side the avenue to the great palace. This appears to have been the entrance of the kings of Egypt. The people were admitted no farther than the vestibule, supported by the forest of columns, which has been already mentioned. The particular audiences were probably given in the halls of granite. The gate of the most southern mole was constructed of granite, or rather, perhaps, repaired by it, and was approached by an avenue of ninety lions, many of which are in good preservation. Their stature is colossal, and their length about fifteen feet: the interval between them is

but ten feet; and they are represented as lying down on a base about three feet high.

An avenue of sphinxes intersects it at right angles from east to west, and unites with an avenue of rams in the same direction. Opposite the gate of the little palace of Karnac, the latter avenue stretches on to about a hundred fathom from that of Luxor, of which it appears to have been a part.

In front of each of the moles, which lead to the court of obelisks in the great palace, are two and sometimes four colossal figures in stone or in granite. They are either seated in the position of those of Luxor, or standing upright in the action of walking, the arms resting on their sides, and furnished with an inflected poignard.

The sides of these vast buildings have suffered various accidents, and the interior construction is very defective. Whatever precautions the Egyptians took, in general; to insure the duration of their monuments, they trusted so much to the quality of the air, which is free from every destructive principle, that they adorned the exterior parts of them with as much care and elegance as they employed for the decoration of the interior masonry.

To the south, and at two hundred paces from the flank of these moles, is a superb gate, which leads to a small palace, placed on a line with the court of the great palace. This gate, perhaps, is the only piece of Egyptian architecture which would be taken as a model in our days. It is now detached from two moles which flanked it, as they are levelled with the ground. The Egyptian gates in this state are infinitely more beautiful than when they form  
a part

a part of these buildings, whose high elevation, by contracting the space they ought to occupy, and overwhelming them, as it were, by disproportions, destroys their effect. The cornice, which terminates them, resembles, in its inflexion, the waving branch of the palm-tree: the distinct parts are executed with infinite care. It is covered with pictures both within and without, and it leads to the small palace which has been already mentioned. It consists of fifteen apartments, lighted sparingly by windows, which are never seen in the temples. A double range of rams leads to the south gate, of the same proportion as the lions situated before the gate of granite.

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*Account of the Sepulchres of Thebes in Egypt; from the same.*

THE whole of the mountain Libicus which begins at half a league to the west of the Memnonium, and ends immediately opposite to Medinet-abou, is pierced from its base to three-fourths of its elevation with a great number of sepulchral grottos. Those which are nearest the surface of the ground are the most spacious, as well as the most decorated; those which are in the most elevated part of the mountain, are much more rudely contrived and executed; while such as hold the middle place, bear an adjusted proportion of space and ornament. Those which belong to the poor are the most interesting, because they always contain some representation of the arts which flourished, and the trades which were practised, at that epocha. The plan of these grottos is in a great mea-

sure the same. A door, opening towards the east, displays a gallery of about twenty feet in length, which is sometimes formed in a straight line, and at other times runs off from the entrance in a right angle: it is indifferently supported by columns or pilasters, of which the number varies from four to ten. At the extremity of the gallery is a well which leads to the catacombs, where the mummies are deposited. The depth of these wells varies from forty to sixty feet, and they are connected with long subterraneous passages, rudely shaped in the rock, which terminate in a chamber of about thirty feet square; whose sides are supported by pilasters, and contain large remains of the mummies. There are evident traces of numerous other subterraneous communications, which probably lead to other chambers, that are at present concealed.

In the upper gallery are sculptured in basso-relievo, or painted in fresco, a crowd of subjects relating to funeral ceremonies. The most interesting pictures, which are seen there, offer a detail of circumstances, connected with the ancient inhabitants of the country. There are represented their first occupations, such as the chase and the fishery: thence we may trace the progress of civilization, in the employments of the sadler, the cartwright, the potter, the money-changer, the husbandman, and in the duties and punishments of military life. Each grotto is adorned with a ceiling painted with subjects of fancy, and whose design is exactly the same as that of the paper-hangings which were fashionable in France about thirty years ago.

The

The tombs of the kings are about six thousand four hundred paces from the river. They have been formed in a narrow valley, in the centre of the mountain Libycus. The ancient way thither is not known, and the spot is now gained by an artificial passage. These sepulchres occupy a large ravine, which is flanked by the bed of a torrent. The plan of one of these tombs will be sufficient to explain the general disposition of the rest.

Every grot communicates with the valley by a large gate, which opens to a gallery hollowed in the rock: its breadth and height are generally about twelve feet, and its length is twenty paces to the second gate, which opens to another gallery of the same breadth, and is twenty-four feet in length. To the right and left of this gallery are chambers of five feet in breadth and ten feet long. There are found paintings of arms; such as hatchets, poignards, curvated sabres, straight swords, lances, javelins, bows, arrows, quivers, coats of mail, shields, implements of industry, vases, and trinkets of every kind. The detail of preparing food is also represented.

It is in one of these chambers where we saw the two harps which had been copied by Bruce. A third gallery succeeds, of the same dimensions as the former, and leads to a chamber above the level of the other apartments, which is eighteen feet square. From this chamber is the entrance to a gallery of thirty-four paces in length; there is also an inclining gallery, whose length is twenty eight paces. At its extremity is a corridor of sixteen paces, leading to a chamber of eleven paces square, which is con-

nected with another of the same size by a gallery of six paces. A square saloon then succeeds, supported by eight pillars: its length is twenty paces, and its breadth twenty. Here is the sarcophagus, which contained the mummy of the king. The Romans made some attempts to carry away this sarcophagus from the grotto where it is deposited, they had even tried to level the ground, in order to facilitate its removal: but they very soon renounced the impracticable enterprise.

To the saloon of the sarcophagus, another apartment succeeds, of twenty-five paces in breadth, and forty in length. The height of the tomb is seven feet, its length eight, and its breadth six: the total length of the gallery is two hundred and twenty-five paces. The tombs of the kings throughout their whole extent are covered with pictures and hieroglyphics; but the greater part are painted in fresco, and represent the most fantastic subjects that can be conceived. There it was that the Romans caught that idea of the grotesque, which formed the principal subject of their compositions during the second and third age of the empire. The researches into Herculaneum have discovered a great number of paintings executed in a similar taste.

One of the most interesting of these grottos contains a sarcophagus that is still entire and in its place. Its length is sixteen feet, its height twelve, and its breadth six. It still preserves the lid, adorned with the effigy of the king, which is a single-block of granite. The astonishment that is felt, on reflecting that this enormous mass was transported to the extremity of a subterraneous

aneous passage two hundred paces in length, exceeds all bounds, when it is considered that it was worked upon the place where it remains. What difficulties must have been surmounted, in order to transport a weight of many hundred milliers, across the almost impracticable roads of the mountain?

Human sacrifices are continually represented.

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*Excavation of the subterraneous City of Pompeii; from Mariana Starke's Letters from Italy.*

**P**OMPEII was buried under ashes and pumice-stones thrown out from Vesuvius, A. D. 79; and accidentally discovered by some peasants, A. D. 1750, as they were digging in a vineyard near the river Sarno. The excavation of this interesting city was attended with less trouble and expense than that of Herculaneum, it being buried only twelve or fifteen feet under ashes and pumice-stone.

On quitting your carriage you go down a small descent to the soldiers harracks, nearly an oblong-square, with a portico round it, supported by brick pillars stuccoed and painted, with several figures in armour engraved upon them, supposed to have been done by the Roman soldiers. The rooms within the portico are of various dimensions, some of the largest being about fifteen feet square; and in one of these (probably a prison) iron stocks were found, with skeletons standing in them.—This part of the city contains fragments of an ancient doric temple, evidently of an anterior date, and in its appearance, far more simply majestic than the rest of the yet

excavated buildings: within this temple is an altar, and without-side, near the entrance, another. The building in general seems to have been composed of a sort of tufa formed by depositions from water, and the same with that of which the temples at Paestum are built.—Nearly adjoining to the doric temple, is an open theatre originally lined throughout with beautiful white marble: that part which held the spectators is of a semi-circular form, and on either side, near the stage, is a consular-seat: the orchestra is enclosed with two straight walls, and divides the stage from the spectators: the stage is very wide, but so shallow, that little or no scenery could have been used; it had three entrances all in front, and behind were the green-room, &c. That part where the spectators sat, is built on the side of a hill, according to the custom of the Greeks, and on the top of this hill were covered colonades for the spectators to retire into when it rained—these colonades probably served at other times for a public walk, as they commanded a fine view of Capri, Stabia, &c. The different classes of people ascended this theatre by different stair-cases and lobbies, all of which seem to have been very convenient. Nearly adjoining to the just-described theatre is another, not quite so large, though in most respects similar, except that it is said to have been covered, but whether with an awning or a roof, does not appear. The temple of Isis is in higher preservation than many other of the ruins, and especially worth notice; for, to contemplate those altars from whence so many oracles have issued, to trace the very hiding-place into which the priests



priests squeezed themselves when they spoke for the statue of the goddess, nay, to discover the secret stairs by which they ascended into the *sanctum sanctorum*; in short, to examine the construction of a temple evidently built long before Pompeii was destroyed, is surely a most interesting speculation. Instruments for sacrifice, candelabres, &c. with the skeletons of priests, thought to have been feasting at the time of the eruption, were found here. It appears that this temple had been destroyed by an earthquake previous to the general overthrow of the city, several stumps of columns, which seem originally to have supported the buildings, being still discernible: this earthquake is mentioned by Seneca; it happened in the year 63. The pillars now standing are composed of brick stuccoed and painted, the capitals are the same—the whole building likewise is stuccoed, painted, and beautifully polished within and without; the floor is Mosaic. The houses already excavated are, generally speaking, on a small scale; most of them, however, were evidently nothing more than shops, and the habitations of shopkeepers. Some few which seem to have belonged to persons of a higher class are adorned with a handsome portico in front, supported by doric columns, a large entrance, or hall, with a fountain in its centre, and on the sides, bedrooms which appear to have had little or no light except what came from the hall. In one house, which seems to have been three stories high, there are three halls, and three fountains; indeed, wherever there is one of these courts, or halls, there

never fails to be a fountain in the middle of it. The pillars of every portico are composed of brick stuccoed and painted—the rooms are stuccoed, painted, and beautifully vanished—the roofs arched, with terraces on the top—the floors Mosaic, and scarce two of them alike. The windows were generally closed with wooden shutters; some few, however, had glass, which seems to have been thick, and not transparent—others had isinglass split into thin plates. The paintings in the shops and very small houses seem nearly as elegant as in the large ones. The houses usually pointed out to travellers contain—*First house*—a lion on the door-sill, in Mosaic—a fountain in the middle of the yard. *Second house*—various paintings, namely, a woman seated, reading a scroll—a landscape—comic and tragic masks—a pretty bed-room, with paintings on the walls, representing Venus attired by the graces, and Venus and Adonis—here, likewise, is a painting of a white stag fastened to a column, and an altar adorned with trophies emblematical of his death. *Third house*—two snakes, emblems of longevity, done in Mosaic at the entrance. *Fourth house*—SALVE “welcome,” in Mosaic on the threshold, and a curious labyrinth, or table for playing at an ancient game, in the centre of one of the floors\*—paintings representing an altar, with a cock prepared for sacrifice, and instruments for sacrifice lying by—a figure of Æsculapius, and another of Mars—a lady dressing her hair—fighting gladiators—a dancing Bacchante—a fine bull’s head—fish—flowers—poultry

\* The two just-named Mosaiics seem to indicate that this house was an inn.

—and Cupid playing on the tibia.— In one of the houses likewise is a painting of a Grecian temple, adorned with twenty fluted doric pillars. One of the shops (in appearance a soap-boiler's) had soap found in it—another shop evidently was a coffee-house, and the marks of the cups still remain upon the marble dresser. Without side of another shop are Hebrew characters (not written with vowel-points) and other oriental characters, which do not seem to be Hebrew. The iron-work of a calash, apparently like those used at present in Naples, was found in the court of a house. The city-gate is highly interesting; here is the centry-box for the guard—a semi-circular seat in which the Romans used to assemble and converse—and a couple of tombs—all in great measure perfect—near one of the tombs is a court containing a stone, on which the bodies of the dead were burnt; and on the walls of this court are large frightful earthen masks with weeping faces. The tomb contains one large and several small niches for urns; the large one is supposed to have been for the head of the family. The excavated villa is more entire than any of the ruins yet laid open, several rooms, the garden and the cellar, being quite in their original state; the last contains wine-vessels cemented to the wall by the cinders which overwhelmed the city, and likewise filled with them. The paintings still remaining in this villa are beautiful—the hot and cold baths almost entire—the kitchen entire also—in short, by examining these apartments, you precisely ascertain the plan and manner of ornamenting a Roman country-house, which seems to dif-

fer very little from modern Italian villas, except that the stucco is infinitely finer than any we now see, as likewise are the colours and varnish laid over them. Pompeii was built and paved with lava; carriage wheels have worn traces in the pavement, and these traces are only four feet wide; nevertheless so narrow are the streets already excavated that there is barely room sufficient for two carriages to pass each other; the streets have raised footways on each side three feet broad.

Perhaps the whole world does not exhibit so awful a spectacle as Pompeii; and when it was first discovered, when skeletons were found heaped together in the streets and houses, when all the utensils and even the very bread of the poor suffocated inhabitants, were discernible, what a speculation must this ill-fated city have furnished to a thinking mind! To visit it even now is absolutely to live with the ancient Romans: and when we see houses, shops, furniture, fountains, streets, carriages, and implements of husbandry, exactly similar to those of the present day, we are apt to conclude that customs and manners have undergone but little variation for the last two thousand years.—The custom of consulting augurs, and that of hiring persons to weep at funerals, are still kept up in the mountainous and secluded parts of Tuscany; and I have frequently seen the Tuscan cattle, when destined for slaughter, adorned with chaplets of flowers, precisely as the ancients used to adorn their victims for sacrifice. The Roman butchers, likewise, still wear the dress, and use the knife of heathen sacrificing priests. The old Roman custom of not eating above one regular meal a day,

day, and that about the ninth hour of Italy, (three o'clock with us) is kept up by many of the Italians: and during the month of May it is common to see shepherds dressed as in ancient times like Pan, Satyrs, &c. I do not, however, mean to infer from what I have said, that modern Italians equal the ancients in works of art; for, in this respect, there seems as much difference between the present race and their forefathers, as there was between the ancient Romans and their teachers, the Greeks.

Not more than from forty to fifty skeletons have yet been found in Pompeii—one third of the town only, however, is yet uncovered; but the excavations are going on daily; and a new street, with a noble portico, have very lately been laid open.

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*Particulars concerning Tobacco, digested in a chronological Order; from Prof. Jor Beckmann's Introduction to Technology.*

**I**N 1496, Romanus Pane, a Spanish monk, whom Columbus, on his second departure from America, had left in that country, published the first account of tobacco, with which he became acquainted in St. Domingo. He gave it the names of Cohoba, Cohobba, Gioia.

In 1535; the negroes had already habituated themselves to the use of tobacco, and cultivated it in the plantations of their masters. Europeans likewise already smoked it.

In 1559, Jean Nicot, envoy from France at the court of Portugal, first transmitted thence to Paris, to queen Catharine de Medicis, seed of the tobacco plant. And

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from this circumstance it acquired the name Nicotiana. When tobacco began to be used in France it was called "*Herbe du Grand Prieur*," from the then grand prieur, of the house of Lorraine, who was very fond of it. It was likewise once known by the name of "*Herbe de St. Croix*," after cardinal Prosper St. Croix, who, on his return from Portugal, where he had been nuncio from the pope, introduced into Italy the custom of using tobacco.

In 1565, Conrad Gesner became acquainted with tobacco. At that time several botanists already cultivated the plant in their gardens.

In 1570, they still smoked in Holland out of conical tubes composed of palm leaves plaited together.

In 1575, first appeared a figure of the plant, André Thevet's "*Cosmographie*."

In 1585, the English first saw pipes made of clay among the native Indians of Virginia, which was at that time discovered by Richard Grenville. It appears, likewise, that the English soon after fabricated the first clay tobacco-pipes in Europe.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century they began to cultivate tobacco in the East Indies.

In 1604, James the first of England endeavoured, by means of heavy imposts, to abolish the use of tobacco, which he held to be a noxious weed.

In 1610, the smoking of tobacco was known at Constantinople. To render the custom ridiculous, a Turk, who had been found smoking, was conducted about the streets with a pipe transfixed through his nose. For a long time after the

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Turks

Turks purchased tobacco, and that the refuse, from the English. It was late before they learned to cultivate the plant themselves.

In 1613, it appears that tobacco began to be sown about Amersfort, in Holland.

In 1616, they began to cultivate tobacco in Virginia; the seeds had probably been carried thither from Tobago.

In 1619, king James the first wrote his "Misocapno" against the use of tobacco; and ordered that no planter in Virginia should cultivate more than 100 pounds.

In 1620, some English companies introduced the custom of smoking tobacco, in Zittau, in Germany.

In 1620, Robert Konigsmann, a merchant, brought the first tobacco-plant from England to Strasburgh.

In 1624, pope Urban VIII. published a decree of excommunication against all who should take snuff in the church, because then already some Spanish ecclesiastics used it during the celebration of mass.

In 1631, smoking of tobacco was first introduced into Misnia by the Swedish troops.

In 1634, smoking was forbidden in Russia, under the pain of having the nose cut off.

In 1653, they began to smoke tobacco in the canton of Apenzell, in Switzerland. At first, the children ran after those who smoked in the streets. The council likewise cited the smokers before them, and punished them; and ordered the int-keepers to inform against such as should smoke in their houses.

In 1661, the police regulation of Bern was made, which was divided according to the ten commandments.

In it the prohibition to smoke tobacco stands under the rubrick—"Thou shalt not commit adultery!"

The prohibition was renewed in 1675; and the tribunal particularly instituted to put it in execution, "*Chambre du Tabac*," continued till the middle of the present century.

In 1670, and in the following years, the smoking of tobacco was punished in the canton of Glarus by a pecuniary fine of one crown Swiss money.

In 1676, two Jews first attempted the cultivation of tobacco in the margraviate of Brandenburg; but which, however, was not brought to bear till 1681.

In 1686, tobacco first planted in the canton of Basil.

In 1689, Jacob Francis Vicarius, an Austrian physician, invented the tubes for tobacco-pipes, which have capsules containing bits of sponge; however, about the year 1670, already pipes were used with glass globules appended to them, to collect the oily moisture exuding from the tobacco.

In 1690, pope Innocent XII. excommunicated all who should be guilty of using snuff or tobacco in the church of St. Peter, at Rome.

In 1697, great quantities of tobacco already produced in the palatinate and in Hesse.

In 1719, the senate of Strasburgh prohibited the culture of tobacco, from an apprehension lest it should prove injurious, by diminishing the growing of corn.

In 1724, pope Benedict XIV. revoked the bull of excommunication published by Innocent, because he himself had acquired the habit of taking snuff.

In 1753, the king of Portugal farmed out the tobacco trade for about	Rix dollars. 2,500,000
The revenue of the king of Spain from tobacco amounted to	7,330,933
In 1759, the duties on tobacco in Denmark brought in	40,000
In 1770, the empress Maria-Theresa received from duties, &c. on tobacco	806,000
In 1773, the duties on tobacco in the Two Sicilies amounted to	446,000
In 1790, the king of France received from tobacco a revenue of 29 millions of livres, that is, about	7,250,000
Total annual revenue of these six kingdoms from duties, &c. on tobacco	18,372,933
a sum greater than the revenues of the kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden together, on an average, amount to.	

To me it appears probable, remarks professor Beckmann; that, even before the discovery of the fourth quarter of the globe, a sort of tobacco was smoked in Asia. This conjecture being mentioned to the celebrated traveller, M. Pallas, he gave the following answer: 'That in Asia, and especially in China, the use of tobacco for smoking is more ancient than the discovery of the New World, I too scarcely entertain a doubt. Among the Chinese and among the Mongol tribes who had the most intercourse with them, the custom of smoking is so general, so frequent, and become so indispensable a luxury; the tobacco-purse affixed to their belt so neces-

sary an article of dress; the form of the pipes, from which the Dutch seem to have taken the model of theirs, so original; and, lastly, the preparation of the yellow leaves, which are merely rubbed to pieces and then put into a pipe, so peculiar; that we cannot possibly derive all this from America by way of Europe; especially as India, where the habit of smoking tobacco is not so general, intervenes between Persia and China. May we not expect to find traces of this custom in the first account of the voyages of the Portuguese and Dutch to China?' To investigate this subject I have indeed the inclination, but, at present at least, not sufficient leisure; and must therefore, leave it to others. However, I can now adduce one important confirmation of my conjecture from Ulloa's voyage to America: 'It is not probable,' says he, 'that the Europeans learned the use of tobacco from America; for, as it is very ancient in the Eastern countries it is natural to suppose that the knowledge of it came to Europe from those regions, by means of the intercourse carried on with them by the commercial states on the Mediterranean Sea. No where, not even in those parts of America where the tobacco-plant grows wild, is the use of it, and that only for smoking, either general or very frequent.

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*A short chronological Account of the religious Establishments made by English Catholics, on the Continent of Europe; by the Abbé Mann.*

IF the subject which I take in hand appears little interesting at a time when the reigning spirit of several nations is far more disposed to destroy all the monuments of the piety

piety of their ancestors, than to preserve any memory of them, and has already destroyed the greatest part of these I am going to mention; I hope it will appear in a different light to the learned society of Antiquaries, whose chief care is to collect and preserve to futurity a faithful remembrance of whatever concerns former ages.

If a time should ever come when an exact account of this small part of the British nation shall be found interesting, the following lists of these establishments, collected with care and exactness, may not prove unwelcome, as they may lead to sources where a complete account of each of them may be found.

I shall make no farther apology for this essay than to beg it may be considered rather as a testimony of my profound respect for the learned society to which I have the honour of presenting it, than for any intrinsic value which I attribute to it.

Abbé Mann.

Leutmeritz in Bohemia,  
July 16, 1797.

### I.

*A summary View of the English religious Establishments on the Continent, under the Heads of the different Orders to which they belonged.*

#### I. Secular Clergy

1. The English college of secular clergy, at Douay, established anno 1568; removed to Rheims from 1578 to 1593, when it returned to Douay.
2. The English college at Rome for the education of secular clergy, established in 1578.
3. A seminary at Valladolid in

Spain, established for the same purpose about 1580.

4. College at Rome about 1578.
5. A seminary at Seville, ditto.
6. A seminary at Madrid, ditto.
7. The English seminary at Paris, founded about the year 1600.
8. The English college at Lisbon, founded 1622.
9. A school for boys of the lower classes at Esquerchin, near Douay, about 1750.
10. The Jesuit's college at St. Omer's came into the hands of the secular clergy in 1764.

#### II. Jesuits.

1. The college at St. Omer's, founded in 1594, removed to Bruges 1764, suppressed 1773.
2. The noviciate at Watten, near St. Omers, 1611; removed to Ghent 1765.
3. The college at Liege established 1616; turned into an academy for youth 1773.
4. The professed house of Jesuits at Ghent, 1662; suppressed 1773.

Besides these the Jesuits had the direction of the Roman college, and of the three seminaries in Spain; they had also a house of missionaries in Maryland.

*Jesuitesses* established at St Omer's 1608; removed to Liege 1629; and soon after to Munich.

#### III. Benedictines; Men.

1. The abbey of Lamspring, in the bishopric of Hildesheim, four leagues south of the city of that name.
2. The priory at Douay, given them by the abbey of St Vaast in 1604.
3. The priory of Dieulwart in Lorraine, 1606.
4. The priory of St. Malo's, 1611; removed to Paris 1642.

5. Schools



5. Schools for youth at La Celle in Brie, dependent upon the priory at Paris.

*Women.*

1. Abbey at Brussels, established in the year 1598.
2. Abbey at Cambray, in 1623.
3. Abbey at Ghent, 1624.
4. Abbey at Paris, 1651.
5. Abbey at Pontoise, 1652.
6. Abbey at Dunkirk, 1662.
7. Abby at Ipres, a filiation from that of Ghent in 1665; given over to Irish nuns, part whereof went to Dublin in 1685 or 1686; the rest remained at Ipres till 1794.

IV. *Carthusian Monks.*

The monastery of Shene, near Richmond, in Surrey, founded by king Henry V. in 1416; retired to Bruges in 1559; next to Louvain in 1578; then to Mechlen in 1591; and finally settled at Nieuport in Flanders 1626, till their suppression in 1783.

V. *Brigittine Nuns.*

They were founded at Sion, in Middlesex; and in 1559 left England, and afterwards retired to Lisbon, where they still remain.

VI. *Women of the Order of St. Augustin.*

1. A priory of canonesses of St. Austin, established at Louvain in the year 1609.
2. A priory of the same at Bruges in 1629.
3. Another at Paris in 1638.
4. A convent of canonesses of the Holy Sepulchre at Liege.

VII. *Dominican Friars.*

1. A convent of Dominicans at Bornhem on the Scheldt, between Ghent and Antwerp, 1658.

2. A college of Dominicans in Louvain, dependent on the convent of Bornhem.

*Women.*

3. A convent of Dominican nuns at Brussels, established in 1690.

VIII. *Franciscan Friars.*

1. A convent of English recluses, founded in Douay 1617.

*Women of the Order of St. Francis.*

1. A convent of poor Clares at Gravelines, 1603.
2. A convent of the same, called Colletines, at Rouen, 1648.
3. A convent of poor Clares at Dunkirk, 1652.
4. A convent of Conceptionists, in Paris, 1658.
5. A convent of nuns of the third order of St. Francis, at Bruges, 1658.
6. A convent of poor Clares, at Aire in Artois, 1660.

IX. *Carmelites or Terefians; Men.*

A convent established at Tongres, about the year 1770.

*Women.*

1. A convent of Terefian nuns at Antwerp.
2. Another at Lier in Brabant.
3. Another at Hoogstraete in the north of Brabant.

II.

*A chronological Account of the English religious Establishments on the Continent, in the Order of Time wherein they were made.*

I. *Carthusians.*

Of the nine Carthusian monasteries that subsisted in England, London, Shene, Witham, Coventry, Henton, Hull, and Eppworth, were dissolved in 1538; Beauval and Mount Grace in 1539. These communities being dispersed, part

of the members retired to Bruges, in Flanders; from whence they returned to London, in June, 1555, and remained in the Savoy till November, 1556, when possession was given them of the Chartreuse of Shene, near Richmond in Surrey, and they were soon after formally reinstated therein by letters patent of cardinal Pole, bearing date December 31, 1556.

After the accession of queen Elizabeth to the throne, these monks, by the intercession of don Gomez di Figueroa, duke of Feria, the Spanish ambassador in England, were permitted to depart the kingdom in a body unmolested, being in number twelve professed monks, and three converse brothers. Their prior was don Maurice Chauncey, who wrote the history of their emigration, printed at Mentz. They arrived in Flanders July 1, 1559, and retired to the Chartreuse at Bruges, where they remained till 1569, when they removed to a large house in St. Clare's Street, in the same city.

The 19th of April, 1578, they were driven out of Bruges by the Geusian faction, and passing through Lille, Douay, Cambray, and St. Quintin's, they went to the Chartreuse near Noyon, where they staid till the 5th of July following; from whence returning to the Low Countries by the way of Namur, they arrived at the Chartreuse of Louvain the 17th of the same month. Here they were received and lodged by order of don Juan of Austria till 1590 or 1591.

Prior Chauncey died at Paris, July 12, 1581, in his return from Spain, where he had been to solicit succours for his community, and had obtained an annual pension from Philip II. but which was never regularly paid, especially under his successors.

Chauncey was succeeded as prior by don Walter Pytts, who seeing his community uneasy at Louvain, is said by several historians of the Low Countries to have removed it to Antwerp in the year 1590; but this does not appear from any certain records of the time. However that was, the next year, 1591, he bought a large house in the Bleek-street at Mechlin, where the community resided till its removal to Nieuport in Flanders, in September, 1626, by virtue of a charter given by Philip IV. of Spain, bearing date Brussels, June 20, 1626. The same king made a grant to this house of about 250 acres of land in the neighbourhood of Nieuport, in lieu of the annual pension given by Philip II.

Here this community remained until its final suppression by the emperor Joseph II. in the year 1783, at which time it was reduced in number to three professed monks and two lay-brothers. It is to be observed, that this was the only English community of religious men that had never been dispersed or extinct since the reign of queen Mary. In its library, which was considerable and well chosen, there was a most beautiful large folio Bible, written

written on vellum in the 12th century, and given to the Charterhouse of Shene by king Henry V. its founder; it was in perfect preservation. There were likewise preserved many other manuscripts, and many church ornaments and paintings, which had been brought over from England in 1559. At the final suppression in 1783, all these were dispersed, and many of them lost. The manuscript Bible, spoken of above, was destined for the royal library at Brussels, but never got thither, nor could I ever learn what became of it.

2. *Brigittine Nuns.*

These religious women were of Sion-house, in Middlesex, now

a seat of the duke of Northumberland, where they had been re-established by queen Mary. In the year 1559 they obtained, by means of the Spanish ambassador, duke of Feria, a safe conduct to leave the nation; and they retired first into Zealand: from thence they went to Antwerp, where they resided in 1571, and some time after. Civil wars raging in the Low Countries, and especially at Antwerp, these nuns were obliged to seek some other refuge, and fled, into Normandy, and from thence they went to Lisbon,\* where they had obtained a settlement which subsists to the present time, and is now almost the only

\* The following curious particulars respecting these nuns were communicated by the learned Mr. Corrêa de Serra, F. S. A. &c. in a letter to the secretary, dated Pentonville, 10th of March, 1800 — " Sir, from the two Portuguese books, quoted in the end of this note, and which are in the library of chevalier d'Almeida, our ambassador, I have been able to collect the following information:

" On the fourth day of May, in the year 1594, arrived in the port of Lisbon fifteen English nuns of the order of St. Bridget, with a novice, accompanied by three fathers of the same order. They were the only remaining part of the community of Mount Sion, near London, which, before the abolition of that monastery, consisted of sixty nuns and twenty-five friars, who after that disastrous event had wandered through France and Flanders, in an unsettled state, and forced by the wars to change often their asylum. On their arrival at Lisbon, they were hospitably received by the Franciscan nuns of the monastery of our lady la Esperanca, and in that convent they lived, till Isabel de Azevedo, a noble lady, made them a gift of some houses and grounds in the place called Mocambo, where they built their church and monastery. The then reigning sovereign Philip II. endowed them with a pension of two mil res's per diem (21 shillings 1 penny halfpenny,) and twelve mayos of wheat yearly (36 English quarters,) paid from the revenue of the fens belonging to the crown at Santarem. This revenue they enjoy at present, and besides that, several legacies of houses and lands. As far back as 1712, their revenue was valued at five thousand cruzados. The sacraments are administered to them by two secular priests, one of whom is also the administrator of the temporal concerns of the community.

" On the 17th of August, 1651, both church and monastery were burnt to the ground, and the nuns of Esperanca afforded again for five years an asylum to the distressed English nuns. In the same year, 1651, on the second of October, the first stone was laid in the foundations of the new building, and in 1656 they returned to their present monastery. The church was finished some time after, by the benefaction of Ruy Corrêa Lucas, and his wife, D Milicia, who remained with the honours and profits of the advowson.

Geografia Historica of Lima, t. II. p. 150.

Corografia Portuguesa of Carvatho, t. III. p. 515, and following.

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only one of nuns that remains on the continent of Europe. It is to be observed of this convent, as has just been said of the Carthusians, that it is the only English community of religious women which has never been separated or extinct since the reign of queen Mary. All the other English convents, both of men and women, were begun anew much later, as will be seen presently.

### 3. *Douay College.*

This first and principal establishment of English secular clergy was begun in the year 1568, by Dr. Allen, afterwards cardinal and archbishop of Mechlin. The civil wars obliged it to retire to Rheims in 1578; but it returned again to Douay in 1593, where it constantly flourished till its destruction under the French revolution in 1793. The only fixt income which this college enjoyed was a pension from the see of Rome of 2000 Roman crowns per annum, which was duly paid to the last. This college was a member of the university of Douay, and in it was taught classical learning, as well as philosophy and divinity. It has produced a great number of distinguished men.

### 4. *Roman College.*

This was originally founded at Rome by the Saxon king Ina, in the year 718, for an hospital for English pilgrims; but by

a bull of pope Gregory XIII. dated May 24, 1578, it was turned into a college for the education of English clergy. It had scarce been a year in the hands of the secular clergy, when the direction of it was given to the Jesuits, in whose hands it remained till the extinction of their society in 1773. But at all times those who were educated in it were obliged to remain in the state of secular clergy. The revenues of this college, which still subsists at Rome, are about 15000 sterling a year.

### 5. *College at Valladolid.*

This establishment was obtained by the solicitations of father Robert Parsons, the Jesuit, and was completed in May, 1589, for the education of secular clergy, but under the direction of the Jesuits, as it remained till the expulsion of their society out of Spain. Since then it was put into the hands of the clergy from Douay-college.—The yearly revenues obtained from the court of Spain by father Parsons for this college, amounted in the year 1605 to 4000 crowns.

### 6, 7. *Collegas at Madrid and Seville.*

These were established for the education of secular clergy, about the same time, and by the same means, as that of Valladolid; but being small, and their revenues very precarious, they never made any

"I have omitted on purpose several accounts of miracles and prophecies related by this last author, p. 516 and 519, because they are useless to the history, and do little credit to our clergy."

I am, sir,

Most respectfully your's,

Jos. Corrêa di Serra."

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considerable appearance, and at last fell to nothing.

**B. *St. Omer's College.***

This was established in the year 1594, by the zeal and industry of father Parsons, and it continued to be the principal establishment of the English Jesuits till their suppression in France, on which occasion those who occupied it removed to Bruges, in Flanders, where they instituted a greater and lesser college; the first of which ceased on the extinction of the society in 1773, and the other soon afterwards came to nothing under some English Dominicans, who had been put into it by the government of the Low Countries. The great college at St. Omer's, in the year 1764, was put into the hands of the English clergy of Douay, in the quality of a royal college, and it remained so till it was annihilated by the all-devouring French revolution, in 1793.

**9. *Benedictine Nuns at Brussels.***

This was the first new convent erected on the continent by religious persons of the English nation. It took place in the year 1598, by the zeal and industry of lady Mary Berkely, who was first abbess of it, and of lady Mary Percy, a Benedictine nun. Besides their regular duties as religious, they were occupied in the education of young ladies. On the approach of the French to Brussels, in June, 1794, these religious ladies fled out of the Low Countries.

**10. *English Seminary in Paris.***

This seminary was begun about

the year 1600, being intended not only for taking degrees in the university of Paris, but also for maintaining a number of learned men, who were to be employed in writing books of controversy, in opposition to a like design of Dr. Sutcliffe in founding Chelsea-college. But this establishment was several times interrupted, and the members dispersed, until the year 1667, when the foundation was considerably augmented by a Mr. Carr, alias Pickney, a member of Douay-college. Yet it was not entirely completed till many years afterwards, when Dr. Betham was put at the head of it; and he, by the help of benefactions, bought a handsome house and garden in the *Rue des Postes, Faubourg St. Marceau*, calling it St. Gregory's Seminary, and obtaining the confirmation thereof from the French king by letters patent of the year 1701. This establishment, like all the rest within the sphere of the French revolution, was destroyed in 1793.

**11. *Poor Clares at Gravelines.***

This convent of religious women of the order of St. Francis, was erected in the year 1603, by the endeavours of the reverend John Gemmings, a religious of the branch of the same order called Recollects. Several colonies from this mother-house settled afterwards at different places. It subsisted till 1793, when it underwent the fate of all the other religious establishments in France.

**12. *Bene-***

12. *Benedictine Monks of Douay.*

This monastery was a college belonging to the rich abbey of Benedictines of St. Vedast, or Vaast of Arras, where their young monks resided during their studies in the university of Douay. The buildings being much greater than were necessary for that purpose, the abbey granted a part of them to some English monks of the same order that were professed in different houses on the continent, on condition that they performed all the choir offices in the church of the college, in place of the monks of St. Vedast. This cession was made in the year 1604, or 1605; and this monastery afterwards became considerable, not only as a convent of monks, but likewise as a college for the education of youth in classical learning. It was governed by a prior, and subsisted till 1793, when all that remained in the house were seized and imprisoned with circumstances of the most wanton cruelty.

13. *Jesuits of Watten.*

This was the noviciate of the Jesuits, and was begun at Louvain, in the year 1605, by father Parsons; but by a grant made to them by the bishop of St. Omer's of the monastery of Watten, a house before belonging to canon regulars of St. Augustine, they soon removed thither. The bishop's deed was dated April 11, 1611. The yearly income thereof amounted to about 3000 florins. Watten is only two leagues from St. Omer's, on the canal

leading to Dunkirk. This house served for a retreat to the aged and infirm members of the society, as well as for a noviciate. After the suppression of the Jesuits in France, those of this house were removed, in 1765, to the professed house at Ghent, where they remained till the extinction of the society in 1773.

14. *Benedictine Monks of Deulouart.*

Deulouart is a town in Lorraine, on the Moselle, not far from Pont-a-Mousson. The monastery was given by the cardinal of Lorraine, in the year 1606, to some Benedictine monks of the English nation. Besides the monastery they had a college for the education of youth. Both subsisted till crushed by the French revolution.

15. *Jesuitesses.*

This institution was first attempted at St. Omer's in the year 1608, by Mrs. Mary Ward, and by the persuasion and assistance of father Roger Lee, an English Jesuit; but could never obtain an approbation from the pope. In the year 1622 poverty obliged them to break up at St. Omer's; and a few of them obtained a precarious residence in the diocese of Cologne. These, in the year 1629, sought to settle at Liege; but being discountenanced there, they soon after removed to Munich, the capital of Bavaria, where they procured a handsome settlement, which I believe they still enjoy. Their chief employment is the education of young persons of their own sex.



16. *Augustine Nuns in Louvain.*

These canonesses of St. Austin were first established in the year 1609, by Mrs. Mary Wiseman, a professed nun of the Flemish convent of St. Ursula, in Louvain. They were governed by a prioress, and educated young ladies. This house enjoyed considerable funds, and subsisted till the French invasion in 1794, when the members of it fled out of the Low Countries.

17. *Benedictine Nuns in Paris.*

This priory was first founded at St. Malo, in the year 1611, by Giffard, archbishop of Rheims, who before his elevation to that see had been the first president of the English congregation of St. Benedict. The French king not permitting this house to continue at St. Malo, on account of the proximity of this place to England, archbishop Giffard procured them another at Paris, which afterwards (in 1642) was changed for one in the Rue St. Jaques, where they remained till 1793, when they were involved in the common destruction of the French revolution. During their existence in Paris, these monks enjoyed all the privileges of the university, with regard to studies, degrees, and benefices annexed to the degrees; and it was by means of these last that the house enjoyed considerable revenues.

18.

Soon after the establishment of this monastery in Paris, father Francis Walgrave, a member of it, obtained from the rich Benedictine abbey of Marmou-

tier near Tours, the religious cell called La Cello en brie, in the diocese of Meaux, twelve leagues east of Paris, which he resigned up to the priory at Paris, and to which it remained annexed till the fall of both in 1793. A superior, and two or three religious of the monastery at Paris resided in it, and kept a school for the education of youth in classical learning. This religious foundation had anciently been handsomely endowed, and had an extensive lordship annexed to it.

19. *Jesuits College in Liege.*

This was founded for the education of youth in classical learning, in the year 1616, by George Talbot, afterwards earl of Shrewsbury. He, in 1626, obtained of the duke of Bavaria, prince bishop of Liege, to settle on this college an annual pension, being the interest of 200,000 florins. It subsisted on this footing till the extinction of the Jesuits in 1773, when it changed its name into that of an English Academy, at the same time extending its plan of education; and it remained in the hands of those to whom it had belonged before, till the French occupied Liege in 1794.

20. *Franciscan Recollects in Douay.*

This convent was begun in 1617, by father John Gennings, afterwards their first provincial superior. It had no other school than that of the studies of the religious of the house, which enjoyed, in that respect, the privileges of the university of Douay. It subsisted in a flourishing condition till the French

French revolution put an end to it, in 1793; at which time all the friars that remained in it found means of escaping out of France in disguise; whereas the remaining members of all the other English establishments, both of men and women, in France, were seized, imprisoned, and treated in the most barbarous manner that wanton cruelty could invent, being shut up, without distinction of age or sex, in churches that had been plundered of every thing; where they remained deprived of all the necessaries of life, a little scanty food excepted.

21. *Nuns of the third Order of St. Francis.*

These religious women were a colony from the convent at Gravelines, and they were first settled at Nieuport, in Flanders, about the year 1620, by means of father John Gennings, the establisher of those of Gravelines, and of the Recollects, in Douay, whose zeal in this respect was indefatigable. In the year 1658 these nuns were obliged to leave Nieuport on account of the war and inundations, and part of them removed to Bruges, into a house called the *Princen-hoff*, because it had formerly been a part of the palace of the counts of Flanders. They were employed in the education of young persons of their sex, and their community remained considerably numerous, till they were driven out of Flanders by the invasion of the French in 1794.

22. *Jesuits at Ghent*

This establishment was made in

the year 1622. It was styled the Professed-house, and was destined chiefly for the aged and infirm, and for such as were unable to perform the active functions of the society. The house was small, and of little appearance. In 1765 the noviciate, beforetimes at Watten, as was said above, was placed here; but the extinction of the society in 1773 put an end to both.

23. *College at Lisbon.*

This was founded by the liberality of Don Pedro de Coutinho, a Portuguese gentleman, at the persuasion of the reverend William Wiseman, an English clergyman residing at Lisbon. It was confirmed by a brief from Rome, dated September 22, 1622, with the annual revenue of 300 gold crowns given to it by the said Don Pedro de Coutinho. The first president, professors, and scholars, were sent thither from the English college at Douay in 1628; and it has ever since been under the direction of secular clergy, and remains so still.

24. *Benedictine Nuns in Cambray.*

This abbey was begun in the year 1623, by Mrs. Frances Gavin and two others, all professed nuns of the monastery at Brussels. The establishment was made chiefly by means of father Rudisind Barlow, president of the English congregation of St. Benedict, to which it ever after remained subject. These nuns, besides the regular duties of their order, were occupied in the education of young ladies. In 1793 they under-

underwent the same fate as all the other English convents in France.

25. *Benedictine Nuns in Ghent.*

This abbey was established in the year 1624 by lady Lucy Knatchbull and three other professed nuns of the monastery at Brussels. The education of young persons of their own sex made part of the employment of these religious women, till their flight out of the country on the approach of the French army in 1794.

26. *Augustine Nuns in Bruges.*

This priory of regular canonesses of St. Austin was erected in the year 1629, by Mrs. Frances Stanford and eight more professed nuns of the English monastery of the same order in Louvain. The education of young ladies was part of their occupation. Their church, rebuilt by a lady Lucy Herbert, prioress of the house, was beautiful but small. These nuns fled, like all the rest, on the approach of the French in 1794.

27. *Augustine Nuns in Paris.*

This house was established in 1633, by lady Letitia Maria Tredway, canoness-regular of the noble abbey of Notre Dame de Beaulieu in Douay, and by the assistance of Mr. Miles Carr, alias Pickney, proctor of Douay-college. It was governed by a prioress, and the nuns were employed in the education of young ladies, besides the religious duties incumbent on them as canonesses-regular. This community subsisted till 1793, when the French revolution put an end to it.

28. *Poor Clares at Rouen.*

This convent of religious women of the strictest reform of the order of St. Francis, by some called Colletines, was begun in 1648, by Mrs. Mary Taylor and fourteen associates, all professed nuns of Gravelines, the mother-house of all the other convents of English Franciscan nuns. The life of these of Rouen was wholly contemplative; they did not interfere with the education of youth. They subsisted, till crushed by the French revolution in 1793.

29. *Benedictine Nuns in Paris.*

This monastery was erected in the year 1651, by the endeavours of Mrs. Clementia Cary. After five several habitations in different parts of Paris, they at last, in 1664, fixed themselves in the Rue du Champ de l'Alouette, Fauxbourg St. Marcel, where they remained till put an end to by the French revolution in 1793. This monastery was under the congregation of St Benedict.

30. *Benedictine Nuns at Pontoise.*

These religious women were originally a colony from the English monastery in Ghent, which, in 1652, went to Boulogne, in Picardy, Mrs. Catherine Wigmore being their first abbess. In 1658 they removed from thence to Pontoise, where they subsisted till the revolution in 1793.

31. *Poor Clares at Dunkirk.*

This convent was founded in the year 1652, by the endeavours of Anne Browne, niece to lord viscount Montague, who was a professed nun of Gravelines. She, with three others of the same

same house, began the establishment, which subsisted till the revolution of 1793. Their solitary contemplative life did not permit them to meddle with the education of youth.

**32. Conceptionist Nuns in Paris.**

On the breaking up of the convent of Franciscan nuns at Nieuport in 1658, as was mentioned above, (No. 21) Angela Jerningham, and six others of those nuns went to Paris, and, in 1660, they put themselves under the rules of the order of the Conception, and along with their other religious duties educated young ladies. Mr. Vivier, a French clergyman, left an estate of about 300*l*. sterling a year, to this convent, which subsisted till the time of the French revolution in 1793.

**33. Dominican Friars at Bornhem in Flanders.**

This convent was founded in the year 1658, by the baron of Bornhem. The first prior of it was Thomas Howard, of Arundel, afterwards cardinal Howard, to whom the establishment was principally owing. These religious afterwards kept a considerable college for the education of youth, which continued to flourish till the time of their flight, on account of the French invasion of the Low Countries; in 1794.

Besides this convent, the aforementioned cardinal Howard founded another in Rome for English Dominicans; but it was suppressed soon afterwards, for which reason it is not enumerated here. Vid. *Sanderi Flandria Illustrata*, Vol. III. p. 255, 256.

**34. Dominican College in Louvain.**

This little establishment was wholly destined for the studies of the young religious of Bornhem in philosophy and divinity. On that account it enjoyed the privileges of the university of Louvain. It fell of course with the mother-house in 1794.

**35. Poor Clares, at Aire, in Artois.**

This community of contemplative women was established about the year 1660, by some nuns from Gravelines, under the direction of the English Recollects of Douay. It fell like the rest in 1793.

**36. Benedictine Nuns at Dunkirk.**

These religious ladies were established in 1662, by lady Mary Caryll (who was their first abbess) and eleven associates, all professed nuns of the English monastery at Ghent; but the establishment being made, five of these returned to Ghent, and two others of them went to Ipres to begin a like foundation there in 1665. This last afterwards became wholly composed of Irish Benedictine nuns, part of whom, in the reign of king James II. went over to Dublin; the rest remained at Ipres till the French invasion in 1794, when they fled.

The English monastery at Dunkirk had formerly considerable funds, but a great part of them were lost in the Mississippi bubble in 1720. The nuns, besides their regular duties, were employed in the education of young ladies.

**37. Dominican Nuns in Brussels.**

These religious women were established in 1690, in a large old house in Brussels, called the *Spel*

Spellokens, having a large garden annexed to it. About the year 1777 their house threatening ruin, they built, in the upper part of their garden, a handsome new convent and church. They were not originally employed in the education of young persons of their sex; but the edicts of the emperor Joseph II. in 1782, portending suppression to all the convents of nuns that were not so employed, these Dominicanesses got some scholars, and thereby remained unmolested till their flight on the approach of the French to Brussels, in June, 1794.

38. *School at Esquerchin near Douay.*

This was founded about the middle of the present century, by the late honourable James Talbot, afterwards bishop. He destined it for the education of boys in the lower schools of the classics, thereby to disburthen the great college of Douay, to which he gave it, of that part of its charge; and also for the sake of greater salubrity and space for children in the country, than could be had in the other. This school fell of course with the college to which it belonged, at the time of the French revolution.

39. *Discalced Carmes at Tongres.*

This little establishment had been made a few years ago with permission of the prince bishop of Liege, by some English Carmelite friars, professed in foreign convents. It had hardly time to gain footing, when it was crushed by the French revolution in 1794.

Not having been able to find the dates of the following

religious establishments, I place them at the end of this list.

40. *Benedictine Abbey of Lamspring in Germany.*

This abbey is situated in Lower Saxony, in the diocese of Hildesheim, about four leagues south of the city of that name. It is governed by a regular mitred abbot, who, like all the prelates of Germany, enjoys great privileges. I have not learned how it came into the hands of the English congregation of St. Benedict, to which it belongs.

41. *Canonesses of the Holy Sepulchre, in Liege.*

These religious ladies flourished greatly under the direction of the late Jesuits, as also in the education of young persons of their own sex. The French invasion put an end to them in 1794.

42, 43, 44. *Carmelites, or Terebian Nuns at Antwerp, Lier, and Hoogstrate.*

The nuns of these three convents were entirely given up to a contemplative life. In 1789 a part of them went over to Maryland, to make a new establishment of their order; the rest fled from the French invasion in 1794.

These, as far as I was ever able to learn, are all the English religious establishments that have been made on the continent of Europe since the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth. Of all this number, I believe, there only now remain the three colleges of secular clergy at Rome, Valladolid, and Lisbon, the Benedictine abbey of Lamspring in Germany, with the nuns of Lisbon and Munich.

A more

A more extensive account of the foundation of many of these houses, and of the persons who established them, may be had in Dodd's Church History of England, printed at Brussels in 1737, 3 vol. in folio; in the Flandria Illustrata of Sanderus, 3 vol. in folio; the Brabantia Illuf-

trata, 3 vol. in folio; and other such histories of the countries where any of these establishments were made. What I have said above of the origin, nature, and present state of each, suffices for the end I proposed to myself in this short account of them.



# MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

*On the Science of Physiognomy; from Mr. Fuseli's Advertisment to Hunter's Translation of Lavater's Essays on Physiognomy.*

**I**T is not the intention of this prefatory address, either to prove the claim of physiognomy to a place among the sciences, to demonstrate its utility, or to enlarge in its praise. The immediate effect of form on every eye, the latent principle which is the basis of that effect, and which inhabits every breast, the influence derived from this impression on conduct and action, in every department of life, are self-evident truths, and need as little to be proved as the existence of smell or taste. If not all, at least the most important part, of what can be said on the subject is given in the book; and to epitomize what the reader is going to consider in detail, or to attempt improving the author's argument and method, would be as futile as an attempt to "gild refined gold, or to paint the lily.

The mistaken humanity of those who find cruelty lurking amid the researches of the physiognomist, deserves our pity rather than an answer; it refutes itself; the general eye has given a tacit verdict before it pronounces one; it either con-

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firms by proofs what we have felt, or by proofs corrects our feelings: in either case truth gains, and woe to him who without proof dares to contradict that on which all are agreed. Besides, when the great principle of human nature, that property which invisibly links every individual, from the most genially favoured in organisation, to the most neglected or most scantily supplied, to infinity, to the immense power that produced him, if perfectibility be taken into consideration, which allows no one to pronounce "So far shalt thou go, and no farther," all fears of petulant or noxious abuse of the science must necessarily vanish. If self-love be a more than sufficient counterpoise to humility or despondence, if vanity and hope never forsake their children, what danger can be apprehended from physiognomy? Its verdicts will be shifted from face to face; and there will always be outlets or atoning lines sufficiently wide or soothing in the fatal angles of condemning classes of faces, to let each individual culprit escape, or stand absolved before his own tribunal.

Men in their fears generally confound our science with pathology, distinct from it though intimately connected:

F f

corrected: the one estimates power and capacity, the other judges of their produce and application.—Whatever relates to habit, whatever arises from the moment of action, the burst of passions, their play on blood and muscles, are, strictly speaking, without the physiognomic sphere, whose true object is the animal at rest. Were man and man as easily discriminated as the lamb and the tiger, the physiognomist's would be an useless science; but since both lamb and tiger may dwell in human frames, he surely deserves our thanks, who points them out to us before we wound the one or sink beneath the other.

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*Origin and Nature of the Sentiment of Admiration in the human Mind; from Cogan's Treatise on the Passions.*

**T**HAT excellence which is the subject of admiration, may either consist in the intellectual powers of mind, or dispositions of the heart. Admiration may be excited by the contemplation of greatness and extent of genius, by indications of superior talents, by plans and projects which discover great ingenuity in contrivance and invention, or unusual skill in the execution. It is often excited by extraordinary exertions of benevolence; such as dangers encountered to protect and save a friend, a stranger, or an enemy; the greatness of the sacrifice made to misery, and the compassion that excites to extraordinary acts of mercy. In short, the objective cause of admiration is whatever indicates a superior degree of wisdom, ingenuity, goodness, or benevolence. To such

qualities it is properly confined.—Power abstractedly considered is not the object of admiration; though the dignified or benevolent exertions of power to the production of good, may excite the highest degree of admiration, and render it a very strong emotion.

It is obvious that the range of admiration is from the simpler approbation of the mind up to the most lively sensation, according to our conceptions of the extent of excellence, and also the degrees of our interest in its effects. It is also blended with various other emotions according to different circumstances attendant upon the passion. It is frequently introduced by surprise; when, for example, the discovery of these excellencies is sudden and unexpected; and then it becomes a vivid emotion. It is generally connected with some degree of wonder; as we are so frequently ignorant of the causes which enabled any one greatly to excel ourselves or others: but as it is always excited by the real discovery of some qualities, it is not to be confounded with an emotion that proceeds from ignorance and embarrassment, previous to the discovery. When the evidences of wisdom or goodness exceed our utmost comprehension, or proceed far beyond the usual extent of excellence itself, they may excite astonishment.

Whatever is good, or productive of good, is the proper object of love; excellence must of consequence be peculiarly calculated to excite the affection in a superior degree; hence the pleasing and intimate connection between love and admiration. When these are united with gratitude, they constitute the happiest and sublimest affections of the soul.

When

When the object manifests extraordinary benevolence; when immeasurable extent of wisdom and goodness direct power to execute their purpose; and incalculable advantages are the issue of their united operations, admiration swells into delectable astonishment, and our conscious incapacity to fathom is an augmentation of enjoyment.

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*Nature of Pre-disposing Causes, from the same.*

**A**LL the above causes which operate so powerfully upon the mind, and impress it with such a diversity or contrariety of sensations, have still a degree of uniformity in their mode of action. We may still suppose that the same individual placed under their immediate influence, would always entertain similar ideas and receive similar impressions. But this is not always the case. Certain circumstances create such a pre-disposition within us, that we shall at different seasons be very differently affected by the same object, both respecting the kind of passion or affection excited, and the degree of power it may exercise over us; and they constitute that state of mind, which we frequently describe, by being in the humour, or not in the humour. The circumstances to which we now refer, exert their primary effect upon the corporeal or nervous system, render that more susceptible of impressions at one time than another, dispose it to be very differently affected by the same objects; and through its channel, to affect the state of our minds concerning them.

These observations relate to the

power of what the medical world has termed the non-naturals; which exert as great an influence over the dispositions of the mind, as they are productive of salutary or morbid pre-dispositions respecting the body. All those circumstances, for example, which are calculated to invigorate the frame, and rouse it from a state of indolence and inactivity, necessarily communicate a correspondent vigour to the mind, by which it becomes more adapted to receive impressions of a certain class, and to be more powerfully influenced by particular circumstances and qualities in objects than at the preceding period. Such are the manifest effects of refreshing sleep to fatigued and exhausted natures, of invigorating viands, of cheerful weather, &c. Whatever produces an uneasy sensation in the corporeal system is apt to render the mind peevish and fretful, and dispose it to be much more powerfully affected than usual by incidents of a disagreeable nature; such as losses, disappointments, the improper conduct of others, &c. It has been frequently noticed by practitioners, that patients are much more fretful and impatient in a state of convalescence than during the more severe periods of their disease. The returning powers of sensation make them feel the state of the disordered frame more minutely than during the oppressive state of the disease; and their comfortless sensations communicate an unusual fretfulness to the temper. Again, those things which heat and irritate to a considerable degree, foster all turbulent and irritable passions; while those which diffuse a pleasing sensation over the system, dispose to benevolence and goodwill. It is a maxim with

some in modern days never to ask a favour of an epicure, till after his meals; and the ancients were not unacquainted with the *motus temporis sandi*. Whatever chills and debilitates, disposes to timidity; and local situations which are retired and gloomy, are most conducive to melancholy impressions. Indeed so dependant is the state of the mind upon that of the body, that nothing can produce a considerable change in the latter, without exciting pre-dispositions somewhat analogous in the former. The food which recruits the exhausted powers of animal nature, exhilarates and invigorates the mind; the excess which burdens the body, benumbs the powers of the soul. The painful and comfortless sensations produced by flatulencies and indigestions in hypochondriac temperaments, have sometimes produced, and sometimes been mistaken for an anxious state of mind; and the medicines which relieve the one, will administer comfort to the other. The sensations of hunger, cold, fatigue, &c. being disagreeable in themselves, induce an uneasy restless state of mind, and petulance of temper. The state of the atmosphere, peculiarities of climate, seasons of the year, have their mental influence; dispose to a cheerful vivacity or gloominess of disposition, induce a languor or invigorate the mental powers. The influence of narcotics upon the mind is universally noticed. The exhilarating effect of opiates, the extravagant wildness, the pleasing delirium with which they affect the brain, the Elysian pleasures they sometimes communicate to the imagination, and the consequent torpor and debility diffused over the whole

system, have been frequently remarked. Under their stimulating influence, man has shewn himself equal to undertakings which it was apparent madness to attempt; and the subsequent depression has marked him for a coward. The effects of spirituous and fermented liquors are no less obvious, as every one has too frequent an occasion to remark. These effects are observed to vary according to the quality of the liquor, the previous state of the subject's mind, or the temperament of his body. Some kinds of potations have a tendency to induce a kind of pleasing stupefaction; so that if they do not inspire new ideas, they seem to render the sot perfectly contented with the few he possesses. These are the frequent effects of malt liquors, and the ingredients mixed with them. While other liquors, as the sparkling champagne, exhilarate the spirits to an unusual degree, and promote a flow of lively and witty ideas. Tempers naturally warm and impetuous are generally very litigious and quarrelsome in their cups. Others are rendered quarrelsome in a state of intoxication, contrary to their usual dispositions, through the disagreeable irritation diffused over the system by the unusual stimulus. Some persons, on the other hand, who are surrounded with distracting cares, or oppressed with extreme poverty, having for the instant drowned thought and reflection in the bewitching draught, which operates like the waters of Lethe, they obtain a temporary release from their mental sufferings, and enjoy an extraordinary and frantic flow of spirits in the oblivion of their misery.

Instances similar to the above are infinitely numerous; but these are sufficient to illustrate the fact, that many

many circumstances by primarily affecting the body produce a correspondent change upon the mind; strengthen many of its affections, and pre-dispose to passions and emotions, by which it would not otherwise have been affected. It may be remarked in general that the sensibility of the system, or susceptibility of impression, when greatly increased by intoxication or any other cause, will render the same individual amorous, or generous, or courageous, or passionate and quarrelsome, according as occasions and incidents favourable to one or other of these affections and emotions may present themselves.

Thus have we enumerated the principal causes, which have a powerful influence over the affections; which occasion that great diversity observable in the human species, endowed with similar capacities, and apparently placed in similar situations. Causes, by the influence of which one class of rational beings differs so essentially from another equally rational; individuals from individuals in each class, and individuals so frequently from themselves.

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*Medical and Surgical Punishments,  
in a Letter to the Editor of the  
Monthly Magazine.*

Sir,  
**T**HE multiplication of penal statutes has given rise to many serious disquisitions on the wisdom of laws, their failure, and the difficulty of carrying them into execution; and some gentlemen of profound habits of thinking have sunk so deep in this subject, as to assert, almost in plain terms, that penal

laws are good for nothing, because crimes are as frequent after they have been enacted as before.—Others have inquired, and I confess with some propriety, into the right of any community to inflict the punishment of death upon its member; and, if I am not mistaken, this punishment is in America restricted to murders of the worst class only.

Meditating upon these subjects a few nights ago, it occurred to me that the fault of our laws might perhaps consist in the punishments we inflict not being properly proportioned to the crimes; or, in other words, that rogues have been far more fertile in devising new crimes, than honest men, or legislators (who *ipso facto* are honest men), have been ingenious in varying their means of punishment. To enumerate all the crimes for which the law ordains punishment, would require a much larger proportion of your magazine than you might be disposed to allow to such a purpose; but all the punishments in use may, I believe, be expressed in these few words, death, banishment, imprisonment, whipping, pillory, and fines. There are six punishments to at least six hundred species of crimes; and, by the bye, to save myself the trouble, I beg leave to refer the curious reader to Mr. Colquhoun's two volumes on the London and Marine Police, where he will find the *genera* and *species* of rogues classified in a truly Linnæan system, and often with Linnæan names.

Perhaps, therefore, I say, the failure of our penal laws may proceed from the want of connection between the crime and the punishment. But it is not my intention at present to attempt to establish this connection: I leave that to wiser heads,

heads, and proceed to inform you, that, in the course of my meditations aforesaid, I recollected a plan put into my hands some years ago, for "commuting all punishments for operations of pharmacy and surgery." The worthy gentleman who proposed this scheme had principally in his eye the frequency of executions, which he thought disgraceful to a country boasting its humanity; and his idea was, instead of hanging so many felons, to make them submit to certain experiments and operations in physic and surgery. Hereby, said he to me, with all the enthusiasm of a schemer, science will be promoted as well as crimes punished, by rogues being obliged to submit to operations, which, I am sorry to say, we can scarcely persuade honest men to undergo, although their lives are in danger; and I know so much of these operations, that I will venture to say, that, if my scheme be adopted, felons will understand what it is to suffer the pains of law better than ever they did.

This plan of my learned friend, however did not succeed at the time it was proposed, and I know not why; I am, however, hopeful that it may meet with a more gracious reception from the public at present, when the invention of substitutes is greatly the fashion, and when we have ingenious men who undertake to find substitutes for almost every necessary of life, from a militia-man to a joint of meat.—Now, as it is notorious that the punishment of felons is very expensive to government, and as government, like all other well regulated families, must be sensible of the hardness of the times; I flatter my-

self I am performing an acceptable service by proposing a cheap substitute for punishments.

It is almost needless to say, that the science of surgery is very much obstructed by the want of opportunities for operations and experiments before the student arrives at actual practice upon his patients.—It is a very awkward thing, and would be very shocking if it were known, that a surgeon should be able to say to a patient, "sir, I am come to cut off your leg; but as this is the first time I ever performed the operation, you must excuse me, if I don't go through it as I could wish." This, Mr. Editor, would surely be very shocking and very unsafe; whereas, it is obvious, that by the scheme I propose, at least twenty students may go through the whole series of operations in the course of one Old Bailey sessions, greatly to their improvement, and to the furtherance of the law.

Another advantage would be, that, as the operations of surgery are very numerous, they might afford that variety of punishment which seems very much wanted in order to proportion punishments to crimes; and the antipathy of the lower classes to surgical operations is so strong, that I trust I need not expatiate on this as a powerful argument in favour of the scheme. The sight of a case of instruments would create more terror than the sight of a cat-o-nine-tails, which I am told there are various ways to evade.—For slight offences, or first offences, it may perhaps be necessary to order the felon to be put under the hands of an apothecary's boy for a week or fortnight. Crimes of the next degree of atrocity might be punished by a gentle dislocation; as we  
rise



rise higher in offence, we ascend through the various degrees of fractures simple and compound up to the trepan, or lithotomy.

Methinks I hear the recorder passing sentence at the conclusion of an Old Bailey sessions in this manner :

“ You John Glim, have been guilty of house-breaking ; it only remains for me that I pronounce the sentence of the law, which is, that you be taken from hence to surgeons hall, in Lincoln’s-Inn Fields, in the city of Westminster, and county of Middlesex, and there be cut for a fistula.”

“ You, Thomas Vagrant, have been found guilty of stealing privately. The sentence of the law is that your right hand should be cut off ; but the court, in consideration of your having a numerous family, whom you maintain by your profession as a ballad-singer, hath been pleased to remit that part of your sentence, and orders that you be qualified for the opera house.

This, sir, would alter the face of things in Newgate ; instead of rioting, drinking, and swearing, which are too much to be heard in all our jails, we should hear nothing but groans, and screams, and the direful operation of boluses and juleps. The Newgate Calendar then would be a list of cases of surgery ; and the keeper, if he found a prisoner refractory, might easily procure such advice from the first surgeon in the neighbourhood, as would effectually prevent his running away.

Upon highwaymen, footpads, and all such blood-thirsty fellows, I would have the various kinds of styptics tried ; experiments might also be made with gun-shot wounds,

a species of retaliation which would admirably serve the purposes of science and justice. As to crimes committed in a state of intoxication ; for the lesser species, a course of quack medicines might probably be severe enough ; but for the more atrocious, it would be absolutely necessary to punish by tapping. Not that I mean that the sentence of the judge should be definitive. Alleviating circumstances ought still to appeal to the fountain of mercy, and in cases where the jury strongly recommended to mercy, his majesty would no doubt remit the *trocari* or the *bistoury*, as might seem fit. Very heinous offences committed by females, might be punished by operations incident to the sex, such as experiments on the nervous system, on the tongue, &c. or perhaps the *cæsarian* operation might be ordered in lieu of hanging ; and if we may believe some professional men who have lately tried that operation it would not amount to much more than a respite for a week !

As to petty offences, bleeding and tooth-drawing would in general be sufficient, and perhaps as good for the morals as beating hemp and blaspheming ; or the apothecaries might be permitted to try the effect of some new-invented medicine. I fancy I shall some day or other read in the newspaper a paragraph like the following.

“ Yesterday three men and a woman were brought before the lord mayor, for getting drunk and making a riot in a public-house at unreasonable hours ; but, on their making a handsome apology for their conduct, and promising to behave better in future, his lordship was pleased to order that each should take a box of Doctor

Humbly's Cathartic pills, and be discharged."

In this plan, I humbly presume, it is very obvious that various persons would be gratified. Men of science would be undoubtedly pleased with so extensive a range of experimental practice; and I trust there is enough in the scheme to satisfy those who think that our punishments are in general too lenient. Executioners and jailors may be bribed, and there are various ways of softening punishments ordered by the law; but the gentleman to be employed upon my plan would have too much interest in its success to be swayed by any considerations of another kind, or to be prevailed upon to lay down the knife or the lancet before law and justice had been fully satisfied. Besides, should a greater degree of severity be contended for in the case of certain crimes, than an expert operator might inflict, we have bungling surgeons and blundering apothecaries enough, whose handy work and prescriptions would amount to the full rigour of the law; or the numerous tribe of advertising doctors might be employed, and I hope none will say that the punishment in that case would not be perfectly adequate to the crime.

Having suggested these hints, Mr. Editor, I leave them and the whole scheme to the consideration of your readers; I trust they will weigh it with impartiality, and determine whether it is or is not entitled to a preference over the present system.

I am, sir, your most obedient,

A friend to justice and surgery.

P. S. I have this moment read that the divorce bill has been

thrown out of the house of commons. I am sorry for it. I think I could have recommended, in my plan, a trifling operation or two, which would have effectually prevented the increase of divorces. *Sublata causa, tollitur effectus.*

June 13, 1800.

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*Inquiry into the Origin of the Nerves: from the same.*

Sir,

As you are frequently consulted by your correspondents respecting points of antiquary learning, such as the origin of names, customs, proverbs &c. I have taken the liberty to send you this short requisition on a subject which has long perplexed many of my friends as well as your humble servant, and which yet we talk about as glibly and freely as if we understood it. I have, indeed, often remarked that certain people will talk so long about certain things without knowing the meaning of what they say, that, when the inquiry comes, it is found extremely difficult to find any meaning at all. But to proceed:

It is probably well known to you that of late years all bodily and many mental complaints have been termed nervous, and that most indispositions, from the most serious of the bed-ridden class, down to the common tea-table *dont-know-how-ness*, have been resolved into certain operations of the nerves. Now, sir, what I want to know is the origin of these nerves. Where did they first appear? Are they indigenous, or were they imported? Are they aborigines or strangers? If indigenous, when were they first visible? Are they innate ideas, or

sape-

superinduced by reading and education? Who was the first man that had nerves? Who first convinced his fellow-creatures that they had nerves? If imported, from what country did they come, and in what shape? Were they smuggled over, or came they in the fair way of trade? If in the way of barter, what did we give in exchange? I apprehend it must have been muscles and bones, but of that I have no direct proof, and therefore mention it with submission. My information is extremely scanty, and I do not wish to build theories any more than I would build houses without materials.

A very worthy friend of mine has inspected the custom-house entries for the last fifty years (a period longer than nerves have been known), but cannot find them mentioned, and this, in lack of other proof, would induce me to suppose that they have been conveyed as some people think the plague is usually conveyed, in bales of goods, and afterwards became epidemic.—It has likewise, and somewhat in corroboration of this, been suggested to me, that they came from China in chests of tea; but as a commodity can only come from the place where it is, and never from a place where it is not, I am doubtful of this fact. Our information respecting China is still incomplete. On consulting Du Halde, Grolier, and sir G. Staunton, I cannot find that nerves are peculiar to China.

Sometimes I have been inclined to think that they may have come from France, a country with which we had formerly very close connec-

tions in trade: but they are not specified in lord Auckland's celebrated commercial treaty, and I question whether the existence of nerves in that quarter can be proved. If the French had nerves, it must have been their interest of late years to get rid of them. In Holland one cannot look for any thing of the kind; and in Germany, although they are mentioned in those wonderful moral plays which we import and mend to the great edification of all Christian play-goers, yet I presume they exist principally upon paper.

Such are some of the casual conjectures which have presented themselves to my mind while meditating upon this subject. I set no store by them, I draw no conclusion from them. *Valcant quantum valere possint.* I will now proceed to facts, or to such observations as I have drawn from appearances under my own eye.

It is certain that they have not been the subject of conversation in this country until within these few years. I cannot state the exact period. That is precisely what I want to learn from your correspondents. I am not old enough myself to be considered as of sufficient authority; but my mother, in her seventieth year, assures me that there was no such thing as nerves in her young days; and my aunt Deborah, a spinster in her sixty-seventh year, confirms the same, although she has lately contrived to procure a set of nerves for her private use, the only consequence of which is that she gives more frequent orders than usual to an Italian *liqueur*\* merchant in

\* I most earnestly entreat, Mr. Editor, that you will give express orders to your printer to spell this word *liqueurs*, as I have written it, and in *Italics*, to distinguish it from

in the neighbourhood, and is so alarmed about the steadiness of her hand, that she is perpetually trying whether it will carry to her head.— Other persons in advanced life, indeed all I have consulted, agree that nerves were not known in their juvenile days, and their opinion is that they must have crept in within the last thirty or forty years.

It would, therefore, be a great object for curious persons to learn the precise time of their appearance, and, if possible, the inventor's name. I have no doubt that he would, whether dead or alive, be highly honoured for his ingenuity, as it has tended more to the consumption of medicinal and other cordials than all the rest of the contents of Pandora's box. I have no doubt, therefore, that the persons most obliged by the discovery, such as the apothecaries and distillers, would erect a grand stomachic pillar, with suitable devices, as delicate fibres, the sensitive plant, aspen leaves, &c. &c. and, like the Monument, a flaming fire at the top.

It is seldom, as hath been well observed by philosophers, that the first inventor foresees all the consequences of his invention. This ingenious man, for example, whoever he was, did not foresee that a time would come when nerves should supply conversation with the most charming anecdotes, when every pretty speaker should not only be extremely nervous, but delight in the enumeration of the many tremors, palpitations, and feelings she was afflicted with. Even the war and the taxes are nothing opposed

to a budget of spasms, and the most serious discussion of the affairs of Europe hath often been interrupted by a vigorous attack on the pit of the stomach, or a sudden something in the head, which can be seen in the highest perfection through the medium of a glass! It was this which made a wicked fellow say of my aunt Deborah, "That old lady's conversation is an odd composition. It is all religion and cherry-bounce."

These are matters of obligation which the inventor of nerves may be assured will be gratefully acknowledged, as soon as he avows himself, or his relations will make known the place where his hallowed remains are in sweet repose. The benefits he has conferred will be suitably acknowledged by all who know and value the luxury of complaining, by all who are tired of colds, which are indeed too general to confer any merit, or disturb the harmony of a party, and who have found more liveliness and variety in the family of spasms.

Although, as before observed, the principal object of this letter is rather to acquire than impart information, I may add, in point of fact, a few other circumstances which have come under my observation. I would therefore briefly state that nerves, from whatever origin they may have sprung, are principally confined to large and populous cities, and I think more peculiar to Westminster than to London; not to deny, however, that there are many persons in the city, who are persons of property, keep their carriage, and are very ner-

from *liquors*, an attachment to which is a thing of a very different description. Taking a quantity of *liquors* is downright drinking; but three or four glasses of *liquors*, in the course of a day, is, as I am confidently assured, no such thing!

Yours

vous. Indeed I have observed that nerves very much follow the scale of property; and I fancy that if I could procure a peep at the books of the commissioners of income, I could pretty exactly point out those whose *ten per cents* amount to a decent trepidation. But as these gentlemen are sworn to secrecy, I must be content without this display of the physiognomy of income, and perhaps it would, like other physiognomical sketches, be rather a subject of curiosity than utility.

In the country there are very few nerves; even in places not more than twenty miles from London, they are scarcely heard of, except in the newspapers. But in the adjacent villages they are sufficiently plenty. You may trace them on the Hammermith road, as far as Kew or Richmond. Their tendency is westward; for, although they are exceedingly common on the Bath road, and at the south-western villages of Roehampton, Wimbledon, Putney, &c. yet we do not hear much of them about Rotherhithe, Limehouse, or Stepney. Indeed I do not know of what service they could be in the ship-building-line. On Hounslow-heath they are occasionally found in persons who travel after dark. I am told likewise that they are general in assembly-rooms, and that the possession of nerves is a *fine qua non* in the subscribers to dances and card clubs. In Wales and Scotland, they are unknown—a circumstance which is particularly fortunate for the natives of the latter, as they would travel very slowly on the London road with such an incumbrance.

Having stated these circumstances as *mémoires pour servir à l'histoire*,

*des nerfs!* I trust that some of your correspondents will supply my defects, and answer the chronological questions above required. In this expectation, I remain

Your humble servant,  
Feb. 10, 1800. Neurologus.

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*An Essay on the Origin of the Italian Language; from the German.*

THE learned differ very much in their opinions relative to the origin of the Italian language. Leonardo Bruni, of Arezzo, a celebrated writer of the fifteenth century, cardinal Bembo, and among the modern writers, Quadrio, maintain that the Italian was as old as the Latin language, asserting that the latter had been the language of the learned, whilst the former had been spoken by the multitude, and in common conversation. They say, that the ancient Romans had learned the genuine Latin language in the schools, and that in the comedies of Plautus and Terence, who, from the nature of their compositions, were the least able to deviate from the language of the multitude, words and idioms are found, which are not to be met with in works of science. Hence they conclude, that the common language of the people had been a peculiar language as widely different from the Latin as the Italian is now.

Nothing can be easier than to refute this opinion. When Plautus wrote his plays, and caused them to be acted at Rome, the difference between the language of the learned and that of the common people could not but be very trifling. The Romans then began to be ambitious of literary eminence. The Latin language,

language, of course, could not be so much transformed as to be materially different from that of the common people. The language of Plautus's comedies was the language of the learned as well as of the populace; and although there occur in them many expressions which are not usual with the other Roman authors, yet they are far from being so numerous as would be sufficient to cause an essential difference.—There is not a sufficient number of works of other authors of that epocha extant to enable us to prove that the particular words and expressions, occurring in Plautus, were used exclusively by the populace.

We cannot, indeed, deny that, when the Romans had conquered all Italy, and Rome had become the general resort of all Italian nations, the language of the Romans underwent a very great and striking alteration; but it cannot thence be concluded that there had been formed among the people a language totally different from that of the learned. All the nations of Italy Proper, excepting those of Great Greece, in fact had only one language, distinguishing themselves from each other only by the difference of dialect; therefore they did not bring with them to Rome a language essentially different from that of the Romans. Having cultivated the arts and sciences long before the Romans, their dialects could not but be more copious and harmonious than the Roman dialect; consequently they also could produce no other alteration in the language of the Romans, but what contributed to enrich and refine it. The first reformers of the Roman language were Livius Andronicus, Nævius, Ennius, Cæcilius, Statius,

Pacuvius, and L. Accius, who all had been born and educated in different provinces of Italy, and were as well understood at Rome as in the places of their nativity; for, at that time, even the Brutians, inhabiting the most distant part of Calabria, spoke a language, not essentially different from that of the Romans.

I cannot, therefore, conceive how by means of the conflux of many Italian nations at Rome, there could be produced a language totally different from that of the ancient Romans, unless this difference had been brought about by the learned. However the learned may refine a language by their writings, they cannot possibly transmute it entirely. Their writings, if not composed in the language of the people, would have been as unintelligible as hieroglyphics and riddles. A language of the learned, wholly differing from that of the people, cannot possibly have existed. It is said to have been the language of the senate, of the comitiis, the forum, the tribunals of justice, of the laws, the generals of the armies, the priesthood, and of all legal compacts, without being generally understood by the people. An idea more absurd than this cannot possibly be conceived. The necessity of a competent knowledge in the Latin language was so indispensable and essential to a Roman subject, that whole foreign nations substituted it in the room of their vernacular language.

If any one should object, that the Romans learned the Latin language of the grammarians and rhetoricians, we need but to observe that they applied to them for instruction only in order to be initiated into the elegance



gance of diction, and for the purpose of juridical eloquence, an essential requisite for a Roman citizen.

We know that the Latin language in Upper Italy and in Gaul superseded the Gallic, and in England the British language; how much the more would it have expelled a totally different language from its original seat if it had there taken its rise?

The celebrated marquis Maffei was of opinion that it owed its real origin and gradual formation exclusively to the progressive deviation of the Italians from the grammatical correctness of the Latin language, interruptedly continuing for several centuries. He, at the same time, denies that the invasions of barbarous nations had contributed any thing towards it; asserting that if this had been the case, it would have produced a language totally different from that of Italy. But Maffei, in this supposition, is under a manifest mistake; for any one who has only a slight knowledge of both languages, will easily observe that the Italian language differs from that of the Romans not only in the most striking deviation from the rules of the latter, but also in an infinite number of foreign words and phrases.

This opinion is generally adopted by the learned; but I can find it nowhere so clearly illustrated as I wish, and therefore shall attempt to inquire how far this opinion is tenable.

While eloquence was essentially necessary for a Roman citizen, the Romans could not but be animated with an universal desire of acquiring purity and elegance of diction.— But when the loss of civil liberty

occasioned a total neglect of eloquence, no great attention was paid to elegance in writing the Latin language. The classic authors were neglected, and learning was left to necessitous foreigners. These presumed to be more learned and witty than Cicero, Virgil, and Horace; and took all possible pains to render the style and language of these great men contemptible.

None of all these corrupters of the Latin language were worse than the Greeks, who, we will not decide whether it was owing to their being more pliant, or superior to the Romans in point of learning, met with a very favourable reception at the imperial court, and in the palaces of the great. This attracted a numerous crowd of Greek rhetoricians, philosophers, and sophists to Rome, and the Greek language was generally adopted by the great, and all those that were desirous of being thought people of good taste. It was a disgrace not to know the Greek language; and many a Roman, though little acquainted with it, listened to the declamations of the Greek sophists with the loudest tokens of applause. The principal object which these infatuated talkers strove to attain, was to found their fame on the depreciation of the Latin language and learning. Those that know what injury the German language sustained, in the beginning of the present century, from the contempt with which it was branded by the French and their silly admirers in Germany, will easily be able to calculate what injury the Latin language must have suffered from the scorn with which it was treated by the Greeks and their servile admirers. This contempt caused the

Romans

Romans to disregard the writings of their ancestors, to deviate from the original spirit of their language, and rendered them incapable of discerning the genuine words and phrases from those that were interpolated.

The Latin language being thus left at the mercy of the populace, it could not but become highly vitiated, especially as Rome continued to be inundated by numerous crowds of foreigners, who flocked to the capital and the Italian provinces. This conflux of foreigners now consisted no longer of nations, who had one language in common, but of Gauls, Britons, Germans, Bohemians, Illyrians, Pannonians, Dacians, and other conquered nations, whose languages were essentially different from each other, and who, by the superiority of their number, and their incapacity of learning the Latin language properly, naturally must have occasioned the greatest corruption.

This evil increased rapidly when the Roman provinces, from the time of the emperor Probus, were garrisoned with foreign auxiliaries.—Amongst these the Herulians and Goths, who had settled in Italy in considerable numbers since the government of Valens, undoubtedly caused the greatest mischief.

The Herulians and Goths were the first of all foreign nations that usurped a dominion over Italy, divided the lands with the natives, lived according to their own laws, or rather customs and religion, and learnt the language of the country only as far as they wanted it, in order to converse with the ancient inhabitants. They gradually became better acquainted with the language of the country, and imagined to speak elegantly when they

expressed the phrases of their own language by mutilated Latin words, or even gave to the words of their mother-tongue Latin terminations. The Italians, having already greatly deviated from the correctness of their language, and caring little or nothing for its purity, they became accustomed to foreign expressions and words, adopted them as a current coin, and at last could not discern any longer the foreign impression.

Thence arose, towards the close of the fifth century, a language which by the learned was called *Lingua Romana Rustica*. This period might be called the first epocha of the Italian language.

During the ruinous wars between the Greeks and the Goths, and the invasions of the Longobards, all means of restoring the language to its original purity were totally lost; the schools became deserted, the teachers were suffered to starve, a great number of libraries were consumed by the flames, and books became extremely scarce. There were, indeed, few people who could either read or write; therefore the language of the people could not but necessarily differ still more from the genuine Latin under the Longobards, than it had under the Goths.

It can, however, be proved that the common people in Italy understood the genuine Latin language till the ninth century. This appears clearly by the Latin sermons which were at that time publicly preached, and are still extant, as well as by the Latin laws framed by the Longobard and Franconian kings, and the performance of public worship in the Latin language.

This

This was also the cause why, under the Longobards, the numerous alterations in the language of the people continued analogous to the rules of the Latin grammar, till at last the copious intermixture of Franconian idioms and words produced a total alteration in the language. If we compare the French and Italian manner of declining and conjugating with the radical words of both languages: it clearly appears that the Italian was almost totally formed after the rules of the French language.

This grand alteration, which was occasioned by the Franconians, may therefore be considered as the second epocha of the Italian language.

The Latin language became now very little known among the common people, or even among the clergy. However numerous the Latin schools founded by the king Lotharius might be, all his endeavours to restore the language to its pristine purity proved ineffectual. The language of the people had already deviated too much from the genuine Latin tongue. The principles of religion, and the laws, propounded to the people in the Latin language, were unintelligible to them; and this seems to be one of the principal causes of the licentiousness by which all ranks, the clergy not excepted, distinguished themselves in the tenth century. The mercantile intercourse of Pisa, Genoa, Venice and Amalfi, with the other Italian towns, rendered their respective dialects intelligible all over Italy, and gradually produced an universal language of trade.

The formation of this new language was greatly facilitated by the civil wars which, after the death

of Charles the Corpulent, convulsed all Italy. The cities, eager to shake off the yoke of foreign emperors, united themselves first with one and then with another party, as it best suited their individual interest. The campaigns which were jointly undertaken by different cities, the alliances which they at different times formed among themselves, and the conquests made by them, gradually consolidated the peculiar dialects of the cities into an universal language. The armies being composed of natives from all parts of Italy, every individual was compelled by necessity to make use of those words and expressions in which he agreed with others, and to refrain from using his provincialisms, which were unintelligible to natives of other parts of Italy, with whom he was connected, and thus accustomed himself to select such expressions as enabled others to comprehend the ideas which he wished to convey. In this language were the armies commanded by unlettered generals, alliances and concordates between citizens and towns concluded, and the constitutions of the new republics framed by illiterate legislators.

Thus arose, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, from the combination of the dialects of the Italian nations, an universal language, different from that of the ancient Romans, which, indeed, possessed already the collective copiousness of the present Italian language, but in all its component parts was still so uncoast, that no man of learning ventured to make use of it in his writings. The chronicles, histories, and other literary works of that epocha continued to be composed in Latin, which also was made use of in all important public documents;

not

# POETRY.

ODE to the NEW YEAR.\* By H. J. PYE, Esq. Poet Laureat.  
Performed January 18, at St. James's.

## I.

**I**NCESSANT down the stream of Time,  
And days, and years, and ages, roll,  
Speeding through Error's iron clime  
To dark Oblivion's goal;  
Loft in the gulf of night profound,  
No eye to mark their shadowy bound,  
Unless the deed of high renown,  
The warlike Chief's illustrious crown,  
Shed o'er the darkling void a dubious fame,  
And gild the passing hour with some immortal name.

## II.

Yet, evanescent as the fleeting cloud,  
Driv'n by the wild winds o'er the varying skies,  
Are all the glories of the great and proud,  
On Rumour's idle breath that faintly rise.  
A thousand garbs their forms assume,  
Woven in vain Conjecture's loom;  
Their dyes a thousand hues display,  
Sporting in Fancy's fairy ray;  
Changing with each uncertain blast,  
Till, melting from the eyes at last,  
The shadowy vapours fly before the wind,  
Sink into viewless air, "nor leave a rack behind."

## III.

But if the raptur'd train, whom Heaven inspires  
Of glory to record each deathless meed,  
Tune to heroic worth their golden lyres,  
And give to memory each godlike deed,

\* The above stanzas are the first and concluding ones of Mr. Pye's *Catmen Seculare*.  
Then

Then shall th' eternal guerdon wait,  
The actions of the wise and great;  
While, as from black Oblivion's sway  
They bear the mighty name away,  
And waft it, borne on pinion high,  
With joyful carol to the sky,  
Sage History, with eye severe,  
Tracing aloft their bold career,  
Clears the rich tale from Fiction's specious grace,  
And builds her sacred lore on Truth's eternal base.

\* \* \* \* \*

XXXI.

Glorious and godlike heirs of fame,  
With sinewy arm, with daring breast, who brave  
The howling tempest and the heaving wave,  
And hostile vengeance pour'd in vollied flame,  
Ocean, where'er his billows flow,  
Records your conquests o'er the foe;  
Where by disgrac'd Iberia's shore  
Biscaya's turbid waters roar;  
Where by the Gaul's insulted coast  
Destruction wrecks her scatter'd host;  
By Erin's rocks, Batavia's sand,  
Hesperia's liberated strand,  
Proudly ye ride, while round each sheltering cape  
The adverse fleets inglorious speed their way,  
Cautious avoid the unequal fray,  
Their proudest boast to fly, their triumph to escape.

XXXII.

Spirits of warriors! who of yore,  
By yellow Tiber's trophied shore,  
Saw heap'd on rich Campania's soil,  
A conquer'd world's collected spoil;  
And thou, O Julius, whose embattled host  
First shook Invasion's scourge on Albion's coast,  
Say, when from Cassibellan's agile car,  
Flash'd the just vengeance of defensive war;  
Say, did ye deem that e'er the painted race,  
In distant times, your shore remote should trace,  
Chase from your far fam'd towers Oppression's doom,  
Restore your wasted fields, protect the walls of Rome.

## XXXIII.

Sire of the winter drear,  
 Who lead'st the months in circling dance along,  
 May peace and concord claim the votive song,  
 That chants the glories of the rising year;  
 For Albion longs around her generous brow,  
 To bind the olive's sober bough,  
 Though unappall'd her laurel'd front defies  
 The fiery blast that flashes through the skies.  
 Wooing, O Peace! thy halcyon ray,  
 Ready she stands for war, nor shuns the ensanguin'd fray;  
 But on Ierne's kindred sky  
 She casts Affection's fondest eye.  
 O! as the era past saw Anna join  
 Each warrior nation of Britannia's line,  
 So may the auspicious hours that now ascend,  
 The sister isles in ceaseless union blend—  
 While Ocean's guardian arms around them thrown;  
 Form to their coasts an adamantine zone;  
 There, proudly rising o'er the circling main,  
 Lord of the waves, their patriot king shall reign;  
 And sam'd through every clime, from pole to pole,  
 Long as the unfailing stream of Time shall roll,  
 Religion, Virtue, Glory, shall adorn  
 The illustrious age of George, the Monarch Briton born!

ODE for his Majesty's BIRTH-DAY, June 4, 1800. By H. J. Pye,  
 Poet Laureat.

## I.

**S**TILL the expecting Muse in vain  
 Reluctant Peace impatient woos,  
 Still cruel War's destructive train  
 O'er half mankind their vengeance loose;  
 Still o'er the genial hours of Spring  
 Fell Discord waves her crimson wing,  
 O'er bleeding Europe's ravag'd plains  
 The Fiend in state terrific reigns;  
 Nor oaten pipe, nor pastoral song,  
 Resound her waving woods among,  
 But, floating on the burthen'd gale afar,  
 Rolls in tremendous peal the thund'ring voice of War.

## II.

Yet far from Albion's tranquil shores  
 The storm of desolation roars;  
 And while o'er fair Liguria's vales,  
 Fann'd by Favonius' rapid gales,



O'er Alpine heights that proudly rise  
 And throud their summits in the skies,  
 Or by the Rhine's majestic stream,  
 The hostile arms of Gallia gleam;  
 Fenc'd by her naval hosts that ride  
 Triumphant o'er her circling tide,  
 Britannia, jocund, pours the festive lay,  
 And hails with duteous voice her George's natal day.

## III.

Yet though her eye exulting sees  
 Valour her daring offspring crown,  
 And glory wafts on every breeze  
 The swelling pæans of renown,  
 Not from the warrior laurel's leaves  
 The votive garland now she weaves,  
 Sweeter than Maia's balmy breath,  
 Concord perfumes the civic wreath  
 Of flowers, embued with dew divine,  
 Which Albion and Ierne twine,  
 To deck his brow whom each, with grateful smiles,  
 Owns heir of Ocean's reign, lord of the British isles.

## IV.

God of our fathers, rise,  
 And through the thund'ring skies  
 Thy vengeance urge,  
 In awful justice red,  
 Be thy dread arrows sped,  
 But guard our monarch's head,  
 God save great George!

## V.

Still on our Albion smile,  
 Still o'er this favour'd isle,  
 O spread thy wing;  
 To make each blessing sure,  
 To make our fame endure,  
 To make our rights secure,  
 God save our king!

## VI.

To the loud trumpet's throat,  
 To the shrill Clarion's note,  
 Now jocund sing;  
 From ev'ry open foe,  
 From ev'ry traitor's blow,  
 Virtue defend his brow,  
 God guards our king!

## AN INSCRIPTION. By Mr. Roscoe.

STRANGER, that with careless feet,  
 Wand'rest near this green retreat,  
 Where through gentle bending slopes,  
 Soft the distant prospect opens;

Where the fern, in fringed pride,  
 Decks the lonely valley's side;  
 Where the linnet chirps his song.  
 Flitting as thou tread'st along;

Know, where now thy footsteps pass,  
 O'er the bending tufts of grass,  
 Bright gleaming through th'encircling wood,  
 Once a Naiad roll'd her flood:

If her urn, unknown to fame,  
 Pour'd no far extended stream,  
 Yet along its grassy side  
 Clear and constant flow'd the tide.

Grateful for the tribute paid,  
 Lordly Mersey lov'd the maid:  
 Yonder rocks still mark the place  
 Where she met his stern embrace.

Stranger, curious wouldst thou learn  
 Why she mourns her wasted urn?  
 Soon a short and simple verse  
 Shall her hapless fate rehearse.

Ere yon neighb'ring spires arose,  
 That the upland prospect close;  
 Or ere along the startled shore  
 Echo'd loud the cannon's roar;

Once the maid, in summer's heat,  
 Careless left her cool retreat,  
 And, by sultry suns oppress'd,  
 Laid her weary limbs to rest;

Forgetful of her daily toil,  
 To trace each tract of humid soil;  
 From dews and bounteous show'rs to bring  
 The limpid treasures of her spring;

Enfeebled

Enfeebled by the scorching ray,  
 She slept the sultry hours away;  
 And when she op'd her languid eye,  
 Found her silver urn was dry.

Heedless stranger, who so long  
 Hast listened to an idle song,  
 Whilst trifles thus thy notice share,  
 Hast thou no urn that asks thy care?

LADY CARLISLE'S ANSWER to Mrs. Greville's *Ode for Indifference*.

**I**S that your wish, to lose all sense  
 In dull lethargic ease,  
 And, wrapt in cold indifference,  
 But half be pleas'd or please?

If dictated by deep despair,  
 You all our pity claim;  
 If not, 'tis sure the strangest wish  
 That woman e'er did frame.

Who can decide 'twixt you and me?  
 There's no disputing taste:  
 But this I know, we disagree  
 As wide as east from west.

Inferior far my pow'r to please,  
 If all I've heard be true;  
 Yet beats my heart for more than ease,  
 And cannot pray with you.

It never shall be my desire,  
 To bear a heart unmov'd,  
 To feel by halves the generous fire,  
 Or be but half belov'd.

Let me drink deep the dang'rous cup,  
 In hopes the prize to gain,  
 Nor tamely give the pleasure up,  
 For fear to share the pain.

If languid ease they cannot know,  
 Who have not hearts of steel;  
 Yet height of bliss, as well as woe,  
 They must alternate feel.

This the partition made by fate :  
 Oh ! take them both together ;  
 And know that, in this checquer'd state,  
 The one is worth the other.

Give me, whatever I possess,  
 To know and feel it all,  
 When youth and love no more can bless,  
 Let death obey my call.

Or turn my senses then to stone :  
 Let cold Indiff'rence live ;  
 But bring her not till youth is flown,  
 And all that love can give.

Too soon, alas ! that torpid state  
 Benumbing age will bring :  
 I would not rashly tempt my fate,  
 To blast the present spring.

A HOT DAY. *Written in a hot Night.*

**W**HAT a plague's a summer breakfast,  
 Eat whate'er you will !  
 Bread and butter's a nasty thing ;  
 Toast is nastier still.

Then how to pass the time away  
 Till dinner—there's the doubt ;  
 You're hot if you stay in the house,  
 You're hot if you go out.

When dinner comes, Lord help us all !  
 Such frying, such a stew ;  
 You're hot if you don't touch a bit,  
 You're hotter if you do.

Then after dinner what to do ;  
 No knowing where to move :  
 The gentlemen are hot below,  
 The ladies hot above.

And now the kettle comes again ;  
 That's not the way to cool one :  
 Tea makes an empty stomach hot,  
 And hotter still a full one.

But

But then an ev'ning walk's the thing—  
 Not if you 're hot before—  
 The man who sweats when he sits still,  
 Will, when he moves, sweat more.

Well, now the supper's come—and come  
 To make bad worse, I wot;  
 For supper, while it heats the cool,  
 Will never cool the hot.

And bed, which cheers the cold man's heart,  
 Helps not the hot a pin;  
 For he who sweats when out of bed,  
 Sweats ten times more when in.

**MAD POLL;** *from Bloomfield's Farmer's Boy.*

**T**HE pride of such a party, nature's pride,  
 Was lovely Poll; who innocently try'd,  
 With hat of airy shape and ribbons gay,  
 Love to inspire, and stand in Hymen's way:  
 But, 'ere her twentieth summer could expand,  
 Or youth was render'd happy with her hand,  
 Her mind's serenity was lost and gone,  
 Her eye grew languid, and she wept alone;  
 Yet causeless seem'd her grief; for quick restrain'd,  
 Mirth follow'd loud, or indignation reign'd:  
 Whims wild and simple led her from her home,  
 The heath, the common, or the fields to roam:  
 Terror and joy alternate rul'd her hours;  
 Now blithe she sung, and gather'd useless flow'rs;  
 Now pluck'd a tender twig from every bough,  
 To whip the how'ring demons from her brow.  
 Ill-fated maid! thy guiding spark is fled,  
 And lasting wretchedness waits round thy bed—  
 Thy bed of straw! for mark, where even now  
 O'er their lost child afflicted parents bow;  
 Their woe she knows not, but perversely coy,  
 Inverted customs yield her sullen joy;  
 Her midnight meals in secrecy she takes,  
 Low mutt'ring to the moon, that rising breaks  
 Through night's dark gloom:—oh how much more forlorn  
 Her night, that knows of no returning dawn!—  
 Slow from the threshold, once her infant seat,  
 O'er the cold earth she crawls to her retreat;

Quitting

Quitting the cot's warm walls in filth, to lie,  
 Where the swine grunting yields up half his sty;  
 The damp night air her shiv'ring limbs assails;  
 In dreams she moans, and fancied wrongs bewails.  
 When morning wakes, none earlier rous'd than she,  
 When pendent drops fall glitt'ring from the tree;  
 But nought her rayless melancholy cheers,  
 Or soothes her breast, or stops her streaming tears.  
 Her matted locks unornamented flow;  
 Clasping her knees, and waving to and fro;—  
 Her head bow'd down, her faded cheek to hide;—  
 A piteous mourner by the pathway side.  
 Some tufted molehill through the livelong day  
 She calls her throne; there weeps her life away:  
 And oft the gaily passing stranger stays  
 His well-tim'd step, and takes a silent gaze,  
 Till sympathetic drops unbidden start,  
 And pangs quick springing muster round his heart;  
 And soft he treads with other gazers round,  
 And fain would catch her sorrow's plaintive sound:  
 One word alone is all that strikes the ear,  
 One short, pathetic, simple word,—“Oh dear!”  
 A thousand times repeated to the wind,  
 That wafts the sigh, but leaves the pang behind!  
 For ever of the proffer'd parley shy,  
 She hears th' unwelcome foot advancing nigh;  
 Nor quite unconscious of her wretched plight,  
 Gives one sad look, and hurries out of sight—

Fair promis'd sunbeams of terrestrial bliss,  
 Health's gallant hopes,—and are ye sunk to this?  
 For in Life's road though thorns abundant grow,  
 There still are joys poor Poll can never know;  
 Joys which the gay companions of her prime  
 Sip, as they drift along the stream of time;  
 At eve to hear beside their tranquil home  
 The lifted latch, that speaks the lover come:  
 That love matur'd, next playful on the knee  
 To press the velvet lip of infancy;  
 To stay the tottering step, the features trace;—  
 Inestimable sweets of social peace!



CONTRAST *between the POST-HORSE and FARMER'S HORSE.*  
*From the same.*

**S**HORT-fighted Dobbin!—thou canst only see  
 The trivial hardships that encompass thee:  
 Thy chains were freedom, and thy toils repose,  
 Could the poor post-horse tell thee all his woes;  
 Shew thee his bleeding shoulders, and unfold  
 The dreadful anguish he endures for gold:  
 Hir'd at each call of business, lust, or rage,  
 That prompt the trav'ler on from stage to stage.  
 Still on his strength depends their boasted speed;  
 For them his limbs grow weak, his bare ribs bleed;  
 And though he groaning quickens at command,  
 Their extra shilling in the rider's hand  
 Becomes his bitter scourge:—'tis he must feel  
 The double efforts of the lash and steel:  
 Till when, up hill, the destin'd inn he gains,  
 And trembling under complicated pains,  
 Prone from his nostrils, darting on the ground,  
 His breath emitted floats in clouds around:  
 Drops chase each other down his chest and sides,  
 And spatter'd mud his native colour hides:  
 Through his swollen veins the boiling torrent flows,  
 And every nerve a separate torture knows.  
 His harness loos'd, he welcomes eager-eyed  
 The pail's full draught that quivers by his side;  
 And joys to see the well-known stable door,  
 As the starv'd mariner the friendly shore.

Ah, well for him if here his sufferings ceas'd,  
 And ample hours of rest his pains appeas'd!  
 But rous'd again, and sternly bade to rise,  
 And shake refreshing slumber from his eyes,  
 Ere his exhausted spirits can return,  
 Or through his frame reviving ardour burn,  
 Come forth he must, though limping, maim'd, and sore;  
 He hears the whip; the chaise is at the door:—  
 The collar tightens, and again he feels  
 His half-heal'd wounds inflam'd; again the wheels  
 With tiresome sameness in his ears resound,  
 O'er blinding dust, or miles of flinty ground.  
 Thus nightly robb'd, and injur'd day by day,  
 His piece-meal murderers wear his life away.

What

What say'st thou, Dobbin? what though hounds await  
 With open jaws the moment of thy fate,  
 No better fate attends his public race;  
 His life is misery, and his end disgrace.  
 Then freely bear thy burden to the mill,  
 Obey but one short law,—thy driver's will.  
 Affection, to thy memory ever true,  
 Shall boast of mighty loads that Dobbin drew;  
 And back to childhood shall the mind with pride  
 Recount thy gentleness in many a ride  
 To pond, or field, or village fair, when thou  
 Held'st high thy braided mane and comely brow;  
 And oft the tale shall rise to homely fame  
 Upon thy gen'rous spirit and thy name.

SUFFOLK CHEESE; *from the same.*

UNRIVALL'D stands thy country cheese, O Giles!  
 Whose very name alone engenders smiles;  
 Whose fame abroad by every tongue is spoke,  
 The well-known butt of many a flinty joke,  
 That pals like current coin the nation through;  
 And, ah! experience proves the satire true.  
 Provision's grave; thou ever craving mart,  
 Dependent, huge metropolis! where art  
 Her poring thousands stows in breathless rooms,  
 Midst pois'nous smokes and steams, and rattling looms;  
 Where grandeur revels in unbounded stores;  
 Restraint, a slighted stranger at their doors!  
 Thou, like a whirlpool, drain'st the countries round,  
 Till London market, London price, resound  
 Through every town, round every passing load,  
 And dairy produce throngs the eastern road:  
 Delicious veal, and butter, every hour,  
 From Essex lowlands, and the banks of Stour;  
 And farther far, where numerous herds repose,  
 From Orwell's brink, from Weveny, or Ouse.  
 Hence Suffolk dairy-wives run mad for cream,  
 And leave their milk with nothing but its name;  
 Its name derision and reproach pursue,  
 And strangers tell of "three times skimm'd sky-blue."  
 To cheese converted, what can be its boast?  
 What, but the common virtues of a post!  
 If drought o'ertake it faster than the knife,  
 Most fair it bids for stubborn length of life,

And,

And, like the oaken shelf whereon 'tis laid,  
 Mocks the weak efforts of the bending blade;  
 Or in the hog-trough rests in perfect spite,  
 Too big to swallow, and too hard to bite.  
 Inglorious victory! Ye Cheshire meads,  
 Or Severn's flow'ry dales, where plenty treads,  
 Was your rich milk to suffer wrongs like these,  
 Farewell your pride! farewell renown'd cheese!  
 The skimmer dread, whose ravages alone  
 Thus turn the mead's sweet nectar into stone.

*The RHYMING APOTHECARY; a Tale. By George Colman, Esq.*

A Man, in many a country town we know,  
 Professing openly with death to wrestle;  
 Ent'ring the field against the grimly foe,  
 Arm'd with a mortar and a pestle.

Yet, some affirm, no enemies they are;  
 But meet, just like prize-fighters, in a fair:  
 Who first shake hands before they box,  
 Then give each other plaguy knocks,  
 With all the love and kindness of a brother:  
 So (many a suffering patient saith)  
 Though the apothecary fights with death,  
 Still they're sworn friends to one another.

A member of this Æsculapian line,  
 Lived at Newcastle-upon-Tyne:  
 No man could better gild a pill;  
     Or make a bill;  
 Or mix a draught, or bleed, or blister;  
 Or draw a tooth out of your head;  
 Or chatter scandal by your bed;  
     Or give a glister.

Of occupations these were *quantum suff*:  
 Yet still he thought the list not long enough;  
 And therefore midwifery he chose to pin to't.  
 This balanc'd things:—for if he hurl'd  
 A few score mortals from the world,  
 He made amends by bringing others into't.

His fame full six miles round the country ran;  
 In short, in reputation he was solus:  
 All the old women call'd him "a fine man!"  
 His name was Bolus.

Benjamin Bolus, though in trade,  
 (Which oftentimes will genius fetter)  
 Read works of fancy it is said;  
 And cultivated the *Belles Lettres*.

And why should this be thought so odd?  
 Can't men have taste who cure a phthysick?  
 Of poetry though patron God,  
 Apollo patronizes physic.

Bolus loved verse;—and took so much delight in't,  
 That his prescriptions he resolved to write in't.  
 No opportunity he e'er let pass  
 Of writing the directions on his labels,  
 In dapper couplets like Gay's fables;  
 Or, rather, like the lines in Hudibras.

Apothecaries rhyme! and where's the treason?  
 'Tis simply honest dealing—not a fault.  
 When patients swallow physic without reason,  
 Is it not fair to give a little salt?

He had a patient lying at death's door,  
 Some three miles from the town—it might be four;  
 To whom, one evening, Bolus sent an article,  
 In Pharmacy, that's called cathartical.  
 And, on the label of the stuff,  
     He wrote this verse;  
 Which one would think was clear enough,  
     And terse:—  
     “ When taken,”  
     “ To be well shaken.”

Next morning, early, Bolus rose;  
 And to the patient's house he goes;—  
     Upon his pad,  
 Who a vile trick of stumbling had:  
 It was indeed a very sorry hack;—  
     But that's of course:  
 For what's expected from a horse,  
 With an apothecary on his back?  
 Bolus arrived; and gave a doubtful tap;—  
 Between a single and a double rap.—

Knocks of this kinds  
Are given by gentlemen who teach to dance;  
By fiddlers, and by opera-fingers:  
One loud, and then a little one behind;  
As if the knocker fell, by chance,  
Out of their fingers.

The servant lets him in, with dismal face;  
Long as a courtier's out of place—  
Portending some disaster;  
John's countenance as rueful look'd, and grim,  
As if th' apothecary had physic'd him,  
And not his master.

" Well, how's the patient !" Bolus said.

John shook his head.

" Indeed !—hum !—ha ! that's very odd !"

" He took the draught ?"—John gave a nod.

" Well,—how—what then ?—speak out, you dunce !"

" Why then"—says John—" we *shook* him once."

" Shook him !—how ?"—Bolus stammer'd out:—

" We jolted him about."

" Zounds ! shake a patient, man !—a shake won't do."

" No, fir—and so we gave him two."

" Two shakes ! odds curse !

" 'Twould make the patient worse."

" It did so, fir !—and so a third we tried."

" Well, and what then ?"—" then fir, my master died !"

## Account of Books for the Year 1800.

*An Account of an Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava, sent by the Governor-General of India, in the Year 1795. By Michael Symes, Esq. Major in his Majesty's 76th Regiment. 4to. 1800.*

**A**T the northern extremity of the vast peninsula, which separates the Gulph of Bengal from the Chinese Sea, the Birman nation occupies a fertile region, denominated by European geographers, from the name of its former capital, the kingdom of Ava. On the west, a range of lofty mountains inclose the maritime country of Aracan; the flat lands of Pegu; on the south, define the ancient boundaries, without limiting the present power, of the Birman empire: the distant dependencies of Siam, and the woody confines of China, mark its eastern extremity; while the northern mountains shelter a hardy race, who continue to assert the independence of their hills, under various native princes. After having laved the Chinese province of Yuman, the Iravati enters the Birman country, where it receives the Keenduem, and rolls a rapid stream through the whole extent of Ava and Pegu, where, by a number of mouths it discharges its waters in the bay of Bengal. These countries have hitherto been impervious to the pene-

trating eye of philosophic research; and though in the immediate vicinity of the British dominions, in India, no intercourse was established between the governments. Rumour spoke of battles, of revolutions, and of conquests; and their reality was attested by multitudes of fugitives, who sought refuge in the frontier provinces of Bengal from the sword of the conqueror: but the scenes and the actors were unknown, and the events excited little interest in our European settlements. Such was the situation of affairs, when, without any previous intimation, in the year 1794, an army of Birmans entered Chittagong in a hostile manner, and encamped on the company's territories.

Several centuries have witnessed the conflicts of the Birman and Peguvian nations; and fortune has frequently changed sides in the contest. In 1744, a century of actual, if not undisputed supremacy, seemed to confirm to the former a lasting superiority: but in that year the king of Pegu, throwing off the yoke, expelled the Birmans from his dominions: the warfare which ensued added to their misfortunes; and in 1752 a period was put to a long line of Birman monarchs, by the conquest of the whole territory, and the death of the sovereign.

The



The intrepid valor and military talents of Alompra, a Birman of low extraction, now rescued his countrymen from a foreign yoke; though he aspired not to the praise of seating the posterity of his deceased sovereign on a throne which he might bequeath to his own. In 1753 the Peguvians were expelled from Ava; and, in the course of a brilliant reign, of seven years duration, Alompra reduced the whole of the Peguvian territory to his subjection, and carried his arms to the gates of the capital of Siam, when death put a period to his exploits in 1760. Mindaragee Prau, who now fills the throne, is the son of that conqueror. In 1783 he subdued the neighbouring maritime country of Aracan, and has retained the conquests of his father, consisting of Pegu, and the coast of Siam, as far south as the port of Mergui; indisputably pre-eminent among the nations inhabiting the peninsula; possessed of a territory equal in extent to the German empire, blessed with a salubrious climate, and a soil capable of producing almost every article of luxury, convenience, and commerce, that the East can supply.

The irruption of an armed force into the territories of the English East-India company was for the apprehension of persons guilty of piratical practices on the coasts of Aracan. The offenders were delivered up to public justice by the Bengal government, after their guilt was established by trial; but the previous departure of the invaders was required as a preliminary. This period seemed, to the governor-general, favorable for the establishment of an intercourse between the states, and the adjustment of commercial arrangements; and in his

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comprehensive mind, we may suppose, the interests of science were not entirely overlooked. An embassy to the court of Ava was projected, and major Symes was selected as the ambassador. Such of our readers as accompanied us with sir George Staunton to the court of the Chinese monarch, will not be very unwilling to visit the hitherto unexplored seat of the Birman empire.

Major Symes embarked at Calcutta, on the twenty-first of February, 1796, on board the *Sea Horse*, captain Thomas, accompanied by Mr. Wood, assistant and secretary; Dr. Buchanan, surgeon to the mission; a military guard, and suite; the whole party consisting of 70 persons.

In the middle of March; the deputation reached Rangun, the principal sea-port in the Birman dominions; where, after considerable delay, arising from the jealous caution of the municipal officers, it was determined that the ambassador should wait on the viceroy of the province, who resides at Pegu, until orders should arrive from the capital, relative to the mode of conduct to be observed towards the embassy. The distance by water is about ninety miles; and the interjacent country seemed to have been nearly depopulated by the long series of wars which it had sustained. Pegu, the ancient capital of a state formerly independent, was razed to the foundation when captured by Alompra, who spared only the religious edifices. The reception which the English ambassador experienced from the viceroy was conformable to that reserved politeness, which uniformly characterized the behaviour of the Birman officers. On his arrival, the conclusion of the

H h

year

year was celebrated by a variety of sportive amusements; boxing, wrestling, and fire works, were of the number; at all of which he was invited to attend. A drama was also performed; the subject was borrowed from an epic poem in Sanscrit, celebrating the loves and the misfortunes of Rama and Sita; and the actors acquitted themselves in no despicable manner. A temple of great antiquity, and singular architecture, dedicated to Sumadu, (the golden Madu,) which our author conceives to be a corruption of Mahadeva, still exhibits its fading grandeur to its diminished votaries. After a residence of three weeks in this city, major Symes returned to Rangun.

The foundation of Rangun was laid by Alompra, a few years before his death, near the site of a celebrated temple dedicated to Suda-gon, (the golden Dagon,) and on that (as far as it could be traced by tradition,) of an ancient city called in the Pali, or sacred language, Singunterra. The liberal policy of the Birman government, in the encouragement of commerce, and in the toleration of every religious sect, has produced its natural effect in the rapid population and flourishing circumstances of this new city. There are five thousand registered taxable houses in the town and suburbs; and if each house be supposed to contain six people, the estimate will amount to thirty thousand. In the same street may be heard the solemn voice of the muezzin, calling pious Moslems to early prayers, and the bell of the Portuguese chapel tinkling a summons to Romish Christians. The Birman never troubles themselves about the religious opinions of any sect, nor disturb their

ritual ceremonies, provided they do not break the peace, nor interfere with their own divinity, Gantama.

After some time spent at Rangun, while the fate of the embassy was still in suspense, a letter came from the viceroy of Pegu, with the intelligence that an imperial mandate had arrived, directing that preparations should be made for conveying the English ambassador and his suite, by water, to the capital; and that the viceroy himself should accompany them. They left Rangun on the thirtieth of May, and two days afterward they entered the Iravati, on which the whole subsequent navigation was performed. The rapid current of the stream rendered the journey tedious, and extremely laborious to the people of the boats. The banks of the river presented great variety of scenery; sometimes an unproductive waste of desolate country; sometimes large cities, with their gilded temples and grotesque architecture, extended along the sides; sometimes commodious villages, seated on the shore, combined the labours of the husbandman with the more lucrative occupations of commerce; and frequently the banks were shaded by groves of pipal and mango trees, while the distant mountains of Aracan appeared covered with forests of lofty teak. At Yainangheum (or Petroleum Creek) a piece of stone was brought to the author, which he was assured had been petrified wood. He says, 'I picked up several lumps of the same, in which the grain of the wood was plainly discerned; it was hard, siliceous, and seemed composed of different lamina. The Birman told it was the nature of the soil that caused this transmutation; and added, that the petrifying

petrifying quality of the earth at this place was such, that leaves of trees, shaken off by the wind, were not unfrequently changed into stone, before they could decay by time.' The face of the neighbouring country was sterile, and the trees were stunted in their growth. The pits which supply the whole empire with oil are some miles inland; the ground which yields it is farmed by government. The pit which the author inspected was thirty-seven fathoms deep, but the depth of Petroleum could not be ascertained.

At Tirupmeu (Chinese Town,) the Keenduem joins the Iravati, after having divided the country of Cassay from that of Ava; it is reported to have its source in a lake three months journey to the northward, and is navigable as far as the Birman territories extend. 'As our distance from Amrapura diminished, towns and villages recurred at such short intervals, that it was in vain to inquire the name of each distinct assemblage of houses; each, however, had its name, and was for the most part inhabited by one particular class of people, professing some separate trade, or following some peculiar occupation.' The seat of government, and with it the inhabitants of Aungwa or Ava, have been removed thence to Amrapura, by the caprice, superstition, or policy of the reigning monarch. Ava is totally deserted, and the walls are mouldering to decay. The new capital is seated some miles higher up the river, on the banks of a lake which communicates with the Iravati. On entering the lake, the number of boats that were moored as in a harbour, to avoid the influence of the sweeping flood, the singularity of their construction, the

height of the waters, which threaten inundation to the whole city, and the amphitheatre of lofty hills that nearly surrounded us, altogether presented a novel scene, exceedingly interesting to a stranger. The absence of the king from his capital gave time to major Symes to prosecute his inquiries into the manners, laws, and opinions of his new acquaintances, after he had taken possession of the habitation allotted for the embassy; which was furnished in every respect conformably to the Birman notions of convenience and comfort, and situated near a mansion occupied by ambassadors from the provincial government of Yunnan, in China.

The laws of the Birmans, it is here said, like their religion, are Hindu. This matter is involved in much perplexity; for major Symes informs us, that the laws of Menu furnish the basis of their national jurisprudence; yet the Birmans are not separated into casts, though this be the fundamental principle of the Indian institutions; abstract it, and the whole fabric vanishes into air. Again, the Birmans require celibacy in the priesthood; and this unnatural injunction removes their system still farther from any similarity with that of the Brahmans, with whom celibacy is a crime, and want of children an irreparable misfortune, in both worlds.

The tythe of all produce, and of foreign goods imported, constitutes the revenue of the state, and is mostly levied in kind; the salaries of the officers, and allowances to the royal family, are paid by assignments of land; and the coffers of his Birman majesty are supposed to be extremely well supplied. The Birmans may be denominated a na-

tion of soldiers, but the regular military establishment only consists of the royal guard, and such as are necessary to preserve the police.— When an army is to be raised, the provincial courts determine the number which each place must furnish, with a reference to the relative population. The most respectable part of their military force is their establishment of war boats. The appearance and vigour of the natives bore testimony to the salubrity of the climate; the seasons are regular; and the extremes of heat and cold are seldom experienced.

The soil of the southern provinces of the Birman empire is remarkably fertile, and produces as luxuriant crops of rice as are to be found in the finest parts of Bengal. Farther northward, the country becomes irregular and mountainous; but the plains and vallies, particularly near the river, are exceedingly fruitful; they yield good wheat, and the various kinds of small grain which grow in Hindustan; as likewise legumes, and most of the esculent vegetables of India. Sugar-canes, tobacco of a superior quality, indigo, cotton, and the different tropical fruits, in perfection, are all indigenous products of this favoured land.

The kingdom of Ava abounds in minerals; six days journey from Bamu, near the frontiers of China, there are mines of gold and silver; there are also mines of gold, silver, rubies and sapphires at present open on a mountain near the Keenduem; but the most valuable and those which produce the finest jewels are in the vicinity of the capital. Precious stones are found in several other parts of the empire. The in-

ferior minerals, such as contain iron, tin, lead, antimony, arsenic, sulphur, &c. are met with in great abundance; amber, of a consistence unusually pure and pellucid, is dug up in large quantities near the river. Diamonds and emeralds are not produced in any part of the Ava empire; but it affords amethysts, garnets, very beautiful chrysolites, jasper, loadstone, and marble.

The marble is equal to the finest which Italy produces, but it is appropriated solely to compose the images of Buddha. The Birmans, like the Chinese, have no coin; silver in bullion, and lead, are the current monies of the country. In the following passage, the author contrasts the national character of this people with that of their western neighbours:

Notwithstanding the small extent of the barrier which divides them, the physical difference could scarcely be greater, had they been situated at the opposite extremities of the globe. The Birmans are a lively, inquisitive race, active, irascible, and impatient; the character of their Bengal neighbours is too well known, as the reverse, to need any delineation; the unworthy passion of jealousy, which prompts most nations of the east to immure their women within the walls of a haram, and surround them with guards, seems to have scarcely any influence over the minds of this extraordinary and more liberal people. Birman wives and daughters are not concealed from the sight of men, and are suffered to have as free intercourse with each other as the rules of European society admit; but in other respects women have just reason to complain of their treatment among the

the Birmans; they are considered as not belonging to the same scale of the creation as men; the evidence of a woman is not considered as of equal weight, nor is she allowed to ascend the steps of a court of justice.'

The difference is indeed remarkable between the nations, in their treatment of the sex; for the Birman women are employed in the most laborious offices, without any idea of seclusion. The author saw a woman of rank at Rangun, wife of the governor of Dalla, who superintended the building of a ship, and spent most part of her time with the artificers, to keep them to their duty.

The Birmans in some points of their disposition, display the ferocity of barbarians, and in others, all the humanity and tenderness of polished life: they inflict the most savage vengeance on their enemies; as invaders, desolation marks their track, for they spare neither sex nor age; but at home they assume a different character; there they manifest benevolence, by extending aid to the infirm, the aged, and the sick; filial piety is inculcated as a sacred precept, and its duties are religiously observed. A common beggar is no where to be seen: every individual is certain of receiving sustenance, which, if he cannot procure by his own labor, is provided for him by others.'

The Birman month is divided into four weeks of seven days each. The names by which the days are distinguished are in all probability those of the planets, following the same arrangement as prevails in Europe: as we infer from observing the Sanscrit names of the planets, Mercury, Venus, and Saturn, for

Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday. The other names are either peculiar to the Birmans, or have been imperfectly caught by major Symes; since the Siamese have the same names for the planets, and for the days of the week, with those used by the Brahmans.

The Birmans are extremely fond both of poetry and music: they have epic as well as religious poems of high celebrity. Some of their professional musicians display considerable skill and execution, and the softer airs are pleasing even to an ear unaccustomed to such melody.'

Major Symes informs us that the Pali, the sacred language of the priests of Buddha, is thought to be nearly allied to the Sanscrit of the Brahmans; and that there is certainly much of that holy idiom engrafted on the vulgar language of Ava, by the introduction of the Hindu religion. The priests have a character peculiar to their sacred language, and another character is used in writing the Birman tongue. The author has exhibited a specimen of both, and has given the Birman alphabet with the corresponding characters in Devanagari; and the sounds which they express in Roman letters. Unhappily, they have been transposed by some inadvertance, for the two latter do not always correspond; of the first, we are unqualified to judge: but the vowels of both are omitted.

The Birman empire appears to include the space between the 9th and 26th degrees of north latitude, and between the 92d and 107th degree of longitude east of Greenwich; about 1050 geographical miles in length, and 600 in breadth. It is likely that it may extend still

farther north, and the breadth is in many places very inconsiderable.— The embassy will probably produce some very important corrections in the geography of that part of Asia, particularly in the origin and course of the rivers which water the eastern peninsula: but we forbear to state them, because they appear still to require future elucidation.

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*An Account of an Embassy to the Court of Teeshoo Lama, in Tibet; containing a Narrative of a Journey through Bootan, and Part of Tibet; by Captain Samuel Turner. To which are added Views taken on the Spot, by Lieutenant Samuel Davis; and Observations Botanical, Mineralogical, and Medical, by Mr. Robert Saunders, 4to. 1800.*

THE present work, is an instance of the assiduity of Mr. Hastings, whilst governor-general of India, in enlarging the commercial interest of the company by every possible means. No attempts to establish an intercourse with Bootan and Tibet had been made, previous to that of Mr. Boyle, who had been appointed by Mr. Hastings, and whose success, both from the general character of the man, as well as from the partiality of Teeshoo Lama, would in all probability have been complete, had not the death of both, nearly at the same time, conspired to throw very serious difficulties in the way. As soon, however, as the re-animation of the Lama was notified to the governor, he prepared a second embassy; for which purpose captain Turner, the author of the present volume, was nominated, and accordingly took his departure in the

beginning of the year 1788. An account of the customs, manners, laws, religious ceremonies, and establishments, independent of the dangers and difficulties arising from travelling in a country so little known, must naturally furnish ample materials for instruction as well as entertainment. Every nation has its peculiarities, and much may be gleaned from the most remote and unpolished as well as from the more refined and enlightened. It had been the policy of the Bootans and Tibetians (as it naturally is of all weak and cowardly kingdoms), to prevent any intercourse with other states, as their only means of defence. Great caution was therefore requisite on the part of captain Turner to avoid exciting their jealousy, by shewing any eager desire to examine into the internal state of their government, which might have awakened either the fears or suspicions of the people, and rendered the whole plan abortive; and indeed he seems to have conducted himself with great prudence and discretion, and to have fully justified the trust that was reposed in him; and there appears no doubt, from the perusal of the narrative, that a regular barter and intercourse would have been established between the two countries, but from circumstances which occurred, after his return, entirely unforeseen, and with which he was by no means concerned. After having given this preliminary account, we shall offer such extracts as appears to us instructive or amusing, and which may be most expressive of the character of the people and customs of the country.

The three first chapters contain little or nothing worthy of mention;



sion; the different stages, and some other trivial matters. In the fourth, we are conducted to Tussisudon, the capital of Bootan, and meet with the following account of the reception of Mr. Turner and suite by the Daeb Raja. 'We were first conducted to a large apartment on the west side of the great square of the palace, where the three principal officers had assembled to receive us. Here we rested until one of them, who went to announce our arrival, returned to usher us into the presence of the daeb. We followed him, the other officers accompanying us, through several passages, and up a number of lofty ladders, which connected the different floors, till at length we arrived at the elevated station occupied by the raja, near the summit of the citadel. After a short pause upon the landing-place, the door was thrown open, and we were ushered into a small, but well-proportioned room, having on the west side an arched balcony with sliding curtains, being the only aperture for the admission of light, immediately opposite to the door by which we entered, and before which a screen projected nearly one-third of the breadth of the room.—The remaining space on the wall, beyond the screen, was decorated with the portraits, wrought in silk, of some champions of their faith, as stiff and formal as any heroes that ever appeared in tapestry. The walls of the room were coloured with blue, and the arches of the balcony, pillars, doors, &c. were painted with vermillion, and ornamented with gilding. The raja was habited in a deep garnet-coloured cloth, and sat cross-legged upon a pile of cushions, in the remotest corner of the room, with the

balcony upon his right hand. Upon his left side stood a cabinet of diminutive idols, and a variety of consecrated trinkets. Close upon his right was placed an *escrutoire*, for the deposit of papers required to be at hand; and before him was a small painted bench, to place his tea-cup on, and answering all the other purposes of a table. We each advanced, presenting, one after another, a white silk scarf, or long narrow piece of *pelong*, fringed at both ends (as is the custom in those countries), to the raja, who, keeping his seat all the time, took them in his hand, and passed them to his *zempi*. I delivered also into his hand the governor-general's dispatches, which he received with a smile upon his countenance, looking upon them, and nodding with a slow motion of the head several times, before he laid them upon the bench before him. On the other side of the room were placed, immediately opposite to the raja, three separate piles of cushions; the raja, extending his arm, pointed to them, and at the same time, with his hand, directed us to be seated.'

After a short conversation, tea, which is in general use, was introduced, which the *zempi*, or cup-bearer, as amongst the Medes and Persians, first tasted, to prevent any suspicion of poison, and then poured out to the raja.

From this description of the court and officers, it cannot be expected that there should be much grandeur or magnificence among the subjects. The country is mountainous, bold, romantic, ornamented by streams, abounding with fish, and lakes frequented by wild fowl; the soil in general, and particularly in the valley of Tussisudon, is fruitful, and adapted

to the cultivation of most of our English plants and vegetables; of agriculture, the inhabitants appear to have a tolerable conception, but are almost entirely ignorant of gardening.

We shall now follow our author to Tibet, with which the establishment of an exchange of commodities and friendly intercourse was the chief object of his embassy. The five or six first chapters contain little more than the preparation for paying and receiving numerous visits of form and ceremony, and a long, though not unentertaining account of the mausoleum of the late Teeshoo Lama, to whom Mr. Boyle had been deputed ambassador. The religious, both in Bootan as well as Tibet, are held in great veneration; and the severities of penance and mortification that they will undergo to obtain the reputation of sanctity in their profession may be conceived from the following extract:

A Gosein (says captain Turner), whose name is Pranpooree, exhibited so extraordinary an instance of religious penance, that I cannot resist the temptation of relating some particulars of his life. Having been adopted by an Hindoo devotee, and educated by him in the rigid tenets of his religion, he was yet young when he commenced the course of his extraordinary mortifications. The first vow, which the plan of life he had chosen to himself induced him to make, was to continue perpetually upon his legs, and neither to sit down upon the ground, nor lie down to rest, for the space of twelve years. All this time, he told me, he had employed in wandering through different countries. When I inquired

how he took the indispensable refreshment of sleep, when wearied with fatigue, he said, that at first, to prevent his falling, he used to be tied with ropes to some tree or post; but that this precaution, after some time, became unnecessary, and he was able to sleep standing without such support. The complete term of this first penance being expired, the next he undertook was to hold his hands locked in each other over his head, the fingers of one hand dividing those of the other, for the same space of twelve years. Whether this particular period is chosen in compliment to the twelve signs of the zodiac, or to the Indian cycle of twelve years, I cannot decide. He was still determined not to dwell in any fixed abode: so that before the term of this last vow could be accomplished, he had travelled over the greatest part of the continent of Asia. He first set out by crossing the peninsula of India, through Guzerat; he then passed by Surat to Bussora, and thence to Constantinople; from Turkey he went to Ispahan; and sojourned so long among the different Persian tribes, as to obtain a considerable knowledge of their language, in which he conversed with tolerable ease. In his passage from thence towards Russia, he fell in with the Kussacks (hordes of Cossacs), upon the borders of the Caspian sea, where he narrowly escaped being condemned to perpetual slavery; at length he was suffered to pass on, and reached Moscow; he then travelled along the northern boundary of the Russian empire, and through Siberia arrived at Pekin in China; from whence he came through Tibet, by the way of Teeshoo Loomboo, and Nipal down

down to Calcutta. When I first saw him at this place, in the year 1783, he rode upon a piebald Jan-gun horse from Bootan, and wore a satin embroidered dress given to him by Teeshoo Lama, of which he was not a little vain. He was robust and hale; and his complexion, contrasted with a long bushy black beard, appeared really florid. I do not suppose that he was then forty years of age. Two Goseins attended him, and assisted him in mounting and alighting from his horse. Indeed he was indebted to them for the assistance of their hands on every occasion; his own being fixed and immovable, in the position in which he had placed them, were of course perfectly useless.

The solemnization of their marriages is, as among the Indians in general, simple, and soon concluded: here polyandrisin prevails; and, (says Mr. T.) 'the influence of this custom on the manners of the people, as far as I could trace, has not been unfavourable. Humanity, and an unartificial gentleness of disposition, are the constant inheritance of a Tibetan. I never saw these qualities possessed by any people in a more eminent degree.— Without being servilely officious, they are always obliging: the higher ranks are unassuming; the inferior, respectful in their behaviour; nor are they at all deficient in attention to the female sex; but, as we find them moderate in all their passions, in this respect, also, their conduct is equally remote from rudeness and adulation. Comparatively with their southern neighbours, the women of Tibet enjoy an elevated station in society. To the privileges of unbounded liberty, the wife here adds the character of mistress of the fa-

mily, and companion of her husband. The company of all, indeed, she is not at all times entitled to expect. Different pursuits, either agricultural employments, or mercantile speculations, may occasionally cause the temporary absence of each; yet, whatever be the result, the profit of the labourer flows into the common store; and when he returns, whatever may have been his fortune, he is secure of a grateful welcome to a social home.'

Upon an attentive perusal of this narrative of the embassy, we find much that may be deemed instructive; but there is a minuteness in the descriptions which frequently renders the volume tedious; and a great part of it has more the appearance of a common diary made for the private eye of the writer and his friends, rather than for that of the public. The best written part of the book is the report delivered to Mr. Hastings: and the reader will find, under the title of "some Account of the vegetable and mineral Productions of Bootan and Tibet, by Mr. Saunders," ample information compressed into a small compass. The letter, likewise, to Mr. Macpherson is well worthy of perusal; as is likewise the general survey of the situation of affairs in Tibet from 1785 to 1793; and the appendix may be deemed the most curious part of the work.

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*Ayzen Akbery; or, The Institutes of the Emperor Akber. Translated from the original Persian; by Francis Gladwin. 2 Vol. 4to. 1800.*

**T**HIS very curious and truly important work, made its first appearance

appearance at Calcutta, the seat of the British government in the East Indies, having been translated from the elegant original in the Persian language, and published there, by Mr. Gladwin, under the patronage of the honourable Warren Hastings, esq. at that period governor general, &c. &c.; and it affords an additional proof of that gentleman's constant attention to every proposal for the advancement of science, and particularly for improving and extending the knowledge of oriental literature, by British subjects, as an acquisition in many respects of the first utility to all the East-India company's servants, whether in civil or military employments, or engaged in the management of their commercial connexions with the Indian princes and their subjects, in the different provinces of Bengal, &c.

The following extract from a minute of the governor and general in council, dated June 2, 1783, recommending the translation to the sanction of the board of trade, at Calcutta, will demonstrate, that the executive government in India considered it in the same point of view as we have just stated to our readers.

Though every branch of Indian literature will prove a valuable acquisition to the stock of European knowledge, this work will be found peculiarly so; as it comprehends the original constitution of the Mogul empire, described under the immediate inspection of its founder, and will serve to assist the judgement of the court of directors on many points of importance to the first interests of the company. It will shew where the measures of their administration approach to the first princi-

ples, which, perhaps, will be found superior to any that have been built on their ruins, and certainly most easy, as the most familiar to the minds of the people; and when any deviation from them may be likely to counteract or to assimilate with them.' The board of trade assented to this judicious recommendation, notified their approbation in a letter from their secretary to Mr. Gladwin, and likewise sent circular letters to the commercial chiefs and residents in these terms:

'Mr. Francis Gladwin having sent to the president and members of the board of trade, the accompanying proposals for publishing an English translation of the *Ayem Akbery*, the sense we entertain of the general utility of the work to every one employed in the company's service, induces us to recommend them to your support, and to request you will afford them your recommendation to the gentlemen of your station.'

The foundation being thus laid at Calcutta, and an indemnity secured for the expenses of the superstructure, by the private generosity of the governor-general, Mr. Gladwin proceeded in his arduous undertaking, and whilst it was at press, was farther encouraged by a respectable and numerous list of subscribers, whose names will be found annexed to the second volume, in alphabetical order: and we are informed, that the price of each copy at Calcutta was, and now is; 12*l.* 12*s.*; so that the purchasers of the present London edition must consider it as one of the cheapest publications extant; another edition, in two volumes, octavo, accompanies the quarto, which the proprietors of both have published for the convenience

nience of such young gentlemen as may be sent out to India in the company's service, at the moderate price of one guinea.

Having thus briefly noticed the motives inducing the general support of the work throughout the provinces of India, subjected to, or connected with the British government in that country, we shall now, with the greater satisfaction, develop the plan, and demonstrate its utility to men of letters, and, in general, to the higher orders of society in Great Britain.

The emperor Ilaleddeen Mahomed Akber, to whose regulations for the government of Hindostan, and patronage of Abulfazel his vizier, and the original author, the world is indebted for this great work, was the sixth in descent from Timur, known in Europe by the name of Tamerlane. He was born at Amerkote, A. D. 1542; was proclaimed emperor, or grand mogul, in 1556, and died at Agra in 1605, in the fiftieth year of his reign; but, as he was only in the fourteenth year of his age when he descended the throne, we will allow seven years for his attaining to the European age of majority, and considering him then as arrived at that maturity of mind, which is discernible at a very early age in men of uncommon talents, we shall find that this young Indian emperor was the contemporary of our renowned queen Elizabeth, throughout her long and glorious reign. Our reason for desiring the reader to bear in mind this historical memoir, is, that we imagine every man of science and of sound judgement, conversant in the transactions of great nations and vast empires, will

be struck with astonishment on finding, in the Institutes of the emperor Akber, a system of sound morality, of excellent polity, and of domestic economy; of political arithmetic; of finance; of military discipline and regulations; which equal, if they do not surpass, in many respects, similar institutes, at the same æra, of the principal European powers, who considered this large Mogul in no better light than as an ignorant Pagan prince, himself uncivilized, and his subjects lawless barbarians. Such is the pride and arrogance of short-sighted mortals in the highest stations of human life, that they confine political wisdom within the narrow limits of their own sphere, and too often condemn, or overlook, where they ought to imitate, and might improve.

From the translator's preface we select the following material information:—It is needless for me here to enter into a detail of the excellencies of Akber's government, as his political talents and unremitting attention to the happiness of his subjects will best appear from the regulations he established in every department of his empire. His history was written with great elegance and precision by his vizier Abulfazel, down to the forty-seventh year of his reign; at which period, this great man was murdered by some banditti, on his return from the Decan, whither he had been deputed by the emperor upon some weighty business. This history is composed of three volumes. The first consists of a summary account of the emperor's ancestors. The second comprises the occurrences of his own reign; and the third is the emperor's Institutes; which the author

thor considered as a kind of supplement to his history, although in itself it is a complete work.

These Institutes we are now to investigate; and we shall begin, with exhibiting a specimen of Abulfazel's religion, which we may suppose was in unison with that of his master. From the author's preface, page xvi.

"In the name of the most merciful God!

"O Lord! all thy mysteries are impenetrable!

"Unknown are thy beginning and thy end!

"In thee both beginning and end are lost!

"The name of both is lost in the mansions of thy eternity!

"It is sufficient that I offer up my thanksgiving, and meditate in astonishment!

"My ecstasy is sufficient knowledge of thee!"

This invocation of the Deity is succeeded by a moral sentiment of equal merit, though not couched in such sublime language.

"He is the most commendable (man) who strives to perform meritorious actions, rather than how to utter fine speeches; and who, by delineating a few of the wondrous works of the Creator of the World, acquires immortal felicity (or, probably, in the original) fame."

The first volume of this sublime work, the subject of our present review, is divided into three parts. The first containing regulations for the different offices, many of them of so local and stationary a nature, that they would appear uninteresting to those who have no connections with the country. Under this head—the sections treating of the

haram, or seraglio; the current price of provisions; the wardrobe; stables; elephant-stables; horse-stables; and the manner in which the emperor spent his time, will afford much entertainment.

Part II contains regulations for the military department, in which there is a very singular custom described, viz. the ceremony of weighing the royal person, as a means of bestowing a largess upon the indigent, for which benevolent purpose it is performed twice a year; gold, and other valuables, being put into the opposite scale for their benefit.

Part III. comprises all the regulations for the revenue department; and the article of most importance is that entitled tribute and taxes.

The history of the twelve soobahs, or vice-royalties, into which the vast empire of Hindostan was divided by the emperor Akber, in the fortieth year of his reign, is the leading subject, and indeed the most important part of Vol. II.; and as it comprises a statistical account of each soobah distinctively, together with an analysis of the religion, laws, manners, and customs of the natives, it results from this brief description of its interesting details, that all persons concerned in East-India affairs, or in any capital degree connected with its government, will find it essentially necessary to study its various contents.

At the era when this grand division was made, the dominions of Akber consisted of one hundred and five sircas (provinces,) subdivided into two thousand, seven hundred and thirty-seven kusbahs (townships.) The names of the soobahs were Allahabad, Agra, Owd, Ajmeer, Ahmedabad, Bahar, Bengal, Deh-



ly, Cabul, Lahoor, Multan, and Malwa.

Abulfazel commences his description with the soobah of Bengal, which being the principal seat of the British government in India, we shall give a succinct account of the most remarkable particulars noticed by this oriental historian.—Bengal, including Orissa, has the sea on the east, is bounded by mountains on the north and south, and on the west joins to the soobah of Bahar. It is situated in the second climate. The air is very temperate. The periodical rains commence in April, and continue for somewhat more than six months. In the beginning of April, and sometimes earlier in the southern parts of this soobah, there are frequent storms of thunder and lightning, wind and rain, from the north-west quarter. These squalls moderate the heat very much, and they continue till the setting in of the periodical rains, which overflow the country in many parts. If the rains break up early in September, the weather is intensely hot, and the inhabitants are very sickly.

Bengal abounds with rivers, the finest of which is the Gung, or Ganges, whose source has never been traced. From the northern mountains, it runs through the soobahs of Delhy, Agra, Allahabad, and Bahar, into this province. Near the town of Cazyhuttah, in the sirkar of Barbuckabad, at which place it is called Pudhawutty, it sends a branch to the east, which empties itself into the sea at Chittagong. The main river, in its course to the southward, forms three streams, the Sirsuttty, the Jown, and the Gung; which three streams are collectively called, in the Hindovee language, Tirpunny, and they are all held in

high veneration by the Hindoos.—The Gung, after having divided into a thousand channels, joins the sea at Satagong, and the Sirsuttty and Jown discharge themselves in like manner. The learned amongst the Hindoos have composed volumes in praise of these waters, all parts of which are said to be holy. The great people have the water of the Ganges brought to them from vast distances, it being deemed necessary in the performance of their religious ceremonies. The water of the Ganges has been celebrated in all ages, not only for its sanctity, but also on account of its sweetness, lightness, and wholesomeness, and because it does not become putrid though kept for years.

Most of the rivers of Bengal have their banks cultivated with rice, of which there are a variety of species. The soil is so fertile in some places, that a single grain of rice will yield a measure of two or three seers. Some lands will produce three crops in a year. Vegetation is here so quick, that as fast as the water rises, the plants of rice grow above it, so that the ear is never immersed.—Men of experience affirm, that a single stalk will grow six cubits in one night. The food of the inhabitants is, for the most part, fish and rice, wheat and barley not being esteemed wholesome here, and they are extremely fond of salt, which is scarce in some parts of this soobah.

Their houses are chiefly made of bamboos, some of which, however, will cost five thousand rupees and upwards, and are of a very long duration. They travel chiefly by water, especially in the rainy season. They construct boats for war, burden, and travelling. Particularly for

for besieging places, they make them of such a form, that, when they run ashore, they are higher than the fort, which is thereby easily entered.

Diamonds, emeralds, pearls, agates, and cornelians, are brought from other countries to the sea-ports of Bengal.

We are sorry to observe, that notwithstanding the great wisdom of Akber's code of laws, the cruel custom of sacrificing the living to the manes of the dead, which in our time is confined to wives being burned alive with their deceased husbands, and which, by the humane interposition of the British government in India, is now nearly abolished, prevailed in a more extensive degree during his reign, as appears by the following anecdote:—"The dominions of the rajah of Asham join to Kamroop (sircar of Bengal;) he is a very powerful prince, lives in great state, and, when he dies, his principal attendants, both male and female, are voluntarily buried alive with his corpse."

Orissa, formerly an independent country, is now added to Bengal: it consists of five sircars, and, in Akber's reign, was defended by one hundred and twenty-nine brick forts. The fruits and flowers of Orissa are very fine, and in great plenty.—"The nutreen is a flower delicately formed, and of an exquisite smell; the outer side of the leaves is white, and the inner is of a yellow colour. The kewrah grows here quite common, and they have great variety of the beetle-leaf." We have here to remark, that this is one of the best specimens of Abulfazel's brief, and indeed defective descriptions of the botanical products of Hindostan,

which are not sufficiently explained in any of the twelve soobahs, or their dependent sircars.

At Cuttek, the capital of the sircar of that name, a fine palace is described, consisting of nine stories; and in the town of Pursotum, on the banks of the sea, in the same district, stands the famous temple of the Sun, in the erection of which was expended the whole revenue of Orissa for twelve years.

The military force which the Zemindars were obliged to furnish for the service of the emperor, consisted 23,330 cavalry, 801,158 infantry, 170 elephants, 4260 cannon, and 4400 boats. As to the revenue of Bengal at that period, it is so obscurely stated, that though it appears to have been immense, the arithmetical statement of it is too obscure to be intelligible by Europeans, and it was certainly incumbent on the translator to have given the computation in sterling value.

Annexed to the statistical account of each soobah, we have a summary of the succession of the native princes, beginning with those of Bengal, with sketches of the principal occurrences in each reign, down to the time when Abulfazel composed his work; and also chronological tables of the several dynasties in every soobah; more curious than interesting, and occupying a very considerable portion of this volume.

An assessment of the lands of Hindostan, under the title of Tukteem Jumma, likewise extends from page 190 to 307. It contains the measurements, in the Hindoo language, and computations, with the names of the places in every soobah, and is merely local.

The third, and last division of the work, forms a third volume in the Bengal

Bengal edition, under the title of "A Description of Hindostan:" it consists of a summary account of such particulars as were not fully described in the former divisions of the empire into soobahs, sircars, and kusbahs, and is highly entertaining.

In treating of the sects amongst the Hindoos, who hold no less than eighteen different opinions respecting the creation, we find the following very remarkable passage. "One sect believes that God, who hath no equal, appeared on earth under three human forms, without having been thereby polluted in the smallest degree; in the same manner as the Christians speak of the Messiah. The names of these three personages are, 1st, *Brahma*, the Creator of the World—2d, *Bishen*, Providence and Preserver—3d, *Mahadeo*, or its Destroyer." The creation and final dissolution of all things, is a fundamental article of the Hindoo's Creed.

Next to the religion, we have an ample illustration of the astronomy of the Hindoo philosophers, of their geography, with tables of the longitude and latitude of the principal countries of the habitable globe, calculated from the Fortunate Islands, and divided into seven climates. The persons, distinct tribes, and duties of the Brahmins, are accurately delineated; the sects of philosophers, with their knowledge of various arts and sciences, particularly the occult, are subjects of curious investigation, arranged under separate heads.

After his descriptions of man, the noblest animal of the creation, our author adds, to his former short account of the birds and beasts of Hindostan, some farther particulars, worthy of notice, respecting them,

Amongst other singularities, he mentions a bird, called the Eahoubiya, about the size of the sparrow, but yellow. "It is very docile, exceedingly sagacious, and may be taught to fetch and carry grains of gold with safety. If carried a great distance from his master, he will fly to him immediately upon hearing his voice."

In the political part of the institutes, the art of governing a kingdom contains several excellent maxims and rules for the conduct of the sovereign and his ministers, and for preserving domestic tranquillity by the obedience of the subjects, secured by their affection for a good prince, who is the father of his people.

Concerning the administration of justice, the learned Hindoos saw, that law is comprised under eighteen heads. 1. Debt. 2. Deposit. 3. Claim of property. 4. Partnership. 5. Gifts. 6. Wages, hire, and rent. 7. Tribute. 8. Buying and selling. 9. Herdsmen. 10. Boundaries. 11. Abusive language. 12. Assault. 13. Theft. 14. Murder. 15. Adultery. 16. Disputes between man and wife. 17. Inheritance. 18. Gaming."

After perusing the digests of the law of England, by our celebrated lawyers, the absurdity of the foregoing arrangement will strike every judicious reader; but when the different subjects are placed in their proper order, they will be found to embrace the principal objects of the civil and common law of the best European governments; but in the judicial administration, such local customs, adherence to superstitious ceremonies, and ridiculous sentences, abound under several heads, that with great difficulty we have been

been enabled to select a few maxims analogous to European legislation, or worthy of being adopted. The following are the most rational.

"The plaintiff they call Badee, and the defendant Pirthadee. When a complaint is preferred to the judge, if the defendant is a debilitated old man, or is under the age of twelve years, or is an idiot, or insane, or sick, or is employed on the business of the state, or is a woman without relations, such persons cannot be summoned before a court of justice: the judge shall commission intelligent persons to interrogate upon the case. But those who do not come under any of the above descriptions, are obliged to attend."

Article *Debt*. Upon adventures by land, 10*l.* per cent. is allowable; and 25*l.* per cent. for risks by sea.

In agreements for grain, (rice, or say, corn,) if the time of payment should be considerably elapsed, the judge shall allow for interest five times the value of the principal; such attention is paid to the seller of the first necessary of life to encourage him to give credit, and to supply voluntarily sufficient quantities.

Deposit of money, (banking or loans.) "If a person has employed a deposit illegally, and, when it is demanded, demurs paying back the money, he shall be fined half the principal sum in addition, for interest."

Partnership; the regulations under this head are perfectly equitable, and accord with our commercial laws. One brief instance will suffice. "If a partner loses or injures the property of the partnership, or it has been employed or carried away without the consent of the other partners, he shall make restitution."

Wages, hire, or rent. "If they are received in advance, the agreement must be fulfilled. If it is broken, the offender shall be fined in double the sum.

Public revenue. "If any one fails in the payment of his revenue (duties or taxes), his property shall be seized, and he shall be banished."

Man and wife. "If, immediately after marriage, a man discovers any natural defect on his wife, he may part with her without being subject to any prosecution."

The law of inheritance differs from ours in the article of primogeniture—"all the children, together with the widow, inherit equally;" and in the following singular article—"In default of all relations, the estate shall go to the deceased's tutor, or, if he is not alive, then to his school-fellows."

Gaming. "Whosoever plays with false dice shall be banished. If any one refuses to pay his game, it shall be forced from him. The judge is entitled to a tenth part of whatever is gained at play."

Our author next proceeds to describe the customs and manners of the Hindoos, and their religious ceremonies—subjects which afford a considerable fund of entertainment, and some important information to those who wish to be well acquainted with man in all the different lights and shades in which he is delineated in all parts of the habitable globe.

The index to the two volumes, referring to, and explaining Arabic, Persian, Hindovee, and Sanscrit words, though copious, is defective, for we have in vain sought for the explanation of several words, essentially necessary to enable the English

English reader to comprehend their meaning.

*The Geographical System of Herodotus examined and explained, by a Comparison with those of other ancient Authors, and with modern Geography. In the Course of the Work, are introduced Dissertations on the itinerary State of the Greeks, the Expedition of Darius Hystaspes to Scythia, the Position and Remains of ancient Babylon, the Alluvions of the Nile, and the Canals of Suez; the Oasis and Temple of Jupiter Ammon, the ancient Circumnavigation of Africa, and other Subjects of History and Geography. The whole explained by Eleven Maps, adapted to the different Subjects, and accompanied with a complete Index. By James Rennell, F. R. S.*

**W**ITHOUT understanding the language in which the father of history wrote, the major, to whom the geography of India has so great obligations has most ably illustrated the geography of Herodotus. "It is a common and just remark, that the authority of his work has been rising in the opinion of the world in latter times, which may be referred to the number of discoveries that have been lately made, and are continually making, in the countries which he describes. It was ignorance and inattention, therefore, that determined the opinions of his judges; a charge in which several of the ancients are implicated as well as the moderns. The same want of attention has confounded together the descriptions of what he saw with what he only heard, and which he might think he

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was bound to relate. Mr. Wood speaks much to the purpose respecting this matter: 'Were I,' says he 'to give my opinion of him, having followed him through most of the countries which he visited, I would say he is a writer of veracity in his description of what he saw; but of credulity in his relations of what he heard.' We may add, that superstition made him credulous in believing many improbable stories, but love of truth prevented him from asserting falsehoods. But his ignorance in certain points is infinitely more displeasing than his superstition; for, it may be observed, that, however distinguished as an historian, geographer, and moralist, as a man of science and a natural philosopher, he ranks very low. Wheresoever he speaks of history, or of morals, he fails not to give information and satisfaction, these being his proper walks.

This work is divided into 26 sections; 1. contains preliminary observations; 2. discusses the itinerary stadium of the Greeks; 3. the sentiments of Herodotus concerning Europe; 4. Western Scythia, on the Euxine; 5. the countries bordering on Western Scythia; 6. the expedition of Darius Hystaspes to that country; 7. the countries situate beyond Western Scythia, on the east and north; 8, 9. the general opinions of Herodotus concerning Asia; 10. Eastern Scythia, or the country of the Massagetae; 11. 12. the twenty satrapies of Darius Hystaspes; 13. the report of Aristagoras, respecting the royal road from Ionia to Susia; 14. the scite and remains of ancient Babylon; 15. the captivity and disposal of the ten tribes of the Jews.—The 16th, one of the most interesting

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ing divisions of this work relates to the knowledge Herodotus had of Africa, to which continent the remaining sections wholly relate, including the canals of Suez, the Nile, and Memphis, the Oasis of Egypt and Libya, the temple of Ammon, the Syrtis, the antiquity of Morocco leather, &c.; 24, 25, relate to the circumnavigations of Africa by the ships of Necho; and the last section presents some account of the voyage of Hanno along its western coasts. The whole is illustrated by 11 maps, most of which are curious and interesting.

The major seems to have confounded the ancient Scythians with the later Tartars; and, contrary to the most learned commentaries and the Jewish traditions, he attempts to shew that only certain classes of the Hebrews were carried away and settled in Media. He concludes, that the distant source of the Nile is certainly not in Abyssinia, but in some country to the west or south-westward of it; which is confirmed by Mr. Brown, who also proves that the Niger does not join the Nile. In his observations on the alluvions of rivers, he has happily applied recent knowledge to ancient circumstances, and the currents in the sea on the African coasts to the illustrations of general geography. He has demonstrated that the temple of Ammon was really discovered by Mr. Brown; a circumstance since confirmed by Mr. Horneman.

Gosselin supposes the voyage of Hanno did not extend beyond Cape Nors; and he infers that the island of Cernè is Pedai. Mr. Rennell supposes that the southern horn or termination of Hanno's voyage was

Sherborough sound; and that Cernè is Arguin, and Madeira the Par of Ptolemy; in which case Cernè must be one of the Canaries.

The remaining part of the major's great plan will consist of the ancient geography, as it was improved by the Grecian conquests and establishments, together with such portions of military history as appear to want explanation. Maps of ancient geography, on scales adapted to the purpose, will accompany it; while the modern geography (in which the most prominent features of the ancient will appear) will be contained in a large map, similar in size to the four-sheet map of India, already in the hands of the public. As the present volume forms a complete work of itself, so will each of the succeeding ones, they being no otherwise connected with each other than as being in the same series. The same is to be understood of some large maps that are to accompany the volumes, but will be too large to be folded into them.

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*The History of the Helvetic Confederacy.* 4to. 2 Vol. 1800.

IT appears from the dedication to the king, that the author of this work is Mr. Planta, of the British Museum; who is descended, as we understand, from the noble family in the Grisons, whose name he bears.

It is rather singular that we should so long have been without such a publication as this; and that no able pen has before been employed on a subject which has so many claims to our notice: for what country can offer equal pretensions, whether



whether we consider the wonders of its scenery, its political peculiarities, its early achievements, the influence which it had in its maturity on the affairs of Europe, or its recent calamities? To give the history of such a state is an arduous undertaking: but it has found in Mr. Planta an author who is fully equal to the task. The reader will here see not only fresh light thrown on the affairs of other countries, and his view of European history rendered more complete, but will meet with observations on characters, events, and periods, which are new and valuable; and which are highly creditable to the discernment and judgement with which Mr. Planta has read history. The early institutions of our rude ancestors, feudal regulations, monastic institutions, the genius of the dark ages, civil and religious dissensions, the grand separation from the see of Rome, called the reformation, and the philosophy which threatens all that we venerate and cherish, come in the course of his work under the author's notice; and they are treated in a manner which shews extensive information, a sound judgement, and a large share of impartiality.

Geography and chronology have been aptly styled the eyes of history. There is another requisite, of which we must be possessed, if we wish to behold in full day the events which the history of any particular country details; and that is a competent knowledge of history in general, a somewhat minute acquaintance with the transaction of adjoining states. The history of Switzerland requires also that we should take great pains to make ourselves acquainted with its topography; since otherwise it will confound and distract us.

Perhaps Mr. Planta would have better consulted the uniformity and popularity of his work, had he more condensed the matter of the first three chapters, and thrown it into the form of an introduction; as the history does not properly begin till we come to Chap IV.

We learn from Chap I. and II. that modern Helvetia includes, in addition to the ancient, a large part of Rhetia: that the Helvetii, after their repulse by Cæsar, found on their return that their numbers were reduced to a third; and that the Rhetii, who till the reign of Augustus remained unmolested, were then almost totally extirpated. About the commencement of the 4th century, the whole population of Helvetia was swept away by some of the barbarian tribes which at that time over-ran Europe. In the course of the 5th century, we find southern Rhetia occupied by the Ostrogoths; the northern, to the lake of Constance, and across the Reuss as far as the Aar, by the Alemanni; and the whole western part by the Burgundians.

Helvetia was subject to France under the Merovingian and Carolingian kings. It next formed a part of the new kingdom of Burgundy: the last monarch of which, Rudolph III. bequeathed it to the emperor, Henry II. This bequest was the origin of the supremacy of the empire over Helvetia.

Though the author expresses himself cautiously, we may infer from the following passage, that he ranks with those who are more swayed by the authority of Montesquieu than by the arguments of Mably.

‘The king’s councillors, his friends, the mayors of the palace, the chancellors, the counts of the ci-

ties and provinces, and the other magistrates and chiefs both of peace and war, were deemed the first nobility: the body of freemen composed the second rank; those born in bondage, who, having acquired their freedom, held lands in base tenure, were of the third: and the slaves, or bondmen, constituted the fourth, or lowest order.—

‘The king’s immediate bondmen ranked with the freemen, and those whom he manumitted with the nobility.’

To those who have studied this country, or to such as have had the enviable felicity of visiting it, Chap. III. must prove highly interesting. Conformably to what we have before observed, we advise the readers of this history to peruse this chapter more than once, with the assistance of the map. Helvetia is a little world within itself; it is an aggregate of states, the relative situation of each of which must be well impressed on the mind, if we would draw from these volumes all the pleasure and instruction which they are capable of yielding. This chapter treats of the origin of the great families, of the religious houses, and of the cities of Switzerland.

Among the families which thus early had struck deep root in Helvetia, were the towering house of Hapsburg, that of Savoy, so well known to history, and that of Zæringen, so honourably distinguished in the early annals of this country; the dukes of which house were the beneficent founders of its cities, and the liberal grantors of the privileges to which these owed their subsequent prosperity. We are here told that learned Scots from the north of Ireland were the apostles

of a great part of Helvetia, and the founders of some of its most renowned abbies; as those of Disentis, St. Gallen, and Seckingen. At this remote period, Arnold, of Brescia, the disciple of Abelard, and who afterward received the crown of martyrdom at Rome, disseminated rational opinions respecting the power of the priesthood, among the people of Zurich.

Early in the 13th century, died Berthold V. last duke of Zæringen, and the Imperial Vicegerent over Burgundian Helvetia. At this time, the Helvetic territory was divided between counts, great barons, and religious houses, who were in almost all respects independent. The counts of greatest note were those of Kyburg, Hapsburg, and Tockenburgh; and the leading religious communities were those of St. Gallen, Seckingen, and the nunnery of Zurich.

Chap. IV. gives the traditional account of the origin of this renowned and venerated people, the Schwitzers, the founders of Helvetic liberty, and of the confederacy which afterward became so formidable a power. They believe themselves to be of Scandinavian origin: but they were so inconsiderable about the beginning of the 12th century, that neither they nor their valleys were known to the Imperial court.

Chap. V. presents us with the history of two men who laid the foundation of the future greatness of their houses, Peter of Savoy and Rudolph of Hapsburg; whose respective descendants might have long remained no unequal rivals, had not the better fortune of Rudolph raised him to the first throne of Christendom.

Rudolph

Rudolph held the Swiss in high estimation, and was accustomed to tell them 'that he should ever consider them as his meritorious and darling children; and as such would maintain them in the immediate protection of the empire, and reserve them for the most important of its services.'

The author thus expresses himself, when speaking of the house of Austria: 'Few virtues, and a still smaller share of magnanimity, but a happy coincidence of circumstances, and above all an inflexible adherence to a system of aggrandizement, have since raised this house to the highest rank in the Christian world.'

When the bishop of Basle heard of Rudolph's elevation, he is said to have exclaimed; "Sit firm, good lord of Heaven, or this man will drag thee from thy throne."

In a note, we met with the following passage: 'The line of dukes was of the Capetian race; the father of Hugh Capet appearing in the tenth century with the title of duke of Burgundy. Otho, his second son, continued this branch, which descended through twenty generations to Charles the Bold, who perished at Nancy, and left his extensive dominions to his only daughter Mary, by whose marriage with the emperor Maximilian the first, they devolved to the house of Austria.' Whether this inaccuracy, which in point of language is obvious, extends to the author's meaning, we shall not presume to ascertain. Mr. Planta must know that, in the above period, the duchy of Burgundy reverted twice to the crown, and that there were two distinct dynasties of reigning dukes; both, indeed, of the Capetian race.

Chap. VI. is occupied by councils, scenes, and names worthy of the best days of ancient Greece. The reader of sensibility will not peruse it without feeling his mind inspired with patriotic ardour, with a noble disdain of slavery, with a proud sense of the rights of humanity, with a calm fortitude, and with a firm repose in Providence, such as animated the venerable fathers of Swiss liberty; nor can it fail to excite reverence bordering on idolatry, for those persons whose names, as Voltaire observes, would have been better known to fame, had they been less uncouth. The traits which distinguish an artless, courageous, free-born people, the goading and wanton oppressions of petty authority, and the lofty despotism of a high-minded prince, are here ably sketched. The author transports us to the period of which he writes; we engage in the deliberations of the time; we assist in expelling the bailiffs; we rejoice over Geisler's fall; we forget the crime while we feel the distractions of Albert's assassins; and our blood freezes at the recital of the horrors committed under the orders of the relentless Agnes.

In Cap. VII. the heroism of the Schwitzers, or the people of Schwitz, Uri, and Underwalden, is seen in action. The following is the account of the important and memorable battle of Morgarten:

'The fifteenth of October, of the year thirteen hundred and fifteen, dawned. The sun darted its first rays on the shields and armour of the advancing host: their spears and helmets glistened from afar; and, this being the first army ever known to have attempted the frontiers of the cantons, the Swiss view-

ed its long protracted line with various emotions. Montfort de Tettang led the cavalry into the narrow pass, and soon filled the whole space between the mountain and the lake. The fifty exiles on the eminence raised a sudden shout, and rolled down heaps of stones and fragments of rocks among the crowded ranks. The confederates on the mountain, perceiving the impression made by this attack, rushed down full speed, but in close array, and fell upon the flank of the disordered column. With massy clubs they dashed in pieces the armour of the enemy; and with long pikes they dealt out blows and thrusts wherever opportunities offered.— Here fell Rudolph of Hapsburg Lauffenburg, three barons of Bonstetten, two Hallwyls, three Urikons, and four of the house of Tockenbourg: two Geisslers were likewise found among the slain; and the vindictive Landenberg met his doom from the hands of those he had long wantonly oppressed. The confederates lost a son, or cousin of Walter Fürst, of Uri, the lord of Beroldingen, and the aged baron of Hospital, whom his son had in vain endeavoured to dissuade from engaging in the perilous contest. The narrowness of the dille admitted of no evolutions; and a slight frost having injured the road, the horses were impeded in all their motions: many leaped from this unusual conflict into the lake; all were startled; and at length the whole column gave way, and fell sudden'y back on the infantry, which had already advanced into the pass: these saw the precipitate retreat before they could learn its cause; and as the

nature of the country did not allow them to open their files, they were run over by the fugitives, and many of them trampled to death by the horses. A general rout now ensued: the Swiss pursued, and continued the slaughter: all the fifty auxiliaries from Zurich fell on the post that had been assigned them: and Leopold was, with much difficulty, rescued from the carnage by a peasant, who, knowing the bye-paths in the mountains, led him to Winterthur, where the historian of the times\* saw him arrive in the evening, pale, sullen, and dismayed. Thus did the confederates, in less than three hours, without much loss, but by skillfully availing themselves of the imprudence of their enemy, and by their own timely and vigorous exertions, gain at once a complete and decisive victory.

From Chap. VIII. we learn that Zurich, at the early period of 1535, could boast of a patron of letters in Roger Manesse. Political dissensions arose, however, and chased away the muses. Though it is admitted that power had been abused, the reader is made to regret the departed calm of long established authority. The demagogue is ably drawn in the person of Rudolph Brun. Next opens before us a scene in miniature not unlike that which it is the misfortune of the present times to witness. The freedom which the cities asserted, and their rising prosperity and power, roused the jealousy of surrounding chieftains, united their forces and councils, and impelled them to hostile attacks; and Helvetia seems to have, been at that time what Eg-

\* John of Winterthur.

rope unhappily has been of late. The events which led to the battle of Laupen are detailed in the author's usual impressive manner. It is to be observed that, on this theatre, the car of victory is not attendant on the brilliant Paladins, but ever awaits the humble peasant and the contemned burgher.

The dreadful plague, mentioned by all the historians, which raged at this period, carried away in Balle alone twelve thousand persons, and a third of the population of Helvetia.

Chap. IX. Zurich, Zug, and Berne join the confederacy. It appears from the present work, as well as from all history, that insurrection ever originates in oppression. Had not the inhabitants of the sequestered vales of the Alps been grievously and wantonly oppressed, the world would have been deprived of the example of high practical liberty, which Helvetia so long exhibited. Privilege and liberty are not only compatible, they are capable of mutually assisting each other: but, at moments inauspicious to human weal, they overleap their respective limits: then, rancorous animosity lays hold of the minds of men, fierce warfare ravages the earth, and dreadful havoc is often made, before the equilibrium of the political and moral world is restored; before privilege will consent to be considered as an investiture for the general good, connected with burthens as well as with benefits; and before liberty will submit to necessary restraints.

In Chap. X. we find the splendid Leopold, the very essence of chivalry, unable to endure that burghers and peasants should set up privileges which entrenched on his

claims. Early did Europe witness how courts miscalculate the prowess with which liberty inspires her children; what wonders, a people who regard slavery as worse than death are capable of performing; and how unequal is the contest between the satellites of arbitrary power, and the worthy sons of freedom, who fight for all that they hold most dear! It was the sentiment of liberty paramount in the mind, that rendered the Swiss confederates, few in numbers, and destitute of means, invincible by the whole power of the house of Austria.

Though descriptions of battles form perhaps the least instructive parts of the page of history, yet, when they are perspicuous and lively, they add very much to its interest. Mr. Planta has succeeded in giving this advantage to his work, in an eminent degree. The descriptions of the battles of Morgarten, Sempach, Laupen, and Næfels, do not disparage these great events; and we mistake if the reader rises not from the perusal of the Helvetic history, with veneration for these spots in no degree inferior to that which he has felt for those that have been consecrated by the eloquence of Greece.

In Chap. XI. the author thus describes the Swiss mode of fighting:

'To stand like walls, was their fundamental order of defence; to advance irresistibly; to penetrate and bear down every thing before them, like a rock rolling from the summit of St. Gothard, was their mode of attack. Such were the tactics said to have been practised before Troy, by the Israelites, when they were still led by the God of Hosts, and by the Greek phalanx and Roman legions, before their

grand manœuvres were refined into slightly evolutions, chiefly calculated to gratify the eye of inglorious commanders.'

The following passages throw great light on the singularities observable in the Helvetic governments. Speaking of the territorial acquisitions made by different cities, Mr. Planta observes: 'in each of these contracts, all feudal rights, not alienated in the bargain, and all previous municipal privileges of the respective communities, were scrupulously reserved; whence (as this was observed in all other purchases of the confederates) arose the multiplicity of local privileges, immunities, and customs, to which the Helvetic body owed its complicated polity.' After having recited these acquisitions, he adds:

'Thus, in a few years, and without wars or compulsive means, have the confederate cities of Helvetia acquired upwards of forty seigneuries from Austria and its vassals; some by voluntary surrender, but most of them by open purchase. The old maxim of rejecting territorial acquisitions was indeed relinquished on these occasions; but at this period no censure will apply for this deviation, if we reflect that the princes, in these times, in proportion as the nobility sunk into decay, had recourse to stipendiary forces, numbers of which they now began to enlist under their banners; and that by means of these, they would soon have crushed the various confederacies it had been found expedient to oppose to the encroachments of despotism. The Helvetic cities guarded against this by encircling

their walls with ample territorial dependencies, which defeated the purposes of their relentless adversaries, and enabled theirs to survive the leagues of the Suabian, Rhenish, and Hanseatic cities, which had not used similar precautions. The confederacy, moreover, by these accretions gradually obtained a preponderancy, which was soon felt in the scale of political equilibrium, and rendered its independence an object of equal solicitude and protection to all the states that compose the grand republic of Europe.'

The battles of Spheicher and Stofs, and the rest of the exploits which rendered Appenzel so renowned at this time, displayed a bravery which almost exceeds that of the confederates. They originated in a quarrel between the Abbot of St. Gallen and the people of Appenzel. Some of our readers may have been agreeably introduced to an acquaintance with several of the parties in this dispute, by means of one of the most pleasing and instructive novels lately delivered from the teeming press of Germany.\*

It is about this time that the Grisons became known to history. This people, following the example of the confederacy, formed their several leagues. 'The prosperous example of the Helvetic confederacy thus spread around its own spirit of independence; and no doubt prompted many powerful, but provident nobles and prelates, to a nearer intercourse with their subjects, and to favour combinations which they well saw they could not obviate.'

Book II. treats of the progress, decline, and dissolution of the con-

\* Rudolph von Werdenberg,

federacy;



federacy; and the first chapter opens with a short sketch of the transactions of the council of Constance. The proceedings of this assembly, of such note in its day, throw new light on the actual state of Europe at the time, and on its subsequent history. It is a curious circumstance that this assembly, though catholic, and though the documents relating to it are principally German, has found in l'Enfant, a protestant, and a Frenchman, a more fair and satisfactory historian than it has been the fate of other councils to obtain. We make no exception in favour of the estimable Fra Paoli. It will not suffice to traverse the beaten roads; we must wander into bye-paths, if we would thoroughly know the vast field of history.

We have seen the Helvetic body-politic reach its prime, and we now are called to witness the operation of those seeds of dissolution, which are inherent in all the works of man; to observe the shocks which convulse the solid frame, which tend to undermine some pillar, or to break some hinge, and which commence the gradual change from perfection to decay.

No votaries have been more intoxicated than those of liberty.—They attribute to their divinity every possible excellence; and they describe her as pacific and moderate. History forces on us a different opinion, and wrests from us a confession which we take no pleasure in making; that liberty inspires her sons too often with ambition, and with the love of aggrandizement. This is instanced in a very remarkable manner, in the case of the Cantons of Uri and

Underwalden; whose sequestered situation, it might have been expected, would have guarded them against sacrificing at the shrine of ambition. It was in an attempt to make good a foreign acquisition, (that of Bellinzona,) that victory first proved unfaithful to the Swiss banners; and it was at the battle of St. Paul's before that city, that a Swiss was first known to surrender himself a prisoner of war.

Previously to the Italian disaster, in the course of the troubles of the Vallais, a spirit had discovered itself, widely different from that which animated the confederacy in its better days. A demagogic ceremony, practised by the insurgents, is too curious to be passed over; we shall transcribe the author's account of it, as given in a note;

The mode in which the authors of the commotion effected their purpose, is singular, though analogous to what popular leaders ever practise in order to concentrate the various grievances complained of into one single image, word, or sentence. They produced a club, on which a human face was rudely sculptured, and tied it to a young birch-tree, which they plucked up by the root. This they called the Mace, and set it up as an emblem of the injured people. The figure was asked who it had chiefly to complain of; and the names of the principal families being called over, when that of the person aimed at was mentioned, it was made to bow profoundly in token of humiliation, and earnest entreaty for relief. All those who took compassion on it drove a hob-nail into the trunk of the tree, thereby denoting their number and firm resolve, without betraying

betraying their names. When the number was thought sufficient, this pageant was carried throughout the country, and placed before such houses and castles as were doomed to destruction. Whoever reprobated the violences committed by the insurgents was threatened with the mace; and the person who was the principal object of the conspiracy, had no option but that of flying the country.'

In Chap. II. Mr. Planta makes the following observations, to serve as a clue to guide us through the maze of the ensuing melancholy events:

'The state of security in which the cantons now found themselves, soon induced them to turn their thoughts to objects of private advantage, or at best to conceive that a tender regard for the welfare of their particular city or canton was all the patriotism that could now be demanded of them. Each canton thus gradually acquired a distinct character.\* Berne became lordly and domineering; but this very spirit, and the prevailing influence of that city, proved in the sequel the main spring of the consequence of the confederacy as a state. Zurich carried on an extensive trade, and hence suffered its commercial views to warp all its public as well as private deliberations; and we accordingly seldom find it in unison with the rest of the confederates. The three forest can-

tons preserved, indeed, their pastoral simplicity; but their emulation being once excited, even Mount St. Gothard was not high enough to restrain Uri and Unterwalden from attempting conquests in Italy, in which they were feebly assisted by their allies.'

This chapter contains the sad details of the war of Zurich; a contest as inveterate and destructive, as those usually are which arise among friends and confederates. The splendid Stussi, who exercised absolute sway over the minds of the Zurichers, is a character which the political reader will carefully survey. Author of incalculable ills to his country, and to the confederacy, and compromising the very existence of both as independent powers by his treaty with Austria, he retained his influence over the people undiminished, to the day in which he bravely fell, fighting for the cause of which he was the soul. The description of the bloody combat at the lines of Hirzel is exquisitely pathetic. If the ambition of the dangerous Stussi had in the course of the narrative called forth our resentment, yet, at the view of his noble fall, we are not enough masters of ourselves to refuse him our regret. The frantic valour of the small band of intrepid Swiss, who sold their lives at so dear a rate to the dauphin of France, (afterward Louis XI.) in the action of St. Jacob, near Basle, is drawn in its true colours. The curious

\* 'Their rulers, and not the people at large must be here understood. These, cheerfully contented in the serene enjoyment of their dear-bought liberty, confined within a narrow circle of communication, and chiefly addicted to their domestic concerns, have never suffered new fangled doctrines, or specious political speculations, to bias or perplex their honest purposes. Should their modern reformers succeed to guide them into new paths of morality, the late conduct of the Swiss guards at the Louvre will probably be the last instance of the sincerity and inviolable truth to their engagements, which, together with undaunted courage, have ever been considered as the distinctive features of the national character of this people.'

reader

reader is gratified, when he learns that this engagement was the first cause of the intimate connection between France and Switzerland, formed soon afterwards; which has been productive of so many important consequences, which remained to our days, and which had so tragical a termination.

In commencing the second volume of this work, we approach the period at which the history of Helvetia mingles itself with, and ultimately (as it were) loses itself in that of other states. We are to see its people for a short time, indeed, act up to their ancient characters, and achieving splendid events; but we next behold them as allies, and lastly we hear of them only as mercenaries. In what remains of his task, therefore, the Helvetic historian can no longer interest by novelty of matter; nor does the subject retain the same dignity, and afford the same satisfaction. Helvetia ceases, very soon, to be the region in which men of invincible bravery, of primitive manners, of sentiments pure as the crystal streams issuing from their glaciers, and of integrity and honour as unshaken as their native mountains, are seen spurning the oppressor's yoke, breaking his hands, defying his prowess, and baffling all his attempts to force or induce them to resume their chains. The temple of Freedom is soon to be converted into a theatre for gladiators, formed to be let out for hire to combat in the destructive games of ambition.—It is true that Helvetia did not all at once leap into the arms of disgrace; it required time, as well as consummate address, to familiarize her to what was so contrary to the feelings and habits of her better days. It must

be admitted that measures most honourable to her, and deeds full of glory, attracted the notice, and awoke the wishes of a crafty seducer, and gave rise to the machinations by which he undermined Helvetic virtue. Like other wanderers, she does not deviate from her former paths without exhibiting, at times, her qualms of conscience, her fits of repentance, and her gusts of good resolution: but these weaken by degrees; and she settles down to a commerce, than which nothing more disgraceful is recorded in the annals of human depravity, a commerce in the blood of her children. Do speculatists, with great force of reasonings, maintain that all wars, except for self-defence, are contrary to morals and true religion? What shall we say, then, of a people who furnish warriors for gold, who lend them to every cause indiscriminately? This disgrace of Helvetia is not to be disputed, nor palliated; yet justice requires that we should add, that it is almost the sole offence with which this people are chargeable.

The period on which we are entering exhibits to our view two remarkable men, whose actions and fate have had eminent influence over the subsequent state of Europe; Lewis XI. of France, and Charles the Bold, the last duke of Burgundy. The former was a monster in private life, and callous to every principle, but possessed of extraordinary discernment as to what respected the interests of his crown, who, before Machiavelli wrote, reduced to practice all his rules; so that he might have served the same end in politics to that ingenious writer, that Homer and the Greek tragedians are said to have done to Aristotle

tote in matters of taste. Not only, as it has been said, did he set himself and his successors *hors de page*, but he did the same by his kingdom. Without striking a blow on his own part, without incurring the expenses or risking the hazards of war, he effected the destruction of a rival more powerful and wealthy than himself, namely, the above-mentioned duke of Burgundy; who, though valorous and high-minded, and at the head of one of the first states in Europe, yet, by unskillful and headlong measures, brought down ruin on himself and his house, and involved his subjects in endless calamities.

Chap. III. of Book II. (the first of this volume) details the particulars of the grand cabinet achievement of Lewis XI. and records the feats of Helvetic valour at Granson and Morat, and the fall of Charles before Nancy. In the battle which takes its name from that city, the ill-fated prince, when he saw that all was lost, resolved to engage in person.

‘He rushed among the combatants with the fury of a lion, and slew many with his own hand; but most of his people, especially the cavalry, having now forsaken him, and seeing himself entirely abandoned, he determined to consult his own safety, and rode full speed towards the road that leads to Metz. Being hard pressed by his pursuers, he attempted to leap over a ditch; but his weary horse being unable to clear it, they both fell into the trench, and here Charles met his fate from hands unconscious of the importance of the life they were abridging. After having been some time missing, his body was found among other dead in the ditch, and conveyed to Nan-

cy. His head is said to have been cloven asunder, and he had two other wounds, each of which was mortal. He was interred with solemn pomp at Nancy; but seventy-three years after, his remains were transferred to Bruges, to be deposited in the same tomb with those of his daughter Mary. Most of the Burgundian nobility, who had not fallen at Granson or Morat, were here either killed or taken; and a third Burgundian camp became the prey of the victorious enemy.’

Thus fell the duke of Burgundy; and thus was brought about an event, the consequences of which Europe feels to this very day. A small part of his territories went to the secret author of his ruin; but the greater was conveyed by his daughter, on her marriage, to the house of Austria, now growing to a height of power unequalled since the days of Charlemagne.—It has often been asked why Lewis XI. did not secure the whole of the Burgundian territories, by marrying the dauphin to the heiress; but it is not easy to solve this question. Could he have foreseen what has happened since in Europe, with the bloodshed and calamities which these provinces were to occasion, we might have supposed that he sacrificed the interests of his crown to the gratification of his malignant feelings. What seeds of contention have these provinces nourished! Witness the wars in which Spain exhausted the wealth of the Indies; in which our Elizabeth displayed masterly policy; in which so many great commanders gained immortal fame; and which employed the elegant pens of Ben-tivoglio and Strada. Witness the repeated wars maintained by the different powers of Europe, to pre-

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vent Belgium from falling into the hands of France; wars in which the greatest generals of modern times have earned their dearly-bought laurels.

The IVth chapter relates the events of the sanguinary contest between the Helvetic confederacy, and the Suabian league. This war owed its origin to the attempts of the imperial tribunals to renew their jurisdiction over Helvetia.

By the peace of Basle, which terminated this most destructive struggle, the empire renounced all jurisdiction within the territories of the confederacy; the independence of which was, therefore, at this time, virtually acknowledged, though this was not formally done till the peace of Westphalia.

Chap. V. narrates the transactions of Milan, from its first invasion by Lewis XII. to the battle of Bicocca. Few human minds are altogether free from national prejudices; and the present philosophic and candid historian shews himself, in this chapter, to be not a little biased by their influence. The Swiss achievement at Novarra is related as if within the regular course of events; but, when we come to Marignan, where the author's countrymen are defeated, the event in his view of it is a phenomenon of most difficult solution. A great number of particulars are brought together, in order to explain and account for the prodigy; and he appears to consider these preliminaries as necessary, in order to render it credible that the French were victorious in a battle with the Swiss.

That the reader may form some idea of the connection which so long subsisted between the Helvetic con-

federacy and France, we lay before him the following extract:

'At length, however, on the twenty-ninth of November, of the succeeding year, a general pacification was concluded at Friburg, by which the French king, as duke of Milan, ceded for ever to the cantons the possession of the transalpine bailiwicks, and the provinces of Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, to the Grisons, with an option, however, of their surrendering their principle castles in those districts to the French king for the sum of three hundred thousand crowns: all the privileges, that had ever been held by the confederates in the kingdom of France, were revived and confirmed: the payments stipulated by the convention of Dijon were ratified, with the addition of a free gift of three hundred thousand crowns to the whole Helvetic body, and an annual subsidy of two thousand livres to each of the cantons, to the Valais, and to the Grison leagues. This compact was declared to be perpetual, and has in fact been the basis of the many leagues that have ever after been made between the crown of France and the Helvetic confederacy.'

The VIth chapter treats of the affairs of the confederacy during the period of the reformation; the character of which is well drawn in the short passage here quoted:

'Religious dissensions unsheathed the sword, and gave rise to animosities and calamities, which for many years perplexed and tormented a large portion of the human race; and armed men against each other, who, had they been influenced by the charity which was the basis of their faith, would have reconciled their

that the empire should make that concession.

On the occasion of Lewis XIV. seizing Franche Comté, the *Helvetic Defensional*, or the military code for the defence of the country, was devised and settled; and about the same time the *Formula Consensus*, or the Helvetic protestant confession of faith, was established.

Lord Clarendon says, that a mandate of Cromwell put an end to the persecution of the protestants in Piedmont: but Mr. Planta reduces this splendid interference to the common act of sending money to the sufferers. If the noble historian mis-stated the fact, which, to favour Cromwell, he was not likely to do, the error should have been proved; if he was founded in what he asserted, the present author (perhaps, without intending it) has been unjust not only to the memory of Cromwell, but to the honour of the English name.

Chap. VIII. gives a statistic view of the singular country to which this work relates. The author divides its governments into three classes; the aristocratic, the aristodemocratic, and the democratic.—In the first class, whereof that of Berne stands foremost.

Chap. IX. gives the modern history of Geneva, with all the interest and fidelity which belong to this author. Fatio, though little known to history, appears to have been a very striking character; and from the account here given, he seems only to have wanted a wider

theatre, to have descended to future ages as the most intrepid of patriot martyrs. The annals of Nero or Domitian present nothing more foul, than the mockery of justice carried on by a republican magistracy, in consequence of which this brave man suffered death.

The subject of Chap. X. and last, is the late overthrow of the Helvetic confederacy by the French. This transaction is too recent for history. The feelings of the moment will not allow the writer to assign to each cause its due share of influence, nor to view each event in its true light. Indignation on the one hand, and commiseration on the other, are too busy in the bosom, to suffer history to assume her claim and dispassionate character; and it is impossible to prevent the pen from running into endless invective on one side, and pathetic declamation on the other. Instead of arraigning the present writer for his want of impartiality, we wonder that he has not failed more in that quality.

We must now dismiss this work; offering our sincere congratulations to the author, on the service which he has rendered to letters—on the obligations under which he has laid his native and adopted countries—and on the memorial of his industry, general information, sound judgment, and impartiality, which he has thus erected, and which will so honourably transmit his name to future times.



*Public Acts passed in the Fifth Session of the Eighteenth Parliament of Great Britain.*

November 24, 1800.

An act to prohibit, until 1st November, 1801, the exportation of rice; and to indemnify all persons who have been concerned in preventing the exportation thereof, or in the non-performance of any contracts and agreements that shall not have been performed in consequence thereof.

To authorize his majesty, from time to time, to prohibit the exportation of provisions or food.

December 8.

To prohibit, until the 1st January, 1802, the use of corn in distilling of spirits or making of starch.

For suspending, until 20th August, 1801, the duties on hops imported, and for charging other duties in lieu thereof.

For continuing, until the expiration of forty days after the commencement of the first session of parliament that shall be begun and holden after 1st September, 1801, several laws relating to the prohibiting the exportation, and permitting the importation, of corn and other articles of provision, without payment of duty; to the allowing the use of sugar in the brewing of beer; to the reducing the duties upon spirits distilled from melasses and sugar; and to the prohibiting the making of low wines or spirits from wheat, and certain other articles, in that part of Great Britain called Scotland.

For shortening, until 25th March, 1801, the time of keeping in sleep, for malting, barley damaged by rain in the late harvest.

For continuing and granting to  
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his majesty certain duties upon malt, mum, cider, and perry, for the service of the year 1801.

For continuing and granting to his majesty a duty on pensions, offices, and personal estates, in England, Wales, and the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed; and certain duties on sugar, malt, tobacco, and snuff, for the service of the year 1801.

To explain and amend an act made in the twenty-second year of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, "An act for the better relief and employment of the poor."

December 15.

For granting bounties on the importation of wheat, barley, rye, oats, pease, beans, and Indian corn, and of barley, rye, oat, and Indian meal, and wheaten flour and rice.

To permit, until 1st October, 1801, the importation of herrings and other fish, the produce of the fishery carried on in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and on the coast of Labrador, into this kingdom, without payment of duty.

December 22.

For making better provision for the maintenance of the poor, and for diminishing the consumption of bread corn, by directing the manner of applying parish relief; until 6th November, 1801, and from thence until the end of six weeks after the meeting of the then next session of parliament.

To enable commissioners to purchase certain buildings for the accommodation of the two houses of parliament.

December 31.

For raising a certain sum of money by loans or exchequer-bills, for the service of the year one thousand

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eight hundred and one; and for appropriating the supplies granted in this session of parliament.

For taking an account of the population of Great Britain, and of the increase or diminution thereof.

To prevent, until 6th November, 1801, and from thence to the end of six weeks from the commencement of the then next session of parliament, the manufacturing of any fine flour from wheat, or other grain, and the making of any bread solely from the fine flour of wheat; and to repeal an act, passed in the thirty-sixth year of the reign of his present majesty, for permitting bakers to make and sell certain sorts of bread, and to make more effectual provision for the same.

To prohibit, until 1st October, 1801, and from thence to the end of six weeks next after the commencement of the then next session of parliament, any person or persons from selling any bread, which shall not have been baked twenty-four hours.

To permit, until 1st October, 1801, the importation of Swedish herrings into Great Britain.

To remove doubts arising upon the construction of an act of this session of parliament, intitled, "An act for granting bounties on the importation of wheat, barley, rye, oats, pease, beans, and Indian corn, and of barley, rye, oat, and Indian meal, and wheaten flour, and rice."

To revive and continue, until the expiration of six weeks after the commencement of the next session of parliament, and amend so much of an act of the last session of parliament, as relates to the reducing and better collecting the duties payable on the importation of starch; and to continue, for the same time, seve-

ral laws relating to the enabling his majesty to permit goods to be imported into this kingdom in neutral ships; to the authorizing his majesty to make regulations respecting the trade to the Cape of Good Hope; and to the preventing offences in obstructing, destroying, or damaging ships, and in obstructing seamen, and others, from pursuing their lawful occupations.

For allowing, until 15th October, 1801, the use of salt, duty free, in the preserving of fish in bulk, or in barrels; for protecting persons, engaged in such fisheries, from being impressed into his majesty's service; for discontinuing the bounty payable on white herrings exported; and for allowing a bounty on pilchards now cured, whether exported or sold for home consumption.

To authorize his majesty to appoint commissioners, for the more effectual examination of accounts of public expenditure; for his majesty's forces in the West Indies, during the present war.

For making the port of Amsterdam in the island of Curaçao, a free port.

For continuing, until six months after the conclusion of a general peace, three acts, made in the thirty-third and thirty-eighth years of his present majesty's reign, for establishing regulations respecting aliens arriving in this kingdom, or resident therein, in certain cases.

For allowing the importation of undressed hemp, from any of the countries that lie within the limits of the exclusive trade of the East-India company, free of duty.

For continuing until 1st June, 1801, the several acts for regulating the turnpike-roads in Great Bri-

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tain, which expire at the end of the present session of parliament.

For extending the time for the payment of certain sums of money advanced by way of loan to several persons connected with and trading to the islands of Grenada and Saint Vincent.

To explain, amend, and render more effectual, the several acts made in the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth years of the reign of his present majesty, and in the last session of parliament, for the redemption and purchase of the land-tax.

For farther continuing, until 1st August, 1801, an act made in the thirty-seventh year of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, "An act for the better prevention and punishment of attempts to seduce persons serving in his majesty's forces, by sea or land, from their duty and allegiance to his majesty, or to incite them to mutiny or disobedience."

For explaining and amending an act, passed in the last session of parliament, intituled, "An act for erecting a lazaret on Chetney Hill, in the county of Kent, and for reducing into one act the laws relating to quarantine, and for making farther provision therein, as far as regards the payment of the tonnage duty in the islands of Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, Sark, or Man."

To indemnify such persons as have omitted to qualify themselves for offices and employments; and to indemnify justices of the peace, or others, who have omitted to re-

gister or deliver in their qualifications within the time directed by law, and for extending the time limited for those purposes, until 25th December, 1801; to indemnify members and officers, in cities, corporations, and borough towns, whose admissions have been omitted to be stamped according to law, or having been stamped, have been lost or mislaid, and for allowing them, until 25th December, 1801, to provide admissions duly stamped; to permit such persons as have omitted to make and file affidavits of the execution of indentures of clerks to attornies and solicitors, to make and file the same on or before the first day of Michaelmas term one thousand eight hundred and one; and for indemnifying deputy-lieutenants and officers of the militia, who have neglected to transmit descriptions of their qualifications to the clerks of the peace within the time directed by law, and for extending the time limited for that purpose, until the first day of September, one thousand eight hundred and one.

For farther continuing, until six weeks after the commencement of the next session of parliament, several acts, made in the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth years of his present majesty's reign, and in the last session of parliament, for empowering his majesty to secure and detain such persons as his majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his person and government.

# SUPPLIES granted in the Fifth Session of the Eighteenth Parliament of Great Britain.

## NAVY.

£ . s. d.

November 21, 1800.

That 120,000 seamen be employed, for three lunar months, commencing 1st January, 1800, including 22,696 Marines.

For pay for ditto	666,000	0	0
For victuals for ditto	684,000	0	0
For wear and tear of ships	1,800,000	0	0
For ordnance sea-service on board such ships	90,000	0	0
For the ordinary establishment of the navy, for three lunar months	205,000	0	0
For the extraordinary establishment of ditto, for ditto	200,000	0	0
For transport-service, prisoners of war, &c.	475,000	0	0
For the accommodation of sick prisoners	35,000	0	0
	<u>£ 4,155,000</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

## ARMY.

£ . s. d.

That 58,528 men, including 4797 invalids, officers, and non-commissioned officers, be granted to his majesty for the service of three months, from the 25th of December, 1800, to the 21st of March, 1801, both included.

For guards, garrisons, and other land-forces	562,055	0	0
For forces in the plantations, Mediterranean, Portugal, and New South Wales	51,486	0	0
For the militia, miners, and fencibles	374,350	0	0
For increased rates of subsistence to inn-keepers, and in lieu of small beer	110,000	0	0
For recruiting and contingencies for land-forces, and extra feed for the cavalry	127,500	0	0
For volunteers, cavalry and infantry	145,000	0	0
For the department of barrack-master-general	171,200	0	0
For foreign corps	120,000	0	0
For ordnance for the land service	457,000	0	0
	<u>£ 2,118,591</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

	£	s.	d.
For foreign and other secret services	35,000	0	9
For the suffering clergy and laity of France	60,000	0	0
For convicts at home	8,000	0	0
To cover the interest of exchequer-bills granted in 1799	151,643	0	0
	<u>254,643</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

RECAPITULATION.

Navy	4,155,000	0	0
Army	2,118,591	0	0
Miscellaneous services	254,643	0	0
	<u>6,528,234</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
Total of supply.			

WAYS AND MEANS FOR RAISING THE SUPPLY.

	<i>November 21.</i>	£.
For continuing the duties on malt, mum, cider, and perry		750,000
For raising 4s. in the pound, upon pensions, offices, and personal estates.		
For continuing certain duties on sugar, malt, tobacco, and snuff		2,000,000

EXTRAORDINARY AID.

	<i>December 10.</i>	
For raising 3,500,000 <i>l.</i> by exchequer-bills		3,500,000
		<u>3,500,000</u>
Total Ways and Means		<u>£.6,150,000</u>

## METEOROLOGICAL TABLE FOR 1800.

	Thermometer without.			Thermometer within.			Barometer.*			Hygrometer.			Rain.
	Greatest Height.	Least Height.	Mean Height.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Greatest Height.	Least Height.	Mean Height.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	
1800.													
January	51	22	39,1	55	41	52,6	30,40	29,01	29,49	95	60	80,7	2,458
February	53	26	36,4	54	45	49,7	30,27	29,30	29,84	86	57	70,7	0,250
March	57	23	39,9	58	45	50,6	30,22	29,28	29,85	88	54	68,8	0,905
April	62	41	51,5	60	36	58,1	30,02	29,27	29,68	88	50	69,3	2,885
May	74	44	57,5	68	37	61,1	30,21	28,75	29,83	80	47	63,3	1,087
June	74	46	58,8	65	38	60,3	30,34	29,72	30,00	79	48	63,0	0,997
July	81	56	66,8	71	64	67,5	30,45	29,97	30,20	68	48	58,7	0,000
August	84	54	67,4	74	64	69,4	30,40	29,59	30,05	82	41	61,4	1,466
September	75	43	60,8	70	59	63,2	30,27	29,15	29,77	85	54	71,6	2,709
October	65	37	50,6	62	55	59,6	30,43	29,03	29,91	88	58	69,0	1,285
November	59	30	44,3	60	50	56,2	30,36	28,82	29,67	89	60	73,9	3,802
December	51	32	40,3	58	48	52,7	30,18	28,78	29,65	90	73	80,4	1,671
Whole Year			51,1			58,5			29,90			79,2	18,925

1800.

January .  
 February .  
 March .  
 April .  
 May .  
 June .  
 July .  
 August .  
 September .  
 October .  
 November .  
 December .

Whole Year

\* The quicksilver in the basin of the barometer is 84 feet above the level of low water spring-tides at Somerset-house.



# CONTENTS.

## HISTORY OF EUROPE.

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## ERRATUM.

CHRONICLE, p. 47, c. 1, l. 2, for Palermo, read Palermo.



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